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Past and Present

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Reinhard Golz (Germany)

Editorial

This issue of "International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present" (www.ide-journal.org) consists of contributions by educationalists from Austria, Belarus, Colombia, Germany, Russia, Switzerland, and the USA. The papers deal with the challenges of inclusive and integrative education in the context of migration and cultural diversity, and aspects of modern teacher training. Some authors analyze not only national and international comparative methods and structures for the education of young pedagogues, but also those that are proven and which have been extensively criticized. Pedagogical problems and innovative strategies for the transition from kindergarten education to school-based learning are demonstrated. Finally, out-of-school educational policy and pedagogical activities to overcome serious areas of social conflict are discussed.

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Manfred Oberlechner deals with problems of the institutionalization of inclusive migration education in the context of teacher training in Austria. Migration has recently become an essential part of teacher training in the context of the interdisciplinary unity of diversity and inclusion. What is required is self-critical reflection by teachers and students on the recognition of diversity and variety, the examination of the structures of discrimination and privileges.

Valetin Valetov, Mikalai Lebedzeu, Irina Zhurlova and Tatyana Paliyeva present the current status and development of inclusive education in Belarus on the basis of a case study. The article is based on analytical and statistical data. The role of a centre for education and rehabilitation in the socialisation of people with special developmental needs is highlighted, and opportunities to increase the professionalism of speech pathologists in working with disabled learners are identified.

Natascha Hofmann and Andrea Óhidy present the educational situation of the Sinti and Romany in Germany. The members of this highly heterogeneous minority differ in terms of the time of their immigration, their legal status and their language as well as in terms of educational participation and success. Compared to the average citizen, they can be described as disadvantaged. In addition to the programmes to improve their participation in education, the successful use of self-selected mentors and educational mediators from the Sinti and Romany community is worthy of note.

Jill Heiney-Smith's contribution focuses on reflective intellectual capital in the second phase of teacher training. The author compares preparation programmes for teachers in Poland and Singapore and shows different strategies for teaching and acquiring pedagogical skills for knowledge development and critical thinking. She points out that candidates for teaching posts have their own views on the nature of knowledge or epistemology, which can hinder or advance their professional development.

Mikhail N. Berulava and Galina A. Berulava identify an acute crisis of the traditional methodological platform of the Russian higher education system in their contribution on character development and personality development. Research continues to investigate individual facets of the human personality without sufficiently considering new realities in socialization processes. The authors propose a methodological platform for personality development that investigates the role of behavioural stereotypes for the social and professional success of the individual.

Erin Duez uses selected countries (Indonesia, the USA, England, the Philippines, Australia, Sweden and some African nations) as examples to describe different applications of the "Lesson Study" teaching model practised in Japan for more than a century in the training of teachers. The worldwide awareness and dissemination of the Japanese "Lesson Study", which only began in 1999, was not

always systematic, e.g. in the United States. In the global application, successes and failures have become apparent.

Elke Hildebrandt & Mark Weißhaupt ask whether the start of school should also be the end of the time to play. In German-Swiss discussions about time in kindergarten and school, a polarization between playful learning in kindergarten and serious learning at school is often observed from a cultural theoretical perspective. The authors ask whether this is primarily a matter of "saving time" for education or accustoming children to school culture, and what potential for school-based learning processes lies in playing.

Markus D. Meier and Manuel Páez continue their close involvement with aspects of education for peace and reconciliation in Colombia, which they started in the 2-2016 issue of this online journal, after the civil wars in that country. On the basis of case studies in three different communities and the analysis of their discussions with those affected, as well as various pedagogical exercises, they have gained insights into problems and tasks in the compensation of victims and the re-integration of perpetrators.

Olaf Beuchling and Maria Ladebeck review a book by Paul Howard-Jones published in 2018 entitled "Evolution of The Learning Brain (...)". The critical-constructive review emphasizes, among other things, that the book offers diverse information about a constantly expanding field of research and is therefore also suitable for readers who are looking for an introduction to neuroscientifically founded pedagogy.

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Sincere appreciation is due to all those who made the publication of this issue possible through contributions, peer reviews, translations, corrections, editorial and electronic-technical work.

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The members of the Editorial Board look forward to further high-quality articles, essays, book reviews and information on research and teaching projects. Contributions for the next issue can be registered henceforth. The **deadline** for sending the complete articles is **15 September 2018**, with the next issue to be published at the beginning of November 2018. Authors are requested to observe our editorial notes (www.ide-journal.org/instructions-to-contributors/) as consistently as possible. In addition, the NEWS (www.ide-journal.org/news/) and other sub-pages of our journal provide further information and examples of our formal requirements, editorial standards, and new decisions.

Reinhard Golz - on behalf of the Editorial Board

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Oberlechner: The Institutionalization of Inclusive Migration Pedagogy as an Academic Discipline
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Manfred Oberlechner (Austria)

The Institutionalization of Inclusive Migration Pedagogy as an Academic Discipline in the Context of Austrian Teacher Training

Abstract: Since the 2016-17 winter semester, migration has become an essential component of the theoretical and practical teacher training in the central region (Upper Austria, Salzburg) as part of the interdisciplinary unit on diversity and inclusion. Reflective and inclusive migration pedagogy requires therefore extensive self-critical reflection work by teachers and students on recognizing difference and plurality, critically examining structures of discrimination and privilege, such as age, class, education, place of residence, physical and mental disabilities, giftedness, sexual orientation, beliefs, religion, and also racially-motivated dehumanization and ethnic stereotypes. In 2013 the "Federal Framework Law Introducing New Training for Educationalists" was passed in the Austrian National Council, thereby creating the legal basis for the education policy project PädagogInnenbildung NEU
(see URL: https://www.bmb.gv.at/schulen/lehr/labneu/index.html; retrieved August 10, 2016).
Keywords: migration pedagogy, inclusion, Austria, new training for educationalists

概要 *(Manfred Oberlechner: 在奥地利师资培训语境下，把包容性移民教育的制度化作为一项学术原则)*： 自 2016 年至 2017 年冬季学期以来，作为多元化以及包容性的一个跨领域的单元，移民在中心地区 *(上奥地利，萨尔茨堡)* 已成为理论与实践方面师资培训的一项重要组成部分。因此，反思性及包容性移民教育要求师生在下列认知方面要开展延伸性的自我批评工作：区别，多元化，犯罪结构及优越感方面的批判性的考察，如年龄，阶级，教育，居住地，生理及心理残疾，天赋，性取向，信仰，宗教以及出于种族动机的的非人道性和民族刻板印象。*2013* 年奥地利国家委员会通过了"推介教育工作者新型培训的联邦框架法律"。对此，为教育工作者的新型培训这一教育政策项目建立了法律基础。
(参见 https://www.bmb.gv.at/schulen/lehr/labneu/index.html; 2016 年 8 月 10 日)
关键词: *移民教育，包容，奥地利，教育工作者的新型培训*

Abstract (Manfred Oberlechner: Die Institutionalisierung der inklusiven Migrationspädagogik als akademische Disziplin im Rahmen der österreichischen Lehrerausbildung). Seit dem Wintersemester 2016/17 ist Migration im Rahmen der interdisziplinären Einheit von Verschiedenheit und Inklusion ein essentieller Bestandteil der theoretischen und praktischen Lehrerausbildung in der zentralen Region (Oberösterreich, Salzburg). Reflexive und inklusive Migrationspädagogik erfordert somit weitgehende, selbstkritische Reflexionsarbeit von LehrerInnen und Studierenden, bezogen auf das Erkennen von Verschiedenheit und Vielfalt, das Prüfen der Strukturen von Diskriminierung und Privilegien. Hierzu zählen Alter, Klasse, Bildung, Wohnort, physische und psychische Beeinträchtigung, Begabung, sexuelle Orientierung, Glaube, Religion, ebenso rassistisch motivierte Entmenschlichung sowie ethnische Stereotypen. 2013 wurde das „Bundesrahmengesetz zur Einführung einer neuen Ausbildung für Pädagogen und Pädagoginnen" vom österreichischen Nationalrat beschlossen. Hiermit wurde eine Basis für das Projekt PädagogInnenbildung geschaffen
(siehe URL: https://www.bmb.gv.at/schulen/lehr/labneu/index.html, Stand: 10. August 2016).
Schlüsselwörter: Migrationspädagogik, Inklusion, Österreich, neue Ausbildung für Pädagogen

Резюме (Манфред Оберлехнер: Институционализация инклюзивной миграционной педагогики как академическая дисциплина в рамках подготовки учителей в Австрии). С зимнего семестра 2016/17 миграция в рамках междисциплинарного единства различия и инклюзии является неотъемлемой составной частью теоретической и практической подготовки учителей в центральном регионе (Верхняя Австрия, Зальцбург). Рефлексивная и инклюзивная миграционная

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педагогика требует обширной самокритичной рефлексивной работы учителей и студентов с точки зрения выявления различия и разнообразия, проверки структур дискриминации и привилегий. Сюда относятся возраст, класс, образование, место жительства, физическое и психическое нарушение, одаренность, сексуальная ориентация, вера, религия, а также расистко мотивированная дегуманизация и этнические стереотипы. В 2013 году австрийским Национальным Советом был принят «Общий федеральный закон о введении новой подготовки педагогов». Тем самым создана основа для проекта подготовки педагогов (см. URL: https://www.bmb.gv.at/schulen/lehr/labneu/index.html, состояние на: 10-е августа 2016г.).
Ключевые слова: *миграционная педагогика, инклюзия, Австрия, новая подготовка педагогов*

1. Salzburg and its higher education institutions: a location for migration, a location for cultural capital in terms of inclusive migration pedagogy

The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu extends and gives new meaning to the concept of capital. He sees the ownership of the means of production, money and capital ("economic capital") as a source of organizational power not only within economic relations but also within social relations ("social capital") as well as education ("cultural capital") (Bourdieu, 1984). In this context, the key terms, in addition to "capital", are "field" and "habitus": "field" describes "social spaces" with a relatively flexible structure, it consists of a "set of objective historical relations between positions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 16). This field can, according to Hofbauer and Krell, be applied to a great variety of institutions and levels of aggregation, as well as to a university or the whole academic system (Hofbauer & Krell, 2012, 85). These "fields" are the result of processes of social differentiation; within them, individuals or groups compete for positions or rankings, and there are different rules of play for each field. The individual actors' differing levels of capital are relevant to this contest (Aulenbacher & Riegraf, 2012). Furthermore, depending on their circumstances, an individual or a group develops different forms of habitus. Bourdieu defines "habitus" as a primarily unconscious system of schemes of perception, thinking and action which is focused on particular goals and which structure individual and collective action (Koller, 2002, 185). In other words, Bourdieu is describing the idiosyncratic "style" of the individual or the individual groups taking the action, a style which draws on past experiences and has an impact on the present and the future. "Habitus" is thus the result of biological determinants as well as both individual and social socialization and may express itself specifically in the form of a group's "professional habitus": experts in the academic field therefore refer to "the subject's habitus".

The logical consequence is to refer likewise to a "teacher habitus" and to call for this in connection with pedagogical professionalism in order to promote an inclusive migration pedagogy as part of the new teacher training in Austria. As "internalized cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1984, 228), this "teacher habitus" presents itself – to draw on Bourdieu – as "permanent dispositions of the organism" (own translation) of teaching staff[i] – in other words, education for an inclusive migration pedagogy, the accumulation of knowledge about migration in the context of a new teacher training, is the "incorporated capital" (Bourdieu, 1991, 230) of each teacher.[ii]

In this context, the time factor is not insignificant. "The accumulation of culture in an incorporated state – i.e. in the form we call 'culture' in French, 'Bildung' in German, and 'cultivation' in English – presupposes a process of internalization which takes time because it requires teaching and learning time. The time must be personally invested by the investor (...)" (Bourdieu, 1983, 187; own translation). "Educational capital" is part of incorporated cultural capital. This means that anyone now applying to be "trained" in inclusive migration pedagogy as part of their teaching degree at the Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig, at one of the universities among Salzburg's higher education institutions, or at other colleges and universities belonging to the "Cluster Mitte"[iii] must

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also prioritize the need to work on themselves. It is only via this route that specialist knowledge in inclusive migration pedagogy can subsequently become "incorporated capital" (Bourdieu, 1991, 230).[iv] This assumes that students invest much more time and effort than ever before (in research projects, too), so that inclusive migration pedagogy does not simply become a buzzword in teacher training.

The focus of the teacher training reform in Austria is on changes to the way teaching training colleges and universities work together. All the teaching degrees offered in Austria are encompassed by this reform. The students are therefore academically trained "in conformance with the Bologna Process". The new bachelor's and master's degrees therefore provide an academic and practice-related qualification within the framework of a skills-based and professionally oriented training for future educationalists. This, in turn, is based within a study programme that is standard for all in terms of its main features. With cooperation between the training institutions – teacher training colleges and universities – and the formation of four regional development networks (clusters) in Austria, the aim is to provide a collective, homogeneous training for all high school teachers. Since 2009 the Austrian federal government has been trying to make careers in teaching more attractive and put professionalization at the heart of continuous national reforms of the whole teacher training system.[v]

This teacher training reform is – as in most of the prosperous European countries – embedded in a situation of social diversification through immigration. Currently (as on 1.1.2017), for example, 22.1% of the resident population in Austria have a migration background. 18.9% of the migrants were born abroad and therefore come from the first generation of immigrants, whereas 5.6% of parents have foreign ancestors but were themselves born in Austria, so they belong to the second generation. Most of the foreigners in Austria originate from the former Yugoslavia (primarily from Serbia (118,454), Bosnia-Herzegovina (94,611) and Croatia (73,334), followed by immigrants from Germany (181,618) and Turkey (116,838).[vi]

The state of Salzburg, too, is today an immigration state. The Salzburg State Statistical Service provides a good overview of the distribution of migrants in the state of Salzburg: in addition to 15.6% of residents with foreign citizenship[vii], there are people with a migration background who already have Austrian citizenship (in total, 21.3% of the population, i.e. the third highest percentage after Vienna: 42.8% and Vorarlberg: 24.5%)[viii]. The data on the distribution of population from the city of Salzburg's municipal authority (as on 1.1.2017) shows that in the city of Salzburg (153,766 residents) around 25% (approx. 40,000 people) do not have Austrian citizenship. The majority of immigrants come – in keeping with the Austrian distribution (see above) – from the former Yugoslavia; in addition, there is a greater number of people with German and Turkish citizenship. Citizens from Africa, North and South America and Oceania are more of a minority in the city of Salzburg – there is a smaller number of these (under 1,000 residents of each).

Salzburg as a location for higher education therefore stands as a symbol of historical and current migration movements. At the time of the Protestant expulsions in the 17th and 18th centuries, many Salzburg families had to leave their homeland. Post-1945, Salzburg was a hub for large-scale international migration movements (Jewish emigres, war refugees, foreign-language forced labourers and prisoners of war, and many others), just as today many refugees (the majority from Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq) are passing through Salzburg en route to Germany and other EU countries. – All these historical and current migration movements impact on Salzburg as a location for higher education, and therefore also on the social framework conditions for teacher training at Salzburg's higher education institutions.

A third point of contact, for the purposes of this contribution, is the disciplinary specialization of migration pedagogy, as suggested by Paul Mecheril (Mecheril, 2004); theoretical positions on the

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issue of inclusion and, in particular, norm-setting within international (educational) policies offer further orientation here. This is consistent with the UNESCO Salamanca Statement (1994), which argues that regular schools with a corresponding "inclusive orientation" are the best way of combating discrimination. In addition to "disability", the "UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities" (2006) also identifies, inter alia, the following as socially effective markers of difference: "cultural belonging", "skin colour", "language", "religion", "gender identification", "political or other opinion", "age", "socio-economic status". In other words, this means "inclusive education" refers to the "entire diversity", including migration.

Based on all the lines of argument cited above, the author takes the view that an inclusive migration pedagogy should be implemented as a core element of the reformed teacher training in Austria. This is linked with broad-ranging ideas pertaining to a (self-)reflective and inclusive teacher training that is increasingly able to avoid shortcomings in the Austrian education system, such as the phenomenon of adolescents "with a migration background" leaving school early. This inclusive teacher training is based on a particular kind of knowledge transfer whereby migration pedagogy is broadened to include an inclusive pedagogy. The aim is to prevent injustices and provide fairer higher education, thereby also achieving a perspective on migration that is more sensitive to diversity.[ix]

Socio-educational knowledge is necessary for this: this is what enables the more socio-critical consciousness required for the new teacher training in the first place. The appropriate fundamental question is: to what extent can educational institutions influence stability and change in a society and, in so doing, make a specific impact on social inequalities? This kind of reflective teacher habitus can provide innovative alternatives which make it possible to think and act from an educational science and pedagogical perspective, taking into account every aspect of inclusive migration and diversity pedagogy.

"Diversity" and "plurality" are terms which are used in an almost inflationary manner in relation to the issue of "multiculturality" in education. In rare cases, a detailed definition is given of what these terms mean. Usually, the aim is to convey the idea that diversity should be considered an "enrichment" or something "valuable". In this sense, even illness, for example, can be considered a characteristic feature in relation to the differential field of health – one which, however, hardly anyone in a western meritocracy would wish to claim for themselves. Neither should (deviating here from Prengel, 1993) every line of difference be automatically socially, legally or politically recognized, but should be part of a democratic struggle for recognition. Diversity understood in the most comprehensive way, taking into account the overall plurality of the world, admittedly evades definition. Categories can only be formed if equality and difference are related to one another (Prengel, 1993, 31). It is evidently impossible to conceive the whole, the overall diversity, sociologically. When Prengel (1993, 49) writes: "Radical plurality develops out of the inherent idiosyncrasy of different creatures and forms of knowledge and thinking; each of these are highly valued in their idiosyncrasy", this statement can only be understood as normative and appellative – not, however, from a sociological, analytical perspective. There is also scope to challenge her assertion that "the plurality that develops out of difference on the basis of equal rights, i.e. out of egalitarian difference, realizes democracy in a radical way" (Prengel, 1993, 49; own translation). If undemocratic or antidemocratic or democracy-eroding components of plurality come to power within the democratic process, democracy is radically endangered.

It is therefore essential to include issues pertaining to society as a whole – issues which go beyond the direct teaching learning context – in the research and teaching of teacher training colleges and universities in Austria. In the case of diversity or migration, this may lead as far as socio-philosophical questions and drawing, in particular, on Critical Theory. (The Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School is concerned with the ideological content of educational theories from the per-

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spective of a critique of ideological bias; see also the Enlightenment criticism and the criticism of reason in Dialectic of Enlightenment or Eclipse of Reason on what happens when education is subject to the criteria of market-economy thinking, the aim of which is to maximize utility (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002; Horkheimer, 2004; Adorno, 2015). A corresponding educational mandate to colleges and universities that is based on critical theory might start with the following main aspects: the reflective competence of both teachers and learners, the characteristics of the educational organization, as well as the prevailing teaching methods and teaching content.

At the same time, it is important here to consider social change from a socio-critical perspective: this raises the question of to what extent social change leads to social dimensions of difference – where advantages and disadvantages prevail – and to multiple experiences of recognition or neglect among persons included in the educational process. For precisely this reason, intersectional analyses[x] on social dimensions of difference or potential categories of discrimination must be carried out with a focus on a concept of tolerance and education that is humanizing, self-empowering, democratic and egalitarian.[xi] Against this background, the available potential and existing barriers in teaching and learning situations can be assessed more accurately, and positive and negative spirals with regard to individual learning can be triggered and halted respectively. Such a reflective teacher habitus provides innovative possibilities, promoting pedagogical debate and didactic practice in relation to migration too: the critical potential of the considerations that follow should contribute to a deeper and more systematic understanding of inclusive migration-pedagogical professionalism in the context of a reflective teacher habitus.

2. Challenges to teacher professionalization[xii] in the context of living in a migration society

The issue of "migration" has "arrived" and now features teacher training courses at Austrian teacher training colleges and universities – including at Salzburg's higher education institutions. Migration is therefore, today more than ever, of fundamental importance for pedagogical forms of organization and practice. The Austrian Ministry for Education (BMB, formally BMUKK) has, in response to this, institutionalized a department for diversity and language policies, the education of minorities, and school partnership, creating the "Kompetenzstelle USB DaZ", an information and service centre for monitoring language competence in the field of German as a second language. In addition, an advisory board has been set up to advise on intercultural education, and the University College of Teacher Education Styria has been commissioned, as a national centre, to set up the Austrian Teacher Training Colleges Network in order to promote quality development and professionalization around the issues of interculturality, migration and multilingualism.

In terms of students enrolled on teaching degree courses at Salzburg's higher education institutions, the following picture emerges with regard to migration and demographic data: an analysis of students in the third and fifth semester of the elementary school course shows that of a total of 213 students enrolled, 44 of these (20.7%) had foreign citizenship (predominantly German) (the analysis was carried out by the admissions office of the Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig without including students in their first semester, as at the time of the analysis (as on 25.8.2017) they had not yet been registered correctly). The Paris Lodron University of Salzburg makes its student statistics publicly available.[xiii] It offers the option to filter both by "teaching degree" and by "students' parentage" (based on citizenship). In the 2017 summer semester (as on 1.9.2017), 3,594 students were fully registered for the teaching degree at the Paris Lodron University of Salzburg[xiv] – 373 of these were teaching degree students with foreign (predominantly German) citizenship, i.e. 10.5% (admissions continue until November every year – as of then, the data for the respective semester is "final").[xv] This contribution will go on to explain further what this means in terms of

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anchoring the issue of "migration" in the elementary and high school teacher training course curricula at Salzburg's higher education institutions.

At all events, the term "migration" in this contribution refers to a cluster of multifaceted phenomena relevant to education. These phenomena produce different educational trajectories and are therefore of importance to educational institutions – including Salzburg's higher education institutions. Accordingly, the author uses "migration society" and "migration" as terminologically adequate references in terms of pedagogical thinking (Mecheril, 2004, 11).

A migration pedagogy that nevertheless continues to direct its theory and practice towards an imagined majority population "can at best be described as problematic [...] and doomed to fail [...]" (Castro Varela, 2015, 657; own translation). Consequently, it is not enough to add optional modules on migration or "interculturality"[xvi] to the curricula of teacher training degrees. All students need to receive systematic basic training with regard to migration, and this must include an intersectional perspective on other dimensions of difference such as gender, sexual orientation, language, religion, aptitudes or cognitive, motivational and emotional potential,[xvii] age, mental and physical impairments and/or position within the structure of social inequality.

The Austrian education system is still structured in a way that means migrants are more likely to be systematically disadvantaged (Steiner, Pessl & Karaszek, 2016, 84). Or, to put it another way: the Austrian education system is significantly more likely to offer students "with a migration background"[xviii] "opportunities" to leave school early, and this over several generations of school students (Steiner, 2009). However, given that many pedagogical practices paradigmatically see migration exclusively as a problem, it must be asked whether early school leaving[xix] among young people "with a migration background" is being systematically co-produced by schools. (The percentage of people "without a migration background" who left school early in 2015 in Austria was 4.3%. The percentage of people "with a migration background" who left school early was 19.6% (first generation) and 16% (second generation). In absolute numbers this means approx. 27,700 people. In other words: 30% of people between the ages of 15 and 24 who were not born in Austria are today considered early school leavers; they have completed – as a maximum – their mandatory schooling and are not completing any form of training. In the group born in Austria, this is approx. 10% (Bruneforth et al., 2016, 134).); i.e. where the students who are selected are those who do not have enough ability to appropriate the techniques of academic success at school – including the required level of technical textual competence according to the educational standards (BIST[xx]), or where young people "with a migration background" who leave school early have also previously found themselves facing "intersectional"[xxi] discrimination which systematically impacts on their education across multiple dimensions. It is therefore not surprising that the proportion of "children with a migration background" who are certified as having "special education needs" is significantly overrepresented in Austrian special education schools – even though poor German language skills are not supposed to be the reason for this (Kornmann, 2006, 71-72). Via this "special pathway", learners "with a migration background" are more likely to be de facto shunted into special education establishments which generally fail to offer them any adequate school-leaving qualification for them to build on in their further education.

3. Inclusion and migration pedagogy

Inclusion starts with the needs of all participants and claims it can provide a response to the diversity of individuals. Inclusive education is therefore focused on diversity and not merely on the joint education of students or school students "with or without a migration background". In terms of evaluating the richness of human experiences, this diversity corresponds to pedagogical and didactic ideas which do not focus on learners' deficits but on fostering their diverse skills. This focus

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on potential emphasizes the benefits individual diversity can bring to educational processes.[xxii] Moreover, against the backdrop of a society that defines itself in terms of respect for human rights, migration pedagogy can contribute to an "inclusive understanding of society", and do so in accordance with the paradigmatic aim of teacher training in Austria, which sees itself as committed to egalitarianism and inclusiveness (Allemann-Ghionda, 2013, 126).

In the Austrian education system, which practises educational selection at a very early stage (Nusche, Shewbridge & Lamhauge Rasmussen, 2009, 24) and has many half-day schools that in effect displace a large proportion of learning to the private sphere, the need for inclusive intersectional reform of educational structures is especially pressing. From this intersectional perspective, the corresponding educational policy with regard to migration is always connected with a critical approach to power and domination: this inclusive and intersectional migration pedagogy with a critical approach to power is practice-oriented because it is concerned with dimensions of difference and the interactions between them, with the aim of minimizing social inequalities in practical teaching and learning settings. In terms of the phenomenon of migrants leaving school early, this means that migrants are a major risk group for early school leaving – not because they are migrants but because they often lack sufficient educational attainment (especially an adequate level of German, the language of education) to be able to make use of the many educational opportunities that are available in Austria. This also goes to the crux of equal opportunities: in principle, everyone in Austria has the opportunity to choose higher education. The preconditions, however, that would also enable everyone to excel in higher education are linked with previously acquired "socio-cultural capital". This means that in Austria migrants are often unable to "access" various routes through education because the requirements for higher education in Austria are too demanding for them. For this reason, early school leaving must be understood as a problem generated by a variety of social factors: the phenomenon of students, for example, "with a migration background" leaving school early can only be explained in detail with reference to the interplay between socio-economic milieu, a lack of problem-solving strategies at an individual level, and systematic conditions (such as the fact the Austrian school system is highly selective) (Steiner, 2009, 152; BMUKK, 2012, 12).

4. Professionalization in the teaching/learning context from the perspective of inclusive migration pedagogy

The diversity differentials that learners themselves contribute to educational institutions – e.g. in terms of their language(s), their knowledge, or their relationship to the educational institution – are differentials that are constitutive of migration societies. It is crucial here that these are not "intercultural" differentials conceived in terms of a bipolar model according to which "others" have brought their ethno-cultural customs "to us" in "our" Austrian educational institutions. Rather, this inclusive migration pedagogy takes account of everyone's experiences of foreignness in its learning processes: these experiences represent the cultural and linguistic differences of a single pluralistic (educational) society (Mecheril & Oberlechner, 2016).[xxiii] Teacher training in Austria needs to recognize this heterogeneity both symbolically and practically, and to provide learners with educational processes that correspond to their skills, knowledge and interests (Oberlechner, 2015, 735). The project of implementing an inclusive migration pedagogy in higher education institutions must therefore also be analyzed in the context of teachers' and learners' divergent milieus and experiences of socialization within educational institutions. Teachers (cf. the socio-cultural context of Austrian teachers: primarily stationary in terms of location, "petit-bourgeois", so to speak, with a distinct interest in safety, security and roots), almost all of whom (with some exceptions) only have German as a first language and have no experiences of migration, do not understand the milieus and social experiences of the increasingly heterogeneous learners they teach.

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These teachers often do not know what it is like to be at home in two or more linguistic, ethnic and social worlds and to have to balance different – and often contradictory – systems of norms and values on a daily basis.[xxiv] Consequently, it is of vital importance to revise our concepts of linguistically sensitive teaching and lay down foundations that ensure that all learners (even so-called native students who are significantly lacking in language skills) acquire, through their education, the ability to communicate to a respectable standard within Austria's multilingual, pluralistic society. At the same time, reflection on how the "foreign" and the "other" are constructed on a daily basis within and beyond educational institutions should be central to this inclusive teacher training.

From the perspective of an inclusive migration pedagogy, we must counteract segregation if it is based only on the language development or language skills of students who do not have German as a first language. The new teacher training should therefore not be about introducing elective modules on migration or interculturality[xxv] which students may attend voluntarily. Instead, it is necessary to establish within the new curricula a systematic basic training and education on migration issues relevant to education for all teaching degree students. Furthermore, anti-racism, anti-discrimination, political and religious fanaticism[xxvi] and extremist Islamization (e.g. in terms of excluding women and girls from education) should also be components in an inclusive migration pedagogy. This also includes sensitivity to difference as regards fair educational participation for all – in line with Austria's own objective for education reform: to provide an educational science and pedagogical and didactic response to heterogeneity by introducing learning processes appropriate to all learners.[xxvii]

5. Migration and internal higher education development

An inclusive migration pedagogy must counteract this in both theory and practice within the curricula of the new teacher training. It should be targeted towards all students, teaching and administrative staff, it should be highly differentiating, and it should promote a reflective competence that makes it possible to absorb or counterbalance mechanisms in the education system which produce or reinforce inequalities.[xxviii] Here, for example, a revision of the concepts of language-sensitive teaching is of crucial importance, laying the foundations for all learners (even so-called native students who demonstrate a significant lack of language skills during their degree programme) to acquire the ability to communicate to a respectable level in a multilingual society.

At the same time, a key function of this new inclusive teacher training is to reflect on how "foreignness" or "otherness" is construed on a daily basis in institutes of higher education and universities. This all has a concrete impact on the content profile of the educational institutions in "Cluster Mitte": the Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig has accordingly changed its organizational structure by setting up a centre of excellence for diversity pedagogy with an emphasis on migration and multilingualism (with a particular focus on intersectionality). In addition, the higher education institutions are promoting higher education teaching processes with a focus on migration-pedagogical practice during their internal teacher training programmes through publications, research proposals, specialist conferences, and continual professional development programmes for teachers, and they are also establishing national, international and interdisciplinary research collaboration projects on migration and education. Furthermore, in 2013 the first professorship for sociology with an emphasis on migration pedagogy was instituted at the Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig; this shows that the issue of migration has an important role to play in the development of the "Inclusive University"[xxix].

Finally, by changing its name to include that of the exiled Stefan Zweig in November 2014, and by hosting the first Stefan Zweig conference in December 2015, the Salzburg University of Education

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Stefan Zweig has made a clear statement with regard to the relevance of migration issues in pedagogical training.

Professional pedagogical practice, including migration-pedagogical practice, always takes place within a field of structural and cognitive contradictions – and this is also the case in teacher training colleges.[xxx] This therefore suggests that in general – and especially under conditions of migration and diversity – all students – and teachers – should be given the opportunity to acquire a professional approach that is accordingly reflective with regard to migration pedagogy. In other words, because migration-pedagogical practice is always case-specific, and because it is not just a matter of applying the same "recipe" in each individual case, teachers and students cannot be expected to always demonstrate "correct" practice from a migration-pedagogical perspective.

Teachers' critical self-reflection should proceed on an anti-positivist basis (Horkheimer, 1989). Its starting point should be that thinking must engage with and embed itself in reality, but at the same time it requires distance if it is to be self-critical. Criticism therefore requires not only the negative, sceptical moment but, at the same time, the individual's inner independence if it is to resist the prevailing zeitgeist (inclusive of education policy issues).

Thus, a teacher who practises in a critically enlightened way uses inclusive migration pedagogy to diagnostically identify and dialectically neutralize socially-mediated oppositions in order to deepen and preserve these – raising them to a new level where new perspectives are permitted – and to make use of them in pedagogical practice: the purpose of critical pedagogical professionalism is not to create a pedagogy that is free from oppositions, rather to recognize and grasp real oppositions in such a way that they can be changed through pedagogical practice.

The question of how the educational institutions of the "Cluster Mitte" – where this inclusive (migration-)pedagogical practice is in operation – can become places of reflection, places in which professional teachers see themselves, at the same time, as learners, is crucial here because reflective practice requires reflective environments. Especially when it comes to the competing demands of migration and performance assessment and efficiency at teacher training colleges and universities which must comply with prescribed assessment, selection and allocation requirements, this migration pedagogy will always be influenced by social interferences, paradoxes and ambiguities.

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6. Implementing the interdisciplinary material on "diversity"

Overview of the implementation of the interdiscipinary material within the "elementary school" curriculum of the bachelor's and master's degree programme (modules)

EC	Module code	Module title	Topic
1	P 1:1	Language as the Basis of Teaching	Multilingualism, differentiation
3	P 1:3	Linguistic Foundations of Language Acquisition	Multilingualism
1	P 1:3	Language Level Monitoring and Language Support	Multilingualism
2	P 2:2	Inclusive Rhythmicity and Motopedagogy	Inclusion, differentiation
3	P 2:5	Diversity and Inclusive Pedagogy: Gender, Interculturality/Multilingualism, Disability	Diversity and inclusive pedagogy: gender, interculturality/multilingualism, disability
1	P 2:5	Gender, Interculturality/Multilingualism, Disability	Gender, interculturality/multilingualism, disability

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1	P 3:1	Changing Perspective: Diversity/Inclusion and Society	Diversity, inclusion
2	P 3:4	Gender and Media	Gender
2	P 3:4	Migration Pedagogy, Intercultural Learning/Multilingualism and Media	Migration, multilingualism, diversity
2	P 3:4	Diversity and Inclusive Pedagogy: Disability	Diversity, inclusion
2	P 3:5	Political Education in Elementary School	
2	P 4:2	Reading and Literary Skills	Gender, diversity, multilingualism, migration; heterogeneity
4	P 4:2	Reading Diagnostics and Reading Support	Gender, diversity, multilingualism, migration; heterogeneity; differentiation
2	P 4:3	Communication and Conflict	Gender, migration
2	P 5:1	Performance Assessment and Diagnostics	Diversity, heterogeneity, differentiation
1	P 5:1	Ethics and Ethical Practice	Migration, gender
4	P 5:2	Social and Historical Learning	Gender
4	P 6:1	Heterogeneity and Differentiation in Mathematics Teaching	Heterogeneity, differentiation
2	P 6:3	Educational and Career Orientation	Gender
2	P 7:2	Autonomous Language Use in Differentiated Foreign Language Teaching	Differentiation, inclusion
2	P 8:1	Concepts of Sustainability	Inclusion
2	P 9:1	Sensorimotor Learning	Inclusion, gender, differentiation

Figure 1: Implementation of the interdisciplinary material on "diversity" (including migration) within the bachelor's and master's degree programme in elementary school teaching at the University of Education Stefan Zweig

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Since the start of the winter semester 2015/16, the Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig has offered a new elementary school course curriculum for bachelor's and master's degrees; the interdisciplinary topic of "diversity" (including "migration") is anchored in this and is worth 49 ECTS (European Credit and Accumulation System) points.

Within the framework of the bachelor's and master's elementary school course curriculum, however, there are very few course units which are required to focus on migration or inclusive migration pedagogy. For example, one course unit which must include, i.e. thematize, migration is: "Migration Pedagogy, Intercultural Learning/Multilingualism in the Context of Media and Foreign Language Teaching".[xxxi]

Since the winter semester of 2016/17, the thematic field of "migration" has likewise been one of the components in educational science and pedagogical and practical training as a sub-field within the interdisciplinary topic "diversity and inclusion" as part of the "new teacher training" for bachelor's and master's degrees in the Mitte region (i.e. Upper Austria, Salzburg). In this respect too, differentiated abilities in perception, evaluation and making judgments with regard to teaching and learning processes, combined with an inclusive attitude, are the key educational objectives of all courses. These are identified, in comparison with the Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig elementary school curriculum, not via an explicit allocation of ECTS points but in terms of content at the level of the module and course descriptions. In the ten guiding principles of the bachelor's and master's high school teaching programmes and, respectively, in the subject areas of the bachelor's high school teaching degree there is very little content on migration or migration background; in the subject area of geography and economics within the bachelor's teaching degree, for example, stu-

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dents must pass "restricted elective" modules corresponding to 8 ECTS points, and these include migration studies modules. This means students can pass by specializing or by taking individual subject-specific seminars.

What is immediately noticeable when the two curricula are compared is that, overall, at high school level, the diversity topic is not integrated as compactly as at elementary school level, and this is primarily because of the dominance of subject areas or specialist disciplines. On the other hand, the field of diversity is more strongly connected with the respective research within subject areas, and the new specialization "inclusion pedagogy" – instead of "special needs school teaching" – may be able to anchor migration pedagogy in the high school curriculum on a long-term basis. However, it remains to be seen whether the issue of migration will tend to be "included" as a visible, discrete unit in the "interdisciplinary topic" in the _Mitte_ region, or whether it will tend to get lost or even "dissipated" within this. This is because the core curriculum (apart from the optional course specializations) is largely lacking in the specialist courses reserved solely for the specific thematic field of migration and available in comprehensive breadth.[xxxii] Moreover, as regards multilingualism in relation to migration, it is apparent that although the new curricula do, on the whole, address multilingualism more explicitly, there is certainly more "scope for development" in terms of establishing concrete approaches or making it compulsory to anchor the respective teaching content in the compulsory core curriculum in the middle region or in the elementary school curriculum of the Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig (Purkarthofer, 2016, 11).

These curricula do not convey the issue of migration by any means substantially enough, and they do not adequately address requirements such as learning process design for bilingual or multilingual learners, engaging with differences in ethno-cultural socialization, possible traumatization due to forced migration, etc. This is certainly true of the elementary and high school curriculum at the Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig (Purkarthofer 2016, 11). This is also true if results are compared nationally: "Migration is used relatively sparely in the curriculum and appears most frequently where it is part of the interdisciplinary topics" (Purkarthofer, 2016, 13). In addition, there must also be a comparative analysis of the respective paradigmatic starting points for anchoring migration (as a resource, in the context of intersectionality, etc.) in all elementary and high school course curricula).

The teachers' attitudes, knowledge and practical skills are a key factor in this connection, because module descriptions represent, as a starting point, general "positions on paper"; the decisive factor will be how the individual teacher implements the content of the course. It will depend on the teacher's attitude as to whether he or she approaches migration primarily as a problem and a liability or as an educational opportunity with great potential and transfers his/her knowledge (possibly also via an emotional perspective) to students accordingly.[xxxiii]

In order to ensure that there is a correspondence between pedagogical and didactic concepts of empowerment on the one hand and migration pedagogy within curricula on the other, there should not be a one-sided focus on the deficits of learners with a migration or refugee background, rather the emphasis should be on fostering the diverse skills they have brought with them. This focus on potential highlights the benefits of heterogeneity for teaching and learning processes. If we wish to achieve fairness, social justice and equal opportunities for all, migration pedagogy needs a concept of diversity that, firstly, sees diversity as the norm and, secondly, reflects critically on existing relations of power and domination. This intersectional migration pedagogy with a focus on the criticism of power and domination is a practice-oriented science that is concerned with dimensions of difference and the interactions between them in order to minimize social inequalities in practical teaching and learning settings.

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7. Requirements for core skills in inclusive migration pedagogy

However, the idea is not that inclusive migration pedagogy simply becomes another buzzword. In order to prevent this from happening, reflection at both a systematic/theoretical and an individual level is required, as well as concrete answers regarding pedagogical practices. The following section outlines requirements for core skills in migration pedagogy (for more details see Oberlechner, 2016) within the context of the new teacher training.

7.1. Inclusive migration pedagogy is not an esoteric discipline

Migration relativizes both individual certainties and social norms. Migration is therefore never a minority issue, and migration pedagogy is never a minority pedagogy. Questions relevant to the whole of society intersect within the thematic field of migration, above all because they concern social change. Inclusive migration pedagogy must also take account of multiple socio-cultural and socio-psychological aspects (e.g. in relation to people's sense of time and experiences of aging, family ties, death and funerals in a foreign country). Migration pedagogy poses questions regarding the multiple causes, motives and purposes of migration, and distinguishes between different supra-individual types of migration. The processes and structures of interaction associated with these issues, which operate at the levels of both individuals and society as a whole, therefore represent particular thematic fields within migration pedagogy: migration pedagogy accordingly analyzes and interprets constructions of "we" and "you" or of "self"/"own" and "other"/"outsider", of community and society, state, nation, rights, ethnicity, language (including bi- and multilingualism). In addition, there are processes of acculturation, integration and disintegration; of transnationality, transculturality, assimilation, marginalization, stereotyping, the formation of prejudices, racism and ethnocentrism, inclusion and exclusion or segregation. Inclusive migration pedagogy also examines related questions of power, domination and social participation, including differences in educational opportunities and risks arising from multi-layered, plural biographies (which are of particular interest in the context of migration pedagogy). This special pedagogy therefore enables not only analysis and interpretation of "we" and "you" identities, but also criticism and deconstruction of these. A theoretically complete picture of migration does not therefore get "stuck" at the level of "cultures" and "discourse" but is always related within the analysis to the socio-cultural conditions of these constructions, e.g. to the national logic of competition, which, when the necessity arises, repeatedly instrumentalizes identities (including those of migrants) (see the analyses by Balibar & Wallerstein, 1990).

7.2. Inclusive migration pedagogy is comprehensive and differentiated

A migration pedagogy-based approach that is too simplifying is therefore characterized by a condensed analysis of current social situations, one which unjustifiably suppresses the dimensions of difference into which migrants are incorporated, and overlooks the fact that differences such as ethnic origin, nationality, class, gender or sexual orientation – which are acquired in unequal societies (either inherited/imported from another country or imposed upon arrival in a new country) – can manifest cumulatively, that is to say, in the form of multiple intersectional discrimination.[xxxiv] For this reason, migration pedagogy does not simply tease apart discriminatory dimensions of difference in the context of migration, education and early school leaving and regard these as discrete elements that are merely added together; instead, it regards these as unique composites that are inherently different from one another (or, to put it more concretely, in the words of someone directly affected: you are not discriminated against as a Turk plus as a girl, but as a Turkish girl). This comprehensive, differentiated concept of migration includes, in addition, questions relating to immigration and emigration, regular and irregular migration, economic migrants and refugees, environmental migration, the construction of foreignness, gender, transmigration, exile, brain drain,

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brain gain, brain waste,[xxxv] and many more besides, i.e. all those migration phenomena that are also relevant to education.[xxxvi] This migration pedagogy thus incorporates, right from the outset, not just the dimensions of difference of students "with a migration background" but those of everyone in the teaching and learning context.

7.3. Tools for inclusive migration pedagogy?

How can inclusive migration-pedagogical knowledge be mediated through concrete lesson planning in inclusive teaching and learning settings? Specialist learning on the issue of migration requires incisive subject-didactic research on inclusive subject-based teaching in migration pedagogy. In addition to this subject-didactic perspective on migration pedagogy, therefore, inclusive pedagogy must be broadened out if migration pedagogy is to become part of an "Inclusive University". This requires effective collective learning on the collective topic of migration, and it is only inclusive teaching that can create the right conditions for this.[xxxvii] Migration-pedagogical learning thus does not draw on simplified constructions of identity which focus in a knee-jerk and overhasty manner on, for example, students having a particular nationality or a first language other than German, thereby causing students from families with multiple "family bases" to feel "trapped between two worlds" (Oberlechner, 2011, 34). In such cases, all the various individual localizations arising from multiple and simultaneous sources of identity are overlooked in the educational context. To ensure this does not happen, migration pedagogy requires constant (self-)critical reflection and permanent analysis of the actual situation as regards recognizing difference and plurality and structures of discrimination and privilege. Only then can a didactics that is sensitive to difference also be accorded actual value within the context of teacher training; not, however, in the sense of a complete migration pedagogy tool with an exhaustive list of correct teaching and learning methods with regard to students "with a migration background", rather in the sense of a differentiated, self-reflective awareness of all learners within learning processes.[xxxviii]

7.4. A critical and reflective teaching habitus

A correspondingly critical and reflective teaching habitus contributes significantly to ensuring that the requirements of migration pedagogy are met as adequately as possible in teaching and learning situations. This is primarily the case where institutions of higher education also have a reflective culture that is accepting of mistakes, where they are familiar with the practices of case review, peer advice and supervision, and where offers of training are not interpreted as implying weaknesses or even incapacity on the part of the staff. The question of how the educational environments in which (migration-)pedagogical practice takes place can become places for reflection, places where professionals likewise view themselves as learners, is central: reflective practice requires reflective environments. It is important to increase awareness of this, as otherwise it is not possible to continually re-conceive the field of migration and take it beyond an overly-prescribed migration discourse. The usual "educational talk" around migration, however, often merely obfuscates "talk" and "action"– even the language used by migration educators should be continually deconstructed anew.

8. Closing remarks

Accordingly, a reflective habitus with regard to inclusive migration pedagogy uses a concept of migration that is neither a-political nor post-political but is instead cognizant of moral pitfalls, difficult balancing acts between divergent world views, and the risks of instrumentalization. It always reflects critically on approaches that culturalize and essentialize the phenomenon of migration in connection with education: students and teachers should therefore learn, as part of their teacher training, how to justify their own migration-pedagogical practice at all times. Those responsible for

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managing schools or higher education institutions need to know themselves, from a theoretical perspective, how and why the issue of migration should be included within the curricula, and how and why it should be a consideration within administration, further education and training, and the selection of teaching staff. This might involve schools and higher education institutions modeling processes on their own initiative or offering suggestions for reform in order to create an inclusive school and class climate. Migration in the context of education is not least about all individuals' emotional connection with, and sense of belonging to, the educational institution. The objective of inclusive reform in educational establishments includes, above all, the migrants themselves. Thinking about high achievement and excellence is especially important in the context of migration (e.g. on the part of the Austrian Academy of Sciences) as well as in terms of academic achievement in colleges of education, universities and schools. All this requires continuous institutional reforms. Furthermore, colleges of education in Austria must not leave fundamental research on migration to non-vocational universities and limit themselves to research that is narrowly focused on the teaching profession and only covers issues "directly linked to actual practice with children". This requirement to measure direct impact in practice ultimately and unjustifiably restricts migration research and the migration pedagogy that goes hand in hand with it. Critical reflection, principle-oriented theorization and deconstructive criticism do not necessarily lead directly to practical proposals for pedagogical solutions. The aim is to develop comprehensive theoretical knowledge about education, for critical awareness is only possible if it is cultivated within teacher training. A reflective habitus therefore generates innovative solutions which make it possible to maintain the momentum of educational science approaches and pedagogical thinking and practice in the field of migration. This should enable teacher training colleges in Austria to include problems pertaining to society as a whole, and which go beyond the immediate teaching and learning context, in their teaching and research. In the case of migration, this might even include socio-philosophical problems.

The aspects addressed in this contribution – the reflective habitus, the focus on individual cases, skills or resources instead of on deficits, etc. – can of course also be found in other concepts of pedagogical professionalism unrelated to migration (and this comes some way towards systematically anchoring inclusive migration pedagogy within special pedagogy). However, if we are to develop the potential of the reflections that are, to a certain extent in this contribution, consciously exploratory into a systematic understanding of inclusive migration-pedagogical professionalism in the context of the new teacher training, the following questions must be addressed (in further contributions elsewhere). The focus here should be to define more precisely – in a systematic and conceptual sense – and empirically investigate the challenges pertaining to teacher professionalization in the context of living in a migration society:

- Upon which understanding of professionalism will this inclusive migration pedagogy be based, and to which processes of professionalization will it refer?
- To which concepts and empirical evidence on professionalization can inclusive migration pedagogy be linked for the purpose of mediating pedagogical skills?
- How should the relationship between inclusive migration-pedagogical skills and other pedagogical skills be conceived?
- How should the interplay between the different (empirically proven) aspects of professional teaching skills and inclusive migration-pedagogical skills be conceived?
- What is the perception of the relationship between professional habitus and professional skills within migration pedagogy?
- Which specific bodies of knowledge should form the basis for inclusive migration-pedagogical professionalism (assuming that professional practice always refers to concrete, domain-specific content)?

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- ▪ To what extent can inclusive migration-pedagogical professionalism be empirically justified?
- ▪ To what extent can research results pertaining to other concepts of diversity-sensitive practice and to intercultural competence be applied to inclusive migration pedagogy?

If inclusive migration pedagogy is to generate cultural capital for teacher training at Salzburg's higher education institutions in the future, too, there has to be a need – and indeed a market – for it, not least on the part of the teacher training students and the individual schools. Schools, who have increasing autonomy over selection of personnel, are now in fact seeking candidates with qualifications in inclusive migration pedagogy. The implementation of inclusive migration pedagogy in the context of the new teacher training in Austria cannot therefore only be a top-down process (imposed by the government and administrative bodies) but must also be bottom-up. This is the only way in which inclusive migration-pedagogical education can become both ideal and capital in equal measure.

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i To find information on "objectified cultural capital" in connection with migration at Salzburg's higher education institutions, enter the search term "migration pedagogy" into the Paris Lodron University of Salzburg electronic library catalogue: this produces four results; the same online research for the Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig yields three results (accessed: 26.8.2017). Cultural capital in an "institutionalized state" appears, for example, in the curricula, the personnel and organizational structure or the certificates of the Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig and the Paris Lodron University of Salzburg.

ii Teacher training colleges and universities in the "Cluster Mitte" are called upon, in this connection, to explain, with respect to migration and an inclusive migration pedagogy, why inclusive migration pedagogy represents "cultural capital" for teacher training students. Salzburg's higher education institutions are, in addition, called upon to provide cultural capital for inclusive migration pedagogy in an objectified state by purchasing specialist books, didactic documents, dictionaries, databases of migration and exile biographies, artworks, research databases, etc.; and ultimately they must provide cultural capital in an institutionalized state for inclusive migration pedagogy, i.e. independent degrees that prove their worth in the scientific community and within teaching practice and that are also recognized outside Salzburg's higher education institutions. There is a need for additional and compulsory modules on migration pedagogy leading to ECTS points or grades, which are also a statement of the teacher training students' level of knowledge; and there is a need for inclusive migration pedagogy to be implemented as its own specific subject (e.g. within the framework of migration studies) and to gain institutional recognition. In addition, to ensure the success of this migration pedagogy, it must be subject to ongoing evaluation.

iii Six universities and four teacher training colleges in Upper Austria and Salzburg are participating in the collective training for "high school general education": Johannes Kepler University Linz, University of Education Upper Austria, Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig, Paris Lodron University of Salzburg, Private University College of Education of the Diocese of Linz, University of Art and Design Linz, Mozarteum University Salzburg, Anton Bruckner Private University, Catholic Private University Linz, and Church College of Education – Edith Stein.

iv The impetus for this form of incorporation must, however, come from outside.

v URL: https://www.bmb.gv.at/schulen/pbneu/fakten/fakten.html (retrieved: August 22, 2017).

vi URL:

https://www.integrationsfonds.at/publikationen/zahlen-fakten/statistisches-jahrbuch-2017/, pp. 23–27 (retrieved: August 22, 2017).

vii URL:

http://landversand.salzburg.gv.at/WebRoot/Store/Shops/Landversand/57AD/A0CC/6BBE/30D1/D6A4/4DEB/AE3E/64A9/statistik_daten_zahlenspiegel2016-folder.pdf (retrieved: August 22, 2017).

viii URL:

http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_migrationshintergrund/033241.html (retrieved: August 22, 2017).

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ix Furthermore, the aim of this contribution, or the scientific value of its elucidations, is to provide critical reflection, for theory and criticism focused on basic principles do not always have to flow into practical-pedagogical solutions. Which specialist knowledge on inclusive migration pedagogy can become "incorporated capital" in the context of teacher training? This contribution constructs a self-reflective understanding of inclusive migration pedagogy within teacher training on the basis of these and other questions.

x "Intersectionality" is understood here less as a research theory and more as a theoretical concept with a normative claim. The term was conceptually coined in the 1980s by Kimberlé Crenshaw; she used the image of an intersection where various roads of power and domination intersect, overlap and cut across one another as a metaphor for the specific interwovenness of social inequalities in a situation of social discrimination.

xi Marcuse's remark that tolerance requires a fundamentally partisan attitude towards goodness and humanity (Marcuse, 1965).

xii From the perspective of sociological and professional theory, the concept of professionalism here proceeds not only from the individual level of the actors but also from an analysis of the structures and processes of society as a whole.

xiii URL: https://online.uni-salzburg.at/plus_online/StudierendenStatistik.html (retrieved: August 31, 2017).

xiv i.e. the teaching degree like the Diplom degree in teaching (equivalent to a master's degree) (is being phased out), the teaching degree as a bachelor's degree (likewise), as well as the bachelor's degree within the "Cluster Mitte".

xv In neither of the electronic databases "PH-Online" or "PLUS-Online" was it possible to filter by "migration background with Austrian citizenship".

xvi Even the term is problematic, for it tends to culturalize complex socio-economic lines of conflict.

xvii Here, too, there are significant differences – sometimes denied by teachers – with regard, for instance, to the willingness to learn.

xviii The respective construction of this definition and its content should be subject to constant review: To whom does the concept "with a migration background" refer, in real terms, if it is used discursively? Research cannot function without such conceptual constructs. At the same time, researchers and consumers of research need to be aware that these concepts are not essentialist.

xix The group of early school leavers consists of young people who end their educational career as soon as they have completed their mandatory schooling, as well as of those who begin senior high school education but then discontinue this without replacing it with anything else, i.e. who do not switch to any other form of schooling or training (BMUKK, 2012, 11).

xx URL: https://www.bifie.at/bildungsstandards (accessed on 30.6.2017).

xxi In the sense of intersectional research.

xxii In general, this formulation conveys how diversity in itself is already "valuable".

xxiii Normative requirements alone will admittedly not change everyday school practices. Endeavours to change the positions, attitudes and prejudices of (higher) education actors can only be demonstrated here as examples; the European Commission, for example, provides suggestions for international good practice (European Commission, 2013).

xxiv See Oberlechner, M. on the subject of "Vielfalt unerwünscht" ("Diversity Unwelcome") in DIE ZEIT No. 22 (May 4, 2017).

xxv The term is in itself problematic, as it tends to culturalize complex socio-economic lines of conflict.

xxvi This is not meant to be applied in a bipolar way to the relation between allochthonous and autochthonous people; discrimination and anti-racism within and between ethnic communities must also be taken into account.

xxvii This also encompasses teachers and the whole school educational context, including parents, communities, school administration and NGOs.

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xxviii This means that in their critical reflection, teacher training colleges in Austria must no longer view themselves as "subordinate agencies", rather they must realize autonomy in teaching and research in concrete terms.

xxix URL: http://www.phsalzburg.at/index.php?id=inklusivehochschule (retrieved: September 2, 2017).

xxx A concrete example of this: adequate personnel, financial and material resources at a school are one of the most important prerequisites for the implementation of an inclusive teacher training. However, the resources that are actually available often fall very short of this requirement.

xxxi "Speechless through Migration?" became the title and thematic focus of this module in WS 2016/17 (module leaders: Manfred Oberlechner, Michael Manhart, Wolf Hilzensauer, Robert Obermair) with the homepage: http://sprachlosdurchmigration16.phsalzburg.net/; on the optional anchoring of migration within the curriculum, see the exercise (1 ECTS) connected with the lecture "Diversity and Inclusive Pedagogy: Gender, Interculturality/Multilingualism" which focuses on migration; and the lecture (3 ECTS) and exercise (1 ECTS) on "Migration Pedagogy and Intercultural Learning, incl. Multilingualism", as both come under the focus of "Social Learning" within the bachelor's degree in elementary school teaching. Information on the curricula of the bachelor's and master's degrees in high school teaching (general education) in the development combination "Cluster Mitte" as well as on the curricula of the bachelor's and master's degrees in elementary school teacher training can be found under URL: http://www.phsalzburg.at/index.php?id=8 (retrieved: June 30, 2017).

xxxii Currently, there are no respective national comparative results on the high school core curricula (Purkarthofer, 2016 offers initial partial results). The "National Centre for Interculturality, Migration and Multilingualism" (abbreviated in German as BIMM) is undertaking a research project ("Linguistic Education in the Context of Migration and Multilingualism in the Elementary School Curricula. A Collaborative Research Project by the PHOÖ, PHSt, PHT and PHV on the Elementary School Curricula at Bachelor's and Master's Level, Taking into Account the (Course) Specializations"; time span: 2016 – 2018, cf. www.bimm.at, accessed on 31.8.2016; the investigation focuses on four areas of diversity: interculturality and interreligiosity, migration and multilingualism).

xxxiii Admittedly, this is not just about the individual teacher's attitude: in many cases, lines of discourse on the issue of migration from across the whole of society are so dominant that it is impossible to ignore them.

xxxiv A migration pedagogy perspective on early school leaving takes into account, for example, the specific disadvantages of learners who grow up in families "with a migration background" in socio-economically and ethnically segregated urban districts and attend schools which have high levels of social and ethnic segregation.

xxxv This contribution employs many concepts, and each concept generally requires further explanation. There is not enough available space to address this in this contribution – this is one of the core tasks of migration pedagogy.

xxxvi As Mecheril (2004) demonstrates, they have an effect on individual and shared educational careers and are relevant to educational institutions.

xxxvii The National Centre for Interculturality, Migration and Multilingualism's subject platform offers, for example, models on "Linguistic Education in the Context of Migration and Multilingualism". See URL: https://www.bimm.at/themenplattform/

and https://www.bmb.gv.at/schulen/unterricht/uek/interkulturalitaet.html (retrieved: August 28, 2017).

xxxviii This might mean intensive preparatory work or the provision of self-compiled didactic material for individual learning settings. "Method pools" can certainly be helpful here – they are designed by the teaching staff and implemented by everyone.

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Valetin Valetov, Mikalai Lebedzeu, Irina Zhurlova & Tatyana Paliyeva (Belarus)

The Current State and Development of Inclusive Education in Belarus. A Case Study Using the Mozyr District (Polesye Region) as an Example

Abstract: *The article presents the current state and tendencies in the development of inclusive education in the Polesye region, the Gomel region, the Republic of Belarus), based on analytical and statistical data. The role of the Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation in the implementation of the educational process and socialization of individuals with special developmental needs is revealed. The ways of increasing the level of speech pathologists' professionalism in working with disabled students are highlighted. The role of the international project "Training and retraining of teachers and education administrators in the environment of diversity" in the formation of an inclusive culture of education system specialists is noted.*
Key words: *Inclusive education, the system of special education, Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation, special developmental needs, foster care, professional experience*

概要 *(Valetin Valetov, Mikalai Lebedzeu, Irina Zhurlova, & Tatyana Paliyeva: 在白俄罗斯地区包容教育的现状与发展。以 Mozyr 地区（Polesye 地区）为例的一项案例研究）： 文章根据分析和统计数据，介绍了 Polesye 地区的包容教育发展的现状和趋势 (白俄罗斯共和国 Mozyr 地区和 Gomel 地区的一项案例研究)。 在惩教，发展训练和康复中心，展示了在实施具有特殊发展需要的教育过程中以及个体社会化方面所起到的作用。 强调了言语病理学家在与残疾学生互动时的专业水平提高的方式方法。国际项目"教师和教育管理人员在多样性环境中的培训与再培训"在形成教育体系专家的包容性文化方面所起到的作用得到了注明。*
关键词: *包容教育，特殊教育体系，惩教发展培训和康复中心，特殊发展需求，寄养，专业经验*

Abstract *(Valetin Valetov, Mikalai Lebedzeu, Irina Zhurlova, & Tatyana Paliyeva: Der aktuelle Stand und die Entwicklung der integrativen Bildung in Weißrussland. Eine Fallstudie am Beispiel des Bezirks Mozyr Polesye Region): Der Artikel stellt den aktuellen Stand und die Tendenzen der Entwicklung der integrativen Bildung in der Region Polesye (Fallstudie des Bezirks Mozyr, der Region Gomel, der Republik Weißrussland), basierend auf analytischen und statistischen Daten, dar. Es wird die Rolle des Zentrums für Bildung und Rehabilitation bei der Umsetzung des Bildungsprozesses und der Sozialisierung von Personen mit besonderen Entwicklungsbedürfnissen aufgezeigt. Die Möglichkeiten zur Erhöhung des Niveaus der Professionalität der Sprachpathologen in der Arbeit mit behinderten Studenten werden hervorgehoben. Die Rolle des internationalen Projekts "Ausbildung und Umschulung von Lehrern und Bildungsadministratoren im Umfeld der Vielfalt" bei der Bildung einer integrativen Kultur von Spezialisten des Bildungssystems wird ebenso deutlich gemacht.*
Schlüsselwörter: *inklusive Bildung, System der Sonderpädagogik, spezielle Entwicklungsbedürfnisse, Pflegeverhältnis, professionelle Erfahrung*

Резюме *(Валетин Валетов, Николай Лебедев, Ирина Журлова, Татьяна Палиева: Актуальное состояние и развитие интегративного образования в Белоруссии. Исследование на конкретном примере Мозырского района, регион Полесье): Статья представляет актуальное состояние и тенденции развития интегративного образования в регионе Полесья (Исследование на конкретном примере Мозырского района, Гомельская область, Республика Беларусь),*

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основываясь на аналитических и статистических данных. Показывается роль Центра образования и реабилитации в реализации процесса образования и социализации лиц с особыми потребностями развития. Акцентируется внимание на возможностях повышения уровня профессионализма патологов речи в работе со студентами с ограниченными возможностями. Также становиться очевидной роль международного проекта «Подготовка и переподготовка учителей и менеджеров образования в контексте многообразия» при образовании интегративной культуры специалистов системы образования.

Ключевые слова: *инклюзивное образование, система специальной педагогики, специальные потребности развития, отношение попечительства, профессиональный опыт*

Introduction

Special education (education of people with special developmental needs) in the Republic of Belarus in modern conditions is viewed as an integral part of the general educational system. Due to the realization of the Government programme of the development of special education, an opportunity is provided for all children to get education regardless of the severity of their disabilities. Nowadays special education is carried out taking into account the needs of the individual, society and the state and provides the conditions for social adaptation of individuals with special developmental needs, preparing them for independent living and working.

At the present stage the legal basis for the functioning of the system of special education is based on the Education Code of the Republic of Belarus, in which the section "Special Education" describes the system and organization of special education in Belarus, as well as the conditions for academic certification of individuals with special developmental needs. The system includes the following institutions of special education:

- centers for correctional and developmental training and rehabilitation;
- special pre-school institutions;
- special general education schools and boarding schools;
- auxiliary schools and boarding schools (Kodeks ... [The Education Code ...], 2011).

By the Decree of the President of the Republic of Belarus of September 24, 2015 No. 401 "*On the signing of the Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities by the Republic of Belarus*", an inclusive approach to the organization of the education system in the Republic is provided. In this regard, the term "inclusive education" is interpreted as education, which ensures the most complete integration of students with different educational needs, including those with special developmental needs, in the collective educational process by creating conditions according to individual needs, abilities and cognitive capability.

The methodological framework for the introduction and development of inclusive education in the Republic has been reflected in *the Concept of the Development of Inclusive Education for Individuals' Special Developmental Needs in the Republic of Belarus.*

The resolution of the Council of Ministers № 710 of September 22, 2017 approved *the National Action Plan for the Improvement of the Situation of Children and Protection of Their Rights for 2017-2021.* Among the tasks to be accomplished within the framework of the National Plan there is one connected with the improvement of the mechanism for the realization of children's rights to social protection and inclusion; the realization of the right to development at a young age; quality education; living and education in the family environment (family support and prevention of social orphanhood), etc.

The above-mentioned documents confirm that in the Republic of Belarus there have been formed stereotypical views of the individual's value and the need to protect the rights that fit into the concept of creating a socially-oriented state in Belarus, whose moral well-being is determined by its

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attitude to people with disabilities and people with special developmental needs by providing, first of all, opportunities to get a full education.

At the present time, the Republic is carrying out consistent work aimed at optimizing the system of special education by creating conditions for the education of individuals with special developmental needs at their place of residence on the basis of the inclusive approach. Today each region of the Republic has accumulated a unique experience of working with children with special developmental needs, and also specific approaches to the professional development of teachers, working in the system of special and inclusive education, have been formed. In this regard, let us consider the state and tendencies of the development of inclusive education in Polesye region (case study of Mozyr district).

Inclusive and special education in the Mozyr district

As of September 15th, 2017, in the Mozyr district, 3031 people were registered in the database of children in need of special education and correctional and pedagogical assistance. Of them 182 were disabled children (in total in the Mozyr district according to the data for 2017, there were 14,440 students at institutions of general secondary education and 6325 pupils at pre-school institutions).

The number of children with special developmental needs attending secondary schools is 1377. The number of children with special developmental needs who attend pre-school institutions is 1442. The number of children with special developmental needs educated at home is 34. The number of children with special developmental needs attending vocational and specialized secondary educational institutions is 42. The number of children with special developmental needs visiting institutions of other Ministries is 4. The number of children with special developmental needs visiting Mozyr Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation (CCDTR) is 166.

On the basis of the inclusive approach, educational institutions of a general type create conditions for integrated education of individuals with special developmental needs, taking into account their physical and/or mental disorders. They open:

- special classes (groups);
- classes (groups) of integrated (collective) education;
- stations of correctional and pedagogical assistance;
- centers for professional and social rehabilitation in institutions providing vocational education.

In educational institutions of a general type, which have created conditions for the daytime accommodation and education of individuals with special developmental needs, the number of individuals with special developmental needs does not exceed 20 percent of the total number of students (Sostoyaniye i perspektivy … [Status and prospects …], 2010).

In the academic year 2017/2018, 60 educational institutions are operating in the Mozyr district, including 26 schools, 30 pre-school institutions, and the CCDTR, where children get special education as well as correctional and pedagogical assistance on the basis of the inclusive approach.

Inclusive education of pre-school children

In pre-school educational institutions there are: 8 special groups, 23 groups of integrated education, 27 stations of correctional and pedagogical assistance (SCPA) (995 children). Special pre-school institutions are staffed by service characteristics: the State educational institution "Mozyr Special Nursery School № 12 for Children with Severe Speech Impairments", the State Educational institution "Mozyr Special Nursery School № 30 for Children with Visual Impairments".

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In the State educational institution "Mozyr Special Nursery School № 12 for Children with Severe Speech Impairments" the educational process is organized according to the curriculum of a special pre-school institution for children with severe speech impairments, corresponding to the curriculum "Education of children with severe speech impairments" and the programme of special education classes "Logorhythmic exercises" (stammering).

Much attention in the institution is paid to the creation of an adaptive educational environment aimed at the treatment not only of the existing speech disorders of children, but also at assurance of the development of children's communicative, as well as social and domestic competence.

There are six groups in the institution: 5 groups with a 10.5-hour day stay of pupils and 1 group with a 24-hour stay of pupils. In total there are 81 children in this pre-school institution. The educational process is carried out by 14 educators and 6 speech pathologists, a teacher-psychologist, a music director, and a physical education teacher. On finishing the pre-school institution more than 90% of children are enrolled in general education schools and upper secondary schools, which indicates a high effectiveness of this institution. There is a special adaptation group for a short-term stay of children in the above-mentioned pre-school institution. Such groups precede the admission of a child to a kindergarten and are created for children from 2 to 3 years. The group works once a week. The educators, the speech pathologists, the teacher-psychologist, the musical director, and the physical education teacher conduct a variety of developmental activities aimed at ensuring the successful adaptation of children to the conditions of the kindergarten. The pre-school educational institution allows parents to stay with their children.

The State educational institution "Mozyr Special Nursery School № 30 for Children with Visual Impairments" includes 10 groups with a 12-hour working schedule. It is attended by 144 children. The content of education is determined by the educational programme of special education, which includes the curriculum of a special pre-school institution for children with visual impairments and a programme for the education of pre-school children with visual impairments. The educational process is organized by taking into account the severity of visual impairments of each child with the use of typhlo-technical and special equipment: for the blind – on the basis of the Braille relief and dot system, for visually impaired people – according to the teaching aids with an enlarged font.

The above-mentioned educational institution creates a barrier-free environment for individuals with special developmental needs. The institution employs a speech pathologist to provide speech therapy assistance to pupils who along with visual impairments also have speech disorders. The "Maternal School" functions within the educational institution and aims at creating conditions for the versatile development of pupils and raising the parents' psychological and pedagogical awareness. This form presupposes not only the joint stay of parents and children in the institution of pre-school education, but also the regular visiting of the pupil's family by the pedagogical staff with the aim of providing the necessary psychological and pedagogical support to parents in the upbringing, education and development of their child (Kovach, 2017).

In Mozyr and the Mozyr district there are also 9 pre-school institutions, on the basis of which special groups and groups of integrated education function. They are attended by 204 children.

Inclusive processes in institutions of general secondary education

Institutions of general secondary education comprise 101 classes of integrated education and upbringing (29 – with full fill rate, 72 – with partial fill rate), where 226 children study, 1 special class where 5 hearing-impaired children receive help, 21 correctional and pedagogical help stations, which are attended by 1105 children.

An integrated class (group) is referred to as a group of students including both children whose health indexes are within the norm and children with special developmental needs and/or disability. Children with a certain pathology profile study in special classes (groups), which determines the

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realization of the educational process according to special programmes, as well as a special mode of living in educational institutions.

The contingent of students in integrated education classes with full fill rate in institutions of general secondary education in the Mozyr district in the academic year 2017/2018 is characterized by the following developmental disabilities: learning difficulties; slight intellectual insufficiency, hearing impairments (1st degree), hearing impairments (2nd degree), severe speech impairments.

The inclusive approach to the organization of the educational process determines the correction of the content and forms of the educational activity of such schoolchildren. So, the content of subjects studied by students with disabilities is reduced to the essential material, its theorization and detailing are minimized. Requirements, adequate to the cognitive abilities, are imposed on students. Schoolchildren develop their interest in learning, they overcome a negative attitude toward school and educational activities.

Schoolchildren with severe and multiple impairments follow individual programmes, if the main content of certain educational subjects is incomprehensible. Education is carried out according to the schoolchildren's abilities and for their socialization. Individual programmes are worked out by speech pathologists, coordinated with parents, approved by the head of the institution, on the basis of which classes for this category of children are organized, and adjusted at the end of each academic year. Socialization, inclusion in adequate work activity, the development of generalized work skills are of particular importance at the initial stage. The educational process reflects the priority of the formation of domestic skills, the culture of a healthy lifestyle, subjective education (Konopleva, 2005).

There are a number of educational institutions in Mozyr and the Mozyr district, where an environment has been created for educational integration of children with special developmental needs: the State educational institution "Mozyr Secondary School № 10", the State educational institution "Mozyr Secondary School № 12", the State educational institution "Mozyr Secondary School № 14", the State educational institution "the Mozyr district Kozenky School".

The State educational institution "Mozyr Secondary School № 10" is currently an experimental venue of the innovative project "Implementation of the model for the organization of education of students with different educational needs in a communicative, collectively distributed form". This innovative project is being implemented with the involvement of 13 institutions of general secondary education in the Republic of Belarus – in the Gomel, Vitebsk, Grodno and Brest regions, as well as at educational institutions in Minsk and the Minsk region in the period 2017–2020.

Integrated education at the level of general secondary education is carried out in 23 educational institutions (secondary schools) in the Mozyr district. However, a barrier-free environment has only been created in two schools: in the State educational institution "Mozyr Secondary School № 10 and the State educational institution "Mozyr Secondary School № 16".

Thus, the system of special education in educational institutions of the Mozyr district includes: the Mozyr State Professional Lyceum; integrated and special classes in secondary schools; integrated and special groups in pre-school institutions (nursery schools); 2 special children's pre-school institutions (nursery schools for children with speech impairments); 2 pre-school children's development centers; stations of correctional and pedagogical assistance operating in secondary schools and pre-school institutions; Mozyr Regional Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation.

The work of the Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation

The State educational institution "Mozyr Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation" has been working in the educational system of the region for 16 years. Specialists at

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the center ensure constant support of children with special developmental needs in the educational institutions of the city and the district; at present 26 children are receiving early comprehensive assistance. 3 pre-school groups are organized, where 25 children are receiving special help, 8 pre-school children are studying at home. The educational process involves 38 students. Correctional and pedagogical assistance is given to 69 children with special developmental needs. Transportation to Mozyr CCDTR is organized for 26 disabled children. A barrier-free environment has been created in the center, technical means for physical rehabilitation are purchased.

The educational process in the CCDTR is organized in the mode of a 5-day academic week. The regimen of a disabled child's stay in the CCDTR is 9–10.5 hours, the children are provided with free meals. The duration of the lessons is 45 minutes, for the first grade students – 35 minutes. During the first half of the day, academic classes, individual correctional and pedagogical classes are organized. Correctional classes, rehabilitative, organizational and educational activities, classes on interests, individual work are held during the second half of the day. The day regimen in all classes and pre-school groups includes dynamic breaks, day-time sleep, walks, outdoor games, observation of the environment.

Measures are carried out to develop and improve the children's physical and motorial abilities: massage, exercise therapy, as well as activities for the development of creativity, the organization of cultural leisure for children. Club activities are organized: the students attend the club "Housekeeping", 6 students attend the club "Modeling and design". There are three clubs for the pupils and their parents: "A Kind Heart", "Know-it-all", "A Cozy House".

Mozyr CCDTR pays much attention to the organization of activities with parents who receive individual consultations on requests, thematic group consultations, training sessions and other forms of work, which are prepared by the specialists from the social, pedagogical and psychological services of the center. For example, in the framework of thematic consultations, parents are offered the following topics for discussion: "Development of fine motor skills of pre-school children", "Social adaptation of a child with Down's syndrome", "A pile of practical advice on working with autistic children. Behavior", "Socialization of a child through a game", "Children's fears", "Ways of emotional relaxation", "How to help a child with social interaction disorders", etc. (O rabote pedagogicheskih collectivov ... [On the work of pedagogical collectives ...], 2017).

There are enough rooms for carrying out the educational process which meet all the modern requirements: flexible zoning, polysensory provision, social adaptation, adaptation of the environment to a child. There are 5 classrooms, 2 game rooms, 2 bedrooms (for girls and boys), 3 pre-school groups, 2 study rooms of the speech pathologist for individual and group sessions, a room for practical work, a music studio, a gym, a room for social adaptation and recreation. There is a TV for watching videos and animated movies and a petting zoo in the recreation room.

A resource room has been created in the CCDTR in which modern teaching aids have been gathered. There are manuals and special equipment for use in the educational process, auxiliary means of transportation for disabled children, play materials, wheelchairs (all disabled children of the center are provided with wheelchairs). There is an interactive board, a multimedia projector, 15 computers, a music system, musical instruments. The center has got a library, which contains textbooks and educational aids for all types of schools carrying out education according to special programmes. The library collection comprises 5,540 textbooks and educational aids.

The activities of Mozyr CCDTR make special education and correctional assistance available not only for urban children, but also for children living in rural areas. The CCDTR provides a prompt decision of problems in the education of children with special developmental needs. It coordinates the activities of specialists in the field of special (inclusive) education in the district, cooperates with health organizations and social service institutions, conducts advisory and methodological work. All this provides solutions to the diverse and complex tasks which the entire education system faces.

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The work of the psychological-medical-pedagogical commission (PMPC) is carried out in the CCDTR. Annually the members of the commission conduct a thorough psychological, medical and pedagogical examination of children with special developmental needs upon request of educational institutions and parents to determine the conditions for their education according to special education programmes, providing correctional and pedagogical assistance in accordance with the identified disorder, studying the dynamics of educational changes and personal adoption of the child in the process of specially organized education. In the course of an academic year PMCP specialists accept more than 3,000 children aged 0 to 18 into the CCDTR. PMPC is held in the presence of legal representatives of the child and its aim is to determine the educational path for him or her.

At present the approaches used in the CCDTR are scientifically-based and the innovative content of education of children with severe and/or multiple physical and/or psychological disorders has been worked out, as well as the curricula for twenty educational fields and subjects. Since 2010 the first educational and methodological manuals for teachers of the CCDTR have been published. Educational and methodological manuals on such educational fields as "Life skills", "Communication", "Sensory-motor training", "Practical mathematics", "Visual arts", "Adaptive physical education in the Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation", "Correctional-pedagogical assistance to students with autism disorders in the CCDTR". Mozyr CCDTR and other similar centers in the Republic use manuals worked out by the specialists of Mozyr Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation, for example: "A special child was born. How to help him?", "Development by Playing ", "Development by Playing Together", "Development by Playing with Mum" (the author: Ashkinezer E. V., a speech pathologist, participant of the regional and final stages of the VI Republican contest "Modern Technologies of Special Education").

An important area of the activity of Mozyr CCDTR is to provide early comprehensive care to children with special developmental needs at the age of 0 to 3. Early detection of developmental disorders and early initiation of correctional work with the child and his family not only promote the child's socialization, but also often allow the child to be withdrawn from the special education system.

Education in the CCDTR makes it possible to encourage the greatest possible independence in disabled children, to improve the quality of their lives by means of education, to prepare for integration into society. Through the social rehabilitation of children with special developmental needs and disabled children in the CCDTR the percentage of families, who at the birth of a disabled child decided to abandon it by placing it in a residential home, has significantly decreased. Thanks to the activities of the CCDTR families overcome the so-called "stamp of unhappiness and despair"; many parents have an opportunity to find themselves in some professional activity, to lead an active social life.

Vocational education of children with special developmental needs

An important aspect of the socialization of children with special developmental needs is vocational education and making something out of it in later life. For this purpose integrated and special groups for students with special developmental needs have been organized in the system of vocational education in the Republic of Belarus which allows underage children with disabilities to obtain occupational abilities as the basis for later social independence. For example, Mozyr State Professional Lyceum has organized the following occupational groups for people with intellectual disability (1st degree): "plasterer" (3rd category) and "tiler" (3rd category). The educational establishment "Kalinkovichy State Professional Agrarian and Technical Lyceum" provides the following specializations to people with intellectual disability (1st degree): "vegetable grower", "specialist in

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landscape design" (3rd category). People with special developmental needs enter and study in institutions of specialized secondary and higher education on general grounds.

The system of psychological and pedagogical support of graduates with special developmental needs (foster care) has been operating in the Republic since 2005. Foster care is carried out within two years after finishing or graduating an educational institution – a special general education school (a special general boarding school), an auxiliary school (an auxiliary boarding school), as well as general secondary, vocational, secondary specialized and higher education institutions. The aim is to increase social protection of graduates with special developmental needs. The system of foster care is carried out in accordance with such documents as the Education Code, the Regulations on post-residential accompaniment of orphans and children left without parental care (the Decree of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus of May 31st, 2013 № 433), Regulations on the foster care of persons with special developmental needs (Decree of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Belarus 19.07.2011 № 92).

Foster care is provided by an institution which a disabled student has graduated from. In order to organize the necessary action, the head of the educational institution appoints the teachers who will carry out foster care of the graduates. In the Mozyr district an educational institution of this type (e.g. secondary school) cooperates with such organizations as the Social and Educational Center, the Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation, institutions of supplementary education for children and young people, health organizations, the regional social service center and other organizations on issues of social protection for the graduates.

Ways to improve speech pathologists' professionalism in working with disabled students

Inclusive education in the Mozyr district is provided by highly qualified professionals. They are creative, talented people, able to generate new ideas; they are oriented towards the development of children's personality, providing opportunities for their overall socialization. At the same time constant work on improvement of the professional skills of specialists working in the system of special education is being carried out. On November 28th, 2017, the State educational institution, the "Mozyr Regional Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation" became one of the venues for the Week of Professional Excellence for the Special Education Teachers of the Gomel Region. As part of this event the staff of the Center shared their productive teaching experience, demonstrated the conditions created for special education programmes; - their creative approach to work, non-trivial thinking and their unconventional look at the potential abilities of students with severe and multiple developmental disabilities.

In order to upgrade the qualification of the specialists of Mozyr CCDTR, the methodological association of speech pathologists has been organized, carrying out its work mainly in the form of an instructive-methodological or informational-theoretical meeting in which the following problems are raised: "Regulatory and legal support of the correctional-educational process at the level of special education"; "A unified approach to diagnostics and planning of correctional sessions with children with severe and multiple disabilities (SMD)"; "The use of various correctional approaches in correctional sessions with SMD children", etc.

Mozyr CCDTR constantly encourages the work of a methodological association of educators of training groups, who organize their meetings in the form of a round table, creative workshops, scientific and methodological seminars on a number of topics: "Regulatory and legal support of the correctional-educational process at the level of special education"; "Use of waste materials for the development of sensory perception, fine motor skills of SMD children"; "Visual arts as a means of acquaintance with the environment", etc. (Sudibor, 2017).

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Practice analysis shows that the leading form of professionalization of special education institutions in the Mozyr district in the system of inclusive education is the current technology of generalization and spread of professional experience presented in individual scientific and methodological research projects. During the period from 2013 to 2017 such research projects were carried out on the following issues, which are relevant to inclusive education: "Development of temporal conceptions of the 1st and 2nd year mentally disabled students by applying game technologies"; "Formation of communicative skills of non-speaking children by using non-verbal communication means"; "Socialization of students with special developmental needs by means of computer technologies"; "Peculiarities of organization of work with hearing-impaired children having a cochlear implant in a general secondary educational institutions"; "The use of games and exercises aimed at the elimination of primary school students' dysgraphia"; "Literacy training of pre-school hearing-impaired children by means of visual modelling", etc.

Professional development in an international project

The teachers in the Mozyr special education system are participating in the activities of the international project "Training and retraining of teachers and education administrators in the environment of diversity", which has been implemented by representatives of educational institutions in Western and Eastern Europe including such countries as the Ukraine, Germany, Austria, Italy, Finland, etc. Belarus was represented by Mozyr State Pedagogical University, named after I. P. Shamyakin, The Academy of Postgraduate Education (Minsk), and Vitebsk State University, named after P. M. Masherov.

Within the framework of the project the university has organized sessions on inclusive education for speech pathologists, pre-school and secondary education teachers, specialists of the education department of the Mozyr district, students; exhibitions of the relevant literature have been held; special training sessions on this issue have been worked out, published and implemented into the educational process; masters' and candidates' theses have been prepared; numerous articles on inclusive education have been published in authoritative magazines; the training manual "Pedagogy of Diversity" has been published, etc.

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Conclusion

Thus, three forms (models) of schoolchildren's inclusive education have developed in the Republic of Belarus, which get support from the government:

1) special classes in a general education school (this form of organization makes it possible to create opportunities of extracurricular work on a broader integration basis than in the conditions of a special school);

2) classes of integrated education (there may be children with heterogeneous disabilities in the number of 2–4 people (4 people with minor disorders, but no more than two types of disorders));

3) correctional and pedagogical counseling as a specially organized form of education based on the work of stations of correctional and pedagogical assistance.

Similar forms of an inclusive approach to the education of children with disabilities are also used at the level of pre-school education.

The Mozyr Center for Correctional and Developmental Training and Rehabilitation is a special educational institution providing an integrated system of psychological, medical and pedagogical assistance to people with special developmental needs. It provides education to people with severe and/or multiple physical and/or mental disorders and carries out diagnostic, pedagogical, correc-

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tional and developmental, psychosocial, methodological, consultative, and information analysis activities.

An important prerequisite for the success of the system of inclusive education is the qualification of specialists working in this field: speech pathologists, educational psychologists, social pedagogues, educators. Evidence of the professionalism of these workers in educational institutions in the Mozyr district is the current system of generalization and spread of professional experience, authorial scientific and methodological research projects of teachers, psychologists, speech pathologists, participation in international projects on the one hand, and the results of their practical activities on the other hand, the most significant one being the high level of adaptation of graduates with special developmental needs to social life.

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Hofmann & Óhidy: Mentoring, Counselling and Mediator Models to Improve the Educational Situation
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Natascha Hofmann & Andrea Óhidy (Germany)

Mentoring, Counselling and Mediator Models to Improve the Educational Situation of Sinti and Roma in Germany

Abstract: *This article presents the educational situation of Sinti and Roma in Germany. The members of this highly heterogeneous minority group differ not only in terms of the time of their immigration, their legal status and language, but also in terms of their educational participation and success. The only thing they have in common is that they can all be defined as disadvantaged when compared to an average German citizen. Since the 1990s, various mentoring, counselling and mediator programmes have been developed and implemented in Germany to improve the participation in education and the educational success of Sinti and Roma. The impact – for example the positive effects of self-chosen mentors and role models from the majority society or of Sinti and Roma educational mediators – has been proved by empirical studies. In order to further improve and strengthen these models, educational programmes for the professionalisation of mediators have been developed, such as the Hamburg Model or the ROMED Model.*
Keywords: *Sinti and Roma, Germany, educational situation, mediator models*

概要 *(Natascha Hofmann & Andrea Óhidy:* 以辅导，咨询和调解员的模式来改善 *Sinti* 和 *Roma* 在德国的教育状况*)*：本文介绍了 *Sinti* 和 *Roma* 在德国的教育状况。这个高度异质的少数群体的成员不仅在他们的移民时间，法律地位以及语言方面有所区别，而且在教育参与和成功方面也不尽相同。他们唯一的共同点是，在与德国公民相比，他们都可以被视为处于不利地位。自 *20* 世纪 *90* 年代以来，德国制定并实施了各种辅导，咨询和调解员项目，以提高 *Sinti* 和 *Roma* 在德国的教育参与程度以及教育成就。它们的成效 – 例如自选导师，主流社会的角色模式或 *Sinti* 和 *Roma* 教育调解员的这些积极影响均通过实证研究得到了证实。为了进一步提高这些行动的有效性，关于调解员职业化的教育方案已经得到了改进，例如汉堡模式或 *ROMED* 模式。
关键字: *Sinti*，*Roma*，德国，教育状况，调解员模式

Abstract *(Natascha Hofmann & Andrea Óhidy: Mentoren-, Beratungs- und Mediatorenmodelle zur Verbesserung der Bildungssituation von Sinti und Roma in Deutschland): Dieser Artikel stellt die Bildungssituation der Sinti und Roma in Deutschland dar. Die Mitglieder dieser stark heterogenen Minderheit unterscheiden sich nicht nur hinsichtlich der Zeit ihrer Einwanderung, ihres rechtlichen Status' und ihrer Sprache, sondern auch in Bezug auf Bildungsbeteiligung und Bildungserfolg. Die einzige Gemeinsamkeit ist, dass sie alle, verglichen mit dem durchschnittlichen deutschen Bürger, als benachteiligt definiert werden können. Seit den 90er Jahren wurden in Deutschland verschiedene Mentoren-, Beratungs- und Mediatorenprogramme entwickelt und umgesetzt, um die Bildungsbeteiligung und den Bildungserfolg von Sinti und Roma zu verbessern. Ihre Wirksamkeit – zum Beispiel die positiven Effekte selbstgewählter Mentoren und Vorbilder aus der Mehrheitsgesellschaft sowie der Sinti- und Roma-Bildungsmediatoren – wurde durch empirische Studien belegt. Um die Wirksamkeit solcher Modelle weiter zu verbessern, wurden Bildungsprogramme für die Professionalisierung von Mediatoren entwickelt, wie das Hamburger Modell oder das ROMED-Modell.*
Schlüsselwörter: *Sinti und Roma, Deutschland, Bildungssituation, Mediatorenmodelle*

Резюме *(Наташа Хофманн и Андреа Охиди: Кураторские, консультационные и посреднические модели для улучшения образовательной ситуации синти и цыган в Германии): Данная ситуация представляет образовательную ситуацию синти и цыган в Германии. Члены данного сильно неоднородного меньшинства отличаются не только временем их переселения, правового статуса и языка, но и участием в процессе образования и успехом в нем. Единственным общим*

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моментом является то, что они все, по сравнению со средним немецким гражданином, могут рассматриваться в качестве неблагополучных. С 90-х годов в Германии разрабатываются и реализуются различные кураторские, консультационные и посреднические программы для того, чтобы улучшить участие синти и цыган в процессе образования и успеха в нем. Их эффективность – например, положительные эффекты самостоятельно выбранных кураторов и образцов из большинства синти и цыган –посредников в процессе образования – подтверждено эмпирическими исследованиями. Для того, чтобы и дальше улучшать эффективность подобных акций, были разработаны образовательные программы для профессионализации посредников, таких как Гамбургская модель или модель РОМЕД.

Ключевые слова: *синти и цыгане, Германия, образовательная ситуация, посреднические модели*

Sinti and Roma in Germany

In Germany, Sinti and Roma (sometimes also called "Sinti and Romany") have been recognised as a national minority since 1998. There is no reliable data on their exact number or proportion of the population. On the one hand, because official statistics – except for the statistics on refugees – do not include the category of "ethnicity", and on the other hand because German immigration and refugee policy is subject to major changes. According to estimates by Sinti and Roma advocacy groups, there are about 70 to 150 thousand people who can be assigned to this ethnic minority (Engbring-Romang, 2014). The Federal Ministry of the Interior estimated their number in 2009 to be 60,000 Sinti and 10,000 Roma living mainly in the Rhine-Ruhr, Rhine-Main and Rhine-Neckar regions, in the West German provincial capitals as well as in Berlin, Hamburg and Kiel and the surrounding area (BMI, 2009). According to the Berlin Institute for Population and Development (2016), 70,000 Sinti and Roma who were German citizens and 50,000 who were registered as refugees or asylum seekers lived in Germany in 2010 (Brüggemann, Hornberg, & Jonuz, 2013, p. 97). These data alone show very clearly how heterogeneous this minority group is. In Germany, Sinti and Roma will usually be categorised according to (a) the time of their immigration, (b) their legal status and (c) their language (Table 1).

Table 1: The categorisation of the German Sinti and Roma

Naming	Immigration	Emigration location/region
Sinti	14th-15th century	India
Vlach	18th-19th century	Transsylvania
Lovara	1950' s	Poland
Roma guest worker	1960-70's	Former Yugoslavia
Roma refugees	1990's	Rumania, Kosovo, Bosnia
Roma EU citizens	Since 2004-2007	Rumania, Bulgaria

a) The first immigrant Sinti have lived in the area of today's Germany for about 600 years. They were first mentioned in documents in 1417 (Fraser, 1995); they are considered to be the longest ethnic minority living in Germany. In the 14th - 15th century the Vlach people immigrated from Transylvania, and in the 18th - 19th century the Lovara groups from Poland (Margalit, & Matras, 2007). In the 1960s and 1970s Roma guest workers came from the former Yugoslavia (Jonuz,

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2009), and in the 1990s larger groups of refugees came from Romania, Kosovo and Bosnia. Since the so-called eastward expansion of the European Union (2004-2007) more and more Roma EU citizens have been migrating from Romania and Bulgaria to Germany (Engbring-Romang, 2014).

b) The Sinti are German citizens. Some of the Roma who immigrated before the 1990s also have a German citizenship. Most Roma who came to Germany as refugees or asylum seekers were and are deported on the basis of repatriation agreements with their countries of origin. The immigrants, as Union citizens, have the right to live in Germany under the Schengen Agreement.

c) The German Sinti and Roma are mostly multilingual. The groups immigrated before the 1990s used their own dialects in addition to the German language: the Sinti speak a Sinti dialect of Romani Čhib, the Vlach speak a Vlach dialect, the Lovara group a Lovari dialect (Matras, 2003; Margalit, & Matras, 2007). The groups immigrated after the 1990s also speak the language of their country of origin or the dialect of their region of origin. Their level of competence in German as an educational language is very different (Gogolin, & Lange, 2011). The insufficient German language competence of Roma pupils is one of the most important explanatory factors for their failure at school (ibid.). There are no representative studies on the socio-economic situation of the German Sinti and Roma. Based on the few existing empirical studies, we can conclude that the number and proportion of the unemployed or people who live without a continuous job is significantly higher than in the majority society. Above all, the situation of those who do not have a residence permit and work permit is characterized by poverty and disadvantage, which are further important explanatory factors for school failure (Baumert, Stanat, & Watermann, 2006; Becker, & Lauterbach, 2007).

Most Sinti and Roma have a permanent residence, so they do not migrate. For some families, an absence of several months from their residence (Strauss, 2011) and for a smaller group the so-called circular migration is characteristic: They commute between two (or more) countries. The majority of the society considers them to be non-German (Open Society Institute, 2003). Many of them conceal their ethnic affiliation (Jonuz, 2009) in order to facilitate their own or family social integration or social advancement, as well as to protect themselves and their family members from antiziganism (Winckel, 2002; Heitmeyer, 2010) and institutional discrimination (Mengersen, 2004; Rüchel, & Schuh in: Strauß, 2011).

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The educational situation of the German Sinti and Roma

Due to the reasons mentioned above (difficulties of definition, lack of statistical surveys), there is no representative data available on the educational situation of the German Sinti and Roma. The empirical study carried out by Daniel Strauss between 2007 and 2010, in which 275 people were interviewed orally and in writing, provides the most comprehensive picture of the living and educational situation of Sinti and Roma with German nationality (Strauss, 2011). Brüggemann, Hornberg and Jonuz (2013) compared their results with the study by Andreas Hundsalz (1982), who conducted ("unstructured") interviews in 1981-82 with 132 people and evaluated written estimates of social welfare offices (see Table 2).

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Table 2: The Educational situation of the German Sinti and Roma

	Hundsalz-survey (1982)	**Strauß-survey (2011)**
Educational participation		
No school attendance	34%	13%
No school leaving certificate	46%	44%
Secondary school leaving certificate	20%	47%
Types of schools attended		
Regular school	69 %	90,6%
Special needs school	31%	9,4%
Vocational training		
Yes	6%	18,8%
No	94%	69%
No specification	–	12,8%

Source: Brüggemann, Hornberg, & Jonuz, 2013, pp.104-105

Based on a comparison of the results of the two studies, we can state that the educational situation of German Sinti and Roma with German nationality has improved considerably since the 1980s (Brüggemann, Hornberg, & Jonuz, 2013, p. 104), but still remains below the German average.

The study commissioned and financed by UNICEF – a comparative study on the living and educational situation of Roma in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Germany (2007) provides a picture of the educational situation of German Sinti and Roma without German nationality: The life of Roma families, who immigrated from the former Yugoslavia in particular, is characterized by insecure residence status, the constant danger of deportation and the associated exclusion of social welfare benefits and school attendance. The low socio-economic status and the lack of German language skills of the affected families make their integration in both society and the school system difficult. Since the Western Balkan countries have been defined as "safe countries of origin", the Roma immigrants in Germany have been systematically deported and returned (Flüchtlingsrat Baden-Württemberg, 2018: http://fluechtlingsrat-bw.de/roma-fluechtlinge.html [15.5.2018]).

All in all, we can say that the educational situation of the German Sinti and Roma is very different on the one hand. On the other hand, it can still be described as disadvantaged (compared to an average German citizen). As the Düsseldorf-based social psychologist Sami Dzemailovski put it: "What unites us all is discrimination" (Lindemann, 2005, p. 10). There is a political consensus on the social integration/inclusion of the Sinti and Roma minority in Europe (European Union, 2011) and there is also evidence of how their participation and success in education can be improved (Lindemann, 2005; Frese, 2011): for example with the help of mentoring, counselling and mediator models.

Sinti und Roma in an educational awakening: Mentoring, counselling and mediator models

Since the 1990s, various programmes have been developed and implemented in Germany to counteract the comparatively high educational disadvantage of children with a Sinti or Roma background and to promote their social participation. The basic aim of these approaches is to accompany and support the educational biographies of these children. However, the programmes, which

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take effect in the cities of Bad Hersfeld, Berlin, Bremen, Düsseldorf, Essen, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hamm, Kiel, Kiel, Cologne, Leverkusen, Mannheim and Straubingen, are characterised by differences in institutional anchoring, in the scope of the practical fields of action and in the qualification of the specialist staff (see BVerfGE 1,2 and 4; Lindemann, 2005; Bezirksregierung Arnsberg, 2011; RAA, 2014; Landesinstitut für Lehrerbildung und Schulentwicklung, 2015). The weighting of the different aspects is also reflected in the many different terms: educational advisors, tutors, mentors and mediators.

In scientific literature, mentors are ascribed the role of an advocate and friend, who is often older than his mentee and can become a valuable advisor on account of the difference in experience (Perzlmaier and Sonnenberg, 2013, p. 22f). Educational counsellors are attributed a similar significance, and their work is also intended to support the mentees' learning or working as well as their personal development. Tutors, on the other hand, focus and accompany formal learning processes in the narrower sense. Education mediators are assigned a mediating area of responsibility. In the following, educational mentors and consultants and mediators are spoken of in particular.

Basically, there are two trend-setting components in the relationship building between mentor and mentee: On the one hand, whether mentees choose their own mentors or whether mentors are made available as contact persons of institutions. Secondly, whether the mentors are from the majority society or part of the community. These aspects can make a relevant difference for the relationship of trust between mentor and mentee.

In the following, two educational biographies of young Roma are used as examples to demonstrate that even elected mentors from the majority society can contribute to the success of educational pathways. It then outlines why efforts are being made at national and international level to qualify Sinti and Roma themselves as mediators and to use them in the field of education. The success conditions of Sinti and Roma as educational mediators in Germany will be discussed using the Hamburg Model and the ROMED mediator programme.

Self-chosen mentors and role models from the majority society

„Some were inspired by stars, I had Mrs. K. (...)", reports Bilsena and laughs (Hofmann, 2008, p. 71). Ms. K. is a social worker in a refugee home where Bilsena lives with her family. She is Roma and migrated with her family from Macedonia to Freiburg in the 1990s. Bilsena comes from a family that, due to socio-economic conditions, can be considered to belong to the middle class. Education is considered to be of great importance in her family, but married women usually do not exercise a profession after starting a family. From the very beginning, the young Roma has had the desire to arrive in Freiburg, to move from the dormitory to an apartment with her family and to communicate with the people in Freiburg. Due to intrinsic motivation, Bilsena quickly learned the German language, graduated from secondary school and then trained as a doctor's assistant. She continues to benefit from her multilingualism in freelance translation work. Ms. K. looked after Bilsena early on when she arrived in Germany and encouraged her to go her way. She had passed on her knowledge of formal educational approaches and pragmatically supported Bilsena in completing an education. She also set an example to her by reconciling work and family life.

Neno also reports about a person from the population of Freiburg who played a decisive role in his education: "Mr. B. is a great support for me and like a mentor who has been with me constantly for six years now" (Hofmann, 2008, p. 72). In contrast to Bilsena, Neno only met his mentor months after his arrival in Freiburg. Neno had already had discriminatory experiences with students and teachers at that time. He found no access to his classmates and describes that after three months of regular schooling he was trained in a special school without any reason that he could understand.

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Later, other teachers confirmed to him that he was understretched there because his skills could not be adequately developed there. "I could have gone long ago [due to my good grades]. But since I didn't have anyone who could speak German well and would have been able to stand up for me, I was there quite a long time, up to the 8th grade." Retrospectively, it makes him sad and angry. What happened to Neno is described in the literature as institutional discrimination (Gomolla, & Radtke, 2002). When Neno met the social worker and craftsman Mr. B., he worked with Neno to find out his interests and then motivated him to complete the necessary educational qualifications to work in the field of media design. Neno has meanwhile passed his Abitur (high school graduation), founded a family and works independently in the media sector. He describes Mr. B. as a long-standing friend who continues to support him.

The stories of Bilsena and Neno – both names have been changed to guarantee anonymity – were recorded in an empirical survey in 2007. A total of 16 qualitative interviews were conducted. Five out of 16 interlocutors reported that teachers, social workers and employers in particular are of great importance for their educational careers and personal development. The young Roma surveyed cited the following support from mentors and confidants from the majority of society: helping them to find their way around the unknown education system; encouraging them to attend a secondary school or start an apprenticeship; establishing contacts with employers; being a personal role model (Hofmann, 2011, p. 114).

The effectiveness of mentoring and godparenthoods is well known and can be explained with the Inclusion-Exclusion-Theory. According to the sociologist – following Niklas Luhmann's example – the integration into modern societies takes place through interactions in individual functional systems that know their own conditions and forms of inclusion and exclusion (Stichweh, 2005, p. 52). To cut a long story short: Those who are well integrated in many areas of the system increase their ability to build up a secure, stable place in society. Young Roma with an immigrant background – such as Neno or Bilsena "do not yet point out the plural embeddings in different contexts because of the relative shortness of their stay in a new location (...)" and precisely in this regard, it is exactly this that aches and pains; see a "typical cause of exclusion risks" (Stichweh, 2005, p. 57). This is one of the reasons why mentoring and sponsorship programmes for migration and integration work in Germany are booming.

The fact that Neno and Bilsena were able to establish a trusting relationship with their mentors was due to the mentees' willingness to open up and accept the support offered by the authentically interested social workers. It should be noted that these mentoring relationships are not institutionally anchored and characterized by mutual exchange and learning. In addition to the effectiveness of the self-chosen mentor-mentee-relationships in the educational biographies, the 2007 study was able to show that education and integration processes of young Roma could be positively influenced if training facilities became places where the social and cultural backgrounds of minority members were discussed and different starting conditions for school education were perceived.

Sinti and Roma as educational mediators

At national and international level, Sinti and Roma are considered to play an important role as educational mediators when it comes to the educational awakening of minority members (ECC, 2015). They could manage to turn school into a place that "tastes" (Lindemann, 2005). For Sinti and Roma, as educational mediators, would positively support educational biographies and act as mediators between parents, teachers and children (End, 2009; BezirksregierungArnsberg, 2011, p. 66f; Strauss 2013; Alte Feuerwehrwache e. V., 2014). Discrimination and stigmatisation in education and training as well as the transfer of Roma children to special schools could thus be counteracted. Structurally anchored educational mediator programmes could contribute to the improvement of individual school education, as well as to the development of education and social participation for an entire generation.

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Particularly during the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015) (see: http://www.romadecade.org/; retrieved: 15.5.2018) the development of mediator programmes and the vocational qualifications of Sinti and Roma as educational mediators was promoted at national and international level.

In the following, two qualification programs of successful educational mediator models are to be considered in more detail as trend-setting for the educational awakening of Sinti and Roma in Germany.

The Hamburg Model

The emergence of the Hamburg model of Sinti and Roma as educational advisors dates back to the 1980s. A large number of Sinti and Roma children did not go to school at all, disproportionately many attended a special school and only a few graduated (Krause, 1989). In 1993, the first Roma teacher was hired at a primary school with the aim of supporting an age-appropriate enrolment and regular school attendance of these children and working towards a school leaving certificate. A concept for the use of additional Roma teachers was developed by the educationalist Mareile Krause in cooperation with the Cinti Union Hamburg. The activities of the Sinti and Roma as educational advisors were geared to the needs of pupils, parents and schools. In this way, it was also possible to respond to the differing needs of groups such as Sinti as a nationally recognised minority or to immigrant Roma groups, which differ in their social status, their variant of Romanes dialect and their knowledge of the German language as a school language, for example.

In 2011, a modular qualification programme for educational mediators was developed and supported by the City of Hamburg in order to professionalise and improve the work of educational advisors. The modules covered a spectrum of topics ranging from developmental psychology, pedagogical, organisational and legal topics, school subject specific and language-promoting knowledge, to areas of professionalisation and dealing with the history of the Sinti and Roma. 15 Sinti and Roma from Hamburg participated in the qualification, 14 of them completed it with a certificate. Nine of them have been permanently employed in the municipal education sector since then.

A study of the Hamburg Model was carried out in 2013 and 2014 (Landesinstitut für Lehrerbildung und Schulentwicklung, 2015). Tilman Kressel interviews school administrators and educational advisors and focuses on the areas of activity of the Sinti and Roma at the respective operational schools and their integration into the regular processes of the schools as well as the effects with regard to student and parent behaviour. Kressel was able to work out the central statement that absenteeism has declined sharply since the employment of educational advisors, that trusting relationships between pupils, parents and teachers have been established or strengthened, and that communication between all those involved has improved. As a result, parents are better informed about school processes and tasks and the fear of parents to give their children into "foreign hands", which is also mentioned as the cause of school absenteeism, diminishes. The successful conditions of the educational counsellor's activities include, on the one hand, the motivation, attitude and competences of the educational mediators, on the other hand the recognition of the school management and teachers and their involvement in school structures. It can be seen that appreciative cooperation within the college is beneficial, as it facilitates the identification of educational advisers with the school, especially when the educational advisors are in a conflict of roles or conflict with opinions in their community (Landesinstitut für Lehrerbildung und Schulentwicklung, 2015, p. 25f). The results of the survey also indicate the relevance of mother-tongue teaching, which increases the language development of the pupils as well as the appreciation and acceptance of the language in school life. Work still needs to be done on qualifying the educational advisors and developing a curriculum for Romanes.

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The ROMED Model

The results of the "Study on the Current Educational Situation of the German Sinti and Roma" (Strauss, 2011) provided three organisations already active in the field of education mediation with the opportunity to use the available resources and infrastructures to professionalize educational mediation of Sinti and Roma, to make it more efficient and to implement it in cooperation with local authorities. RAA Berlin, Romnokher in Mannheim and Madhouse in Munich were involved. Within the framework of the joint project (2012-2014), which is based on ROMED, a European training programme for Sinti and Roma mediators, qualification and professionalisation measures were developed and implemented at the three locations with Sinti and Roma as educational mediators. The basic goal was to develop and implement strategies and concepts to facilitate equal access for Sinti and Roma to education, training and the labour market (RAA, 2014, p. 7). The qualification in Berlin lasts more than 240 hours and covers four modules covering similar subject and competence areas as in the Hamburg Model: Module 1 - Information, Module 2 - Consulting and Communication, Module 3 - Pedagogy (promotion of inclusive education), Module 4 - Documentation, planning and evaluation (RAA, 2014, p. 26-37). The qualification is dual-orientated and, in addition to the acquisition of skills and specialist knowledge, is based on a large proportion of practical and work experience.

It is interesting to note the attitude towards inclusion and heterogeneous learning groups with which the training of educational mediators is approached, since the focus is on explicit but not exclusive support for Sinti and Roma in the field of education and training (RAA, 2014, p. 27). Support for Sinti and Roma children is seen as an answer to a disadvantage in the formal education system that is conditional on generations, but the offer of educational mediators is not aimed at other educationally disadvantaged children in the sense of an "ethnic" occupation. A culturalisation of educational disadvantage is thus also counteracted at the professional level. This attitude is also reflected in the certificates to be acquired after completion of the qualification: the certificate of the German Mediation Association, the ROMED certificate of the EU and a certificate of the three project partners. A basis for further development opportunities and a multifaceted professional use of educational mediators was thus laid. The systematic and appreciative support of offices and local authorities, the close interaction with the cooperation schools, as well as the motivation and attitude of the mediators (RAA, 2014, p. 44) is cited as a prerequisite for the successful implementation of educational mediation.

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Conclusion

On the basis of our experience to date, we can conclude that the most important criteria for the integration of the Sinti and Roma minorities in schools are as follows: involvement of those affected, promotion of the mother tongue, recognition as an ethnic minority, education and vocational training, political support, the provision of livelihoods, e. g. through residence permits, and mutual trust (Lindemann, 2005, p. 11). With regard to the mentoring programmes, we know that their scientific monitoring and systematic evaluation (ECC, 2015, p. 29) plays a very important role in quality assurance. Based on past national and international experience, the establishment of mentoring programmes seems to be a viable way of integrating Sinti and Roma into schools. In order to pass on the experience and to be able to further develop and evaluate the programmes, networking is of great importance. Furthermore, it is essential that Roma educational mediators acquire a professional attitude that can help them deal with conflict situations. To this end, systematic supervision and collegial advice seems indispensable. Another important prerequisite is that the schools and educational authorities concerned recognise and support the work of the mediators. Based on the

experience of the Hamburg and ROMED Models, a mentoring programme is currently being planned in Freiburg, involving the Pedagogical University and the state educational authorities. We will continue to monitor and report on the development of the   planned pilot programme.

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Heiney-Smith: Personal and Reflective Epistemology in Pre-Service Teacher Education
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Jill Heiney-Smith (USA)

Personal and Reflective Epistemology in Pre-Service Teacher Education

Abstract: *Teacher preparation programs aim to provide pedagogical skills for knowledge development and critical thinking. Yet teacher candidates themselves have views and understandings of the very nature of knowledge, or epistemology, which might inhibit or advance their development as teachers. This paper begins with an overview of Kitchener's (1983) model for cognitive processing and later work in epistemological development, The Reflective Judgment Model (1994, 2004). Next, a presentation of research in teacher candidate epistemology in Poland is compared with a study of teacher candidate perceptions in Singapore, both grounded by Kitchener's model of knowledge development. Finally, a comprehensive research review by Sleeter (2000) reveals the limitations of such studies in the application to historically under-served students and teachers of color in the United States.*

Keywords: *pre-service teacher preparation, refelctice epistemology, comparison Poland, Singapore, USA*

概要 *(Jill Heiney-Smith: 职前教师教育中的个人反思和反思性认识论):*
教师准备项目旨在为知识发展和批判性的思维提供教学技能。然而，教师候选人本身对知识本质或认识论有着自己的看法和理解，这可能会抑制或推动他们作为教师的发展。本文首先概述了 Kitchner（1983）认知过程模式以及后来的认识论发展工作，反思性判断模式（1994,2004）。接下来，将波兰教师候选人认识论的研究与新加坡教师候选人认知的研究进行比较，二者均是以 Kitchener 的知识发展模式为基础。最后，Sleeter（2000）的综合研究揭示了此类研究在应用于历史上被忽视的美国学生和非白人教师中的局限性。
关键词: *职前教师准备，反思认识论，比较波兰，新加坡，美国*

Abstract *(Jill Heiney-Smith: Persönliche und reflektierende Wissensbilanzierung in der zweiten Phase der Lehrerausbildung): Vorbereitungsprogramme für Lehrerinnen und Lehrer zielen darauf ab, pädagogische Fähigkeiten für die Wissensentwicklung und für kritisches Denken zu vermitteln. Aber LehramtskandidatInnen haben eigene Ensichten in die Natur des Wissens oder der Erkenntnistheorie, die ihre berufliche Entwicklung hemmen oder vorantreiben könnten. Dieser Artikel beginnt mit einem Überblick über Kitcheners (1983) Modell für kognitive Verarbeitung und die spätere Arbeit in der epistemologischen Entwicklung, „The Reflective Judgment Model" (1994, 2004). Als nächstes wird eine Präsentation der Forschung in der Epistemologie von LehramtskandidatInnen in Polen mit einer Studie über die entsprechende Wahrnehmung von LehramtskandidatInnen in Singapur verglichen, die beide auf Kitcheners Modell der Wissensentwicklung basieren. Schließlich zeigt ein umfassender Forschungsbericht von Sleeter (2000) die Grenzen solcher Studien in der Anwendung auf historisch unterversorgte farbige SchülerInnen und LehrerInnen in den Vereinigten Staaten.*

Schlüsselwörter: *LehrerInnen-Ausbildung im Vorbereitungsdienst, reflektorische Erkenntnistheorie, Vergleich Polen, Singapur, USA*

Резюме *(Джил Хейни-Смит: Личностная и отражающая сбалансированность знаний во второй фазе подготовки учителей): Подготовительные программы для учителей нацелены на то, чтобы передать педагогические умения в отношении увеличения знаний и критического мышления. Но кандидаты на должность учителя имею собственное понимание природы знания или теории познания, которые могут препятствовать их профессиональному развитию или ускорять его. Данная статья начинается с обзора модели Киченера (1983) для когнитивной переработки и дальнейшей работы с эпистемологическим развитием, „The Reflective Judgment Model" (1994, 2004). Далее сравнивается презентация исследования в эпистемологии кандидатов на должность учителя в Польше с исследованием соответствующего наблюдения за*

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кандидатами на должность учителя в Сингапуре, которые базируются на модели Киченера в отношении увеличения знаний. В заключении обширный исследовательский отчет Слитера (2000) показывает границы подобных исследований в применении к исторически необеспеченным цветным школьникам и учителям в Соединенных Штатах Америки.
Ключевые слова: *подготовка учителей на стажировке, отражающая теория познания, сравнение Польши, Сингапура и США*

Introduction

Kitchener's (1983) work on cognitive processing is the anchor to many future studies aimed at examining how older adolescents and adults make decisions when faced with conflicting problems. These complex problems abound in schools, where educators make daily decisions without comprehensive evidence or data that will promise positive outcomes. For example, zero-tolerance discipline policies were designed to diminish school violence and make classrooms safer, based on data of in-classroom behavior disruptions. Evidence pointed to removal of students and strict adherence to policies for various kinds of incidents. Yet these policies unintentionally targeted underprivileged students, mostly students of color who were removed from the classroom and into a different kind of violence on the streets (Wilson, 2014). How do schools develop the "right" behavior policies? Who says what is "right" and "just?" Questions like these are at the heart of epistemological research, and cognitive processing is just one element of how we think about the construction and acquisition of knowledge.

Kitchener partnered with King (1994, 2004) to provide further research on the cognitive processing model, ultimately developing the Reflective Judgment Model for Epistemic Cognition. This model begins with Kitchener's (1983) initial work on how individuals make decisions based on evidence and the strength of an argument. She argues that this happens in three levels, the "cognition" level, in which individuals compute, memorize, read and perceive, the "metacognitive level" in which individuals begin to monitor their own progress in level one, and the "espistemic cognition" level, in which individuals are able to consider the "limits of knowing, the certainty of knowing, and the criteria for knowing (Kitchener, 1983, p. 222). Level three is the foundation of critical thinking and it allows the individual to make interpretive judgments and wrestle with hard questions.

The Reflective Judgment Model (King & Kitchener, 1994, 2004) builds on these initial levels of cognitive processing to show how individuals develop their ability for critical thinking, in developmental stages. The developmental progress can be summarized as pre-reflective, quasi-reflective, and reflective, articulated in seven stages. In the pre-reflective stage, decisions are made through authority and with total certainty. In the quasi-reflective stage, there may be elements of uncertainty and some evidence, but little understanding of how this leads to a conclusion. In the reflective stage, individuals can make judgments based on evidence, available data, and reasonable certainty. They can defend their points of view by drawing attention to their own thinking, and adapt and revise thinking when new evidence is presented (King & Kitchener, 1994, 2004).

This body of research provides a conceptual frame for educational psychology and research, and is particularly relevant to the development of pre-service teachers. As Zdybel (personal communication, September, 2016) argued in a presentation on epistemological reflection in contemporary teacher training, King & Kitchener's model of cognitive processing can be directly applied to the developmental process of pre-service teachers. They start in the cognition phase, making instructional decisions right out of curriculum and lesson plans, move to the metacognitive stage, where they begin reflecting on their own teaching practice and what they might want to adapt, and hopefully move to the epistemic stage, where they develop the ability to think deeply about the needs of their students and match them to their own instructional strengths and resources. Zdybel's (2016) research connects cognitive processing theories to personal epistemology, exploring how the pre-service teacher's self-knowledge can develop into instructional knowledge. As a com-

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plement to this contemporary work in Poland, the following articles examine epistemology and the development of pre-service teachers in two other global contexts.

Article Reviews, Key Points and Analysis

Chai, Khine & Teo (2006) conducted a study on epistemological beliefs of pre-service teachers in Singapore. Building on the work of King & Kitchener (1994, 2004), the researchers designed a Likert-type survey aimed at examining how pre-service teachers' beliefs about the nature of knowledge translate into their developing practice. Because Singapore's Ministry of Education started emphasizing constructivist-oriented teaching practices in 1997, the researchers assumed some level of sophistication from the participants. What they found was a surprising combination of belief in the uncertainty of knowledge, along with a reliance on the "expert."

The article's literature review is robust and compelling, noting and summarizing the years of research on both epistemology as a general field of study, as well as epistemology focused specifically on classroom learning. Not surprisingly, several studies find that teacher beliefs are largely congruent with classroom practices, and can even "act as filters that bias teachers' practice and their own learning" (Kagan, 1992; Pajares, 1992; Richardson, 1996). In sum, the researchers argue that their review of the literature indicates a correlation between epistemological outlooks and students' engagement in learning. (Chai, Khine, & Teo, 2006).

The study was grounded in research questions aimed at exploring 1) the profile of epistemological beliefs of pre-service teachers in Singapore, and 2) the possible differences between gender and subject matter. While the study had a large sample size of 537, including 42.8% male and 57.2% female, and the researchers report adequate Cronbach alpha reliability scores for their factor analysis, the central flaw is a lack of reliability with the instrument used. Chai, Khine & Teo (2006) claim that the five point, 30 item survey is "drawn from " previous research, but they do not report any reliability scores or any of the item development procedures. This makes the statistically significant results somewhat questionable. The detailed reports of small differences between gender and subject area are described, but do not support or abandon previous study findings. Nevertheless, the researchers do not claim causality and simply argue that the results show that pre-service teachers in Singapore believe that learning takes effort and that learning processes, to encourage critical thinking and creativity, are important aspects of acquiring knowledge (Cahi, Khine, & Teo, 2006).

One fascinating revelation of this study was the little variation among the beliefs held by the pre-service teachers participating in the survey. The researchers note the homogeneity of the culture, and of the centralized education of these students, which facilitates similar beliefs about teaching and learning. This point alone would be an interesting topic for a future comparative study, in which pre-service teachers from various cultures take the same survey about epistemology and teaching practice.

Unlike Chai, Khine & Teo's (2006) study in Singapore, or Zdybel's (2016) work in Poland, Sleeter's (2000) work consists of scholarly reviews of the research on epistemology in the preparation of historically underserved children in the United States. Appropriately, Sleeter begins by challenging the very definition of "research" in her review, noting that most research still positions White academics as the most "legitimate knowers" (Sleeter, 2000, p. 209). Sleeter takes on the usual questions in epistemological studies about the nature of knowledge, but with the goal of understanding how these diverse epistemologies have been used to examine multicultural teacher preparation.

Sleeter (2000) examined experimental, survey, observation, and interview data from a total of 119 works, mainly articles. She notes that collectively, this review addresses research in recruitment and selection of pre-service students, preparation in the pre-service curriculum, and broader insti-

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tutional reform. Next, Sleeter explores the four epistemologies that frame most research in teacher education: positivism, phenomenology, narrative research, and emancipatory research. This narrowed her interest to examining assumptions of various epistemologies, the convergence within epistemologies, and how teacher preparation is influenced by this research.

Broadly speaking, Sleeter (2000) argues that her review of the research shows that that teachers of color bring a higher commitment and social justice-knowledge base to supporting students of color with academically challenging curriculum. She explores several studies between the years of 1970-1999 that demonstrate these findings, including Haberman's (1995) observations of urban teachers. Haberman's (1995) work identified seven attributes shared by all "star" urban teachers, including: persistence, willingness to work with authority on behalf of children or youth, ability to see practical application of principles and research, willingness to take responsibility for the learning of at-risk children, a professional orientation to teaching, ability to persist within an irrational bureaucracy, and expectation of making mistakes and learning from them. Sleeter's review of the research is succinct and organized. What follows are highlights from each of her sub-categories connected to epistemology in pre-service teachers, including Community-Based Cross-Cultural Immersion Experiences, Multicultural Education Coursework/Field Experiences, School-University Collaboration Programs and Mandates.

Community-Based Cross-Cultural Immersion Experiences

Sleeter (2000) notes a research gap on the efficacy of cross-cultural immersion programs connected to good teaching. After reviewing several self-reported studies, Sleeter argues that cross-cultural immersion experiences do "seem to transform pre service students and ground them in contextually relevant knowledge" (p. 217), however she wonders how this knowledge transfers to other contexts. "Are graduates of programs that include community-based immersion experiences good teachers in culturally different communities? Good according to whom, and on what criteria? Do such programs have a stronger impact than other interventions?" (p. 217). Sleeter questions the use of positivistic studies when these basic questions are so central.

Multicultural Education Coursework/Field Experiences

In this section, Sleeter (2000) examines research data from many different program designs that include multicultural coursework during field experiences, or field experiences coupled with courses taught in community settings. Among many studies, Sleeter claims that three studies reported a positive change in pre-service students (although notably, she did not explore what "change" meant). Bondy et al. (1993) examined the effects of a course that examined achievement of poor and minority compared to White middle-class students along with teaching strategies designed to break that cycle. Sleeter reports, "This course was coupled with a field experience in which students tutored in public housing neighborhoods. Bondy et al. found a significant impact of participation in the course and field experience taken together" (p. 218). Again, Sleeter did not explore what the "significant impact" was, but the reader can infer a change in beliefs about students and a more sophisticated valuing of their cultural knowledge.

School-University Collaboration Programs

Sleeter explores the fascinating results of the Teacher Corps programs established in the 1970s, noting that Teacher Corps graduates were more likely than the controls (non Teacher Corps graduates) to make instructional choices such as developing culturally relevant curricula and building on community resources in teaching, that produced gains in reading achievement and attendance.

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These findings support the proliferation of school/university partnerships in teacher preparation programs, which Sleeter suggests are flawed.

An intuitive logic suggests that teachers will be better prepared when universities and schools collaborate than when universities control the process of preparing teachers. At the same time, since most school professionals are white, pairing universities with schools does not replace teacher preparation for white professionals. The lens of positivism could help to show whether such a model can produce any consistent results (p. 221).

Mandates

Sleeter (2000) underscores all of the previous research by noting the top-down mandates that are designed with the intention of supporting children, but often lacking real support in the schools to make them effective. An example is the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), which requires that teacher education programs include multicultural coursework and fieldwork. The lens of epistemology is once again useful in this discussion, allowing for the emergence of questions such as, who says that a teacher is culturally relevant? How do we measure cultural competence of a white teacher in an urban setting? Sleeter argues that a positivistic approach could offer a systematic framework for answering this question, but that so far, it has not done so.

Discussion and Conclusion

In her presentation on epistemological reflection in contemporary teacher training, Zdybel (2016) argued that self-observation and self-knowledge is a keystone in a teacher's professional development. Zdybel shared drawings from undergraduate pre-service teachers that demonstrated their understanding of how knowledge is developed and transmitted. King & Kitchener's (2004) model of cognitive processing allowed an interpretive lens for the levels that the student drawings might reveal, from cognitive, to metacognitive, to epistemic. This framework was similarly used in Chai, Khine & Teo's (2006) study to analyze how pre-service teachers in Singapore thought about knowledge development. The products are wildly different, a drawing and a 30-item Likert scale survey, yet the findings do reveal similarities. Zdybel's students in Poland appear to be on a journey of understanding what "knowledge" means and how it might progress. One drawing showed an elaborate machine-like fantasy world, where inputs and outputs each occupied a specific place. According to the researchers, the students in Singapore were more homogeneous in their responses but did show an understanding of the uncertainty of knowledge. Sleeter's (2000) work extensively examines the myriad institutional mechanisms that act as barriers to the study of epistemology itself, arguing that bias and representation in the research inhibits our ability to make claims.

All of this research has great relevance to the development of pre-service teachers. Regardless of the research design and methodology, data collection processes and research questions, teacher educators want to know what theoretical frameworks will help to advance and develop the actual practice of our emerging professionals. Building upon research in the wide field of epistemology and considering models of cognitive processing can help teacher educators around the globe to ask important questions, and ultimately design educational experiences that enhance learning for students and teachers alike.

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Berulava & Berulava: Character Building or The Development of the Personality
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(Russia)

Character Building or The Development of the Personality: An Innovative Methodological Platform in the Informational Educational Space

Abstract: *Currently an acute crisis exists regarding the traditional methodological platform of the higher education system. Research continues with studies of individual facets of human personality without referring to new methodological realities. The dominant model of the University has remained unchanged for about 200 years. Today, however, the goals, means and agents of socialization are changing. In this essay, a new methodological platform for personality development is proposed and discussed, one which examines the role of behavioral stereotypes in the social and professional success of the individual.*
Keywords: *network paradigm for personality development, mental activity, behavior, activities, stereotypes of mental activity.*

概要 *(Mikhail N. Berulava & Galina A. Berulava: 性格塑造或个性发展: 在信息教育领域的一项创新性的方法论的平台)： 近来，传统的高等教育体系的方法论平台存在着较为严重的危机。 持续进行关于人类个性方面的一些研究，然而却不涉及新的方法论的现实。 大学的主导模式大约已经有 200 年保持不变。 但是，今天，社会化的目标，手段以及代理人均在发生着变化。 在这篇文章中，提出并讨论了一种新的个性发展的方法论平台，其中探讨了行为定型在社会和个人职业成功中所起到的作用。*
关键词: *个性发展的网络范式，心理活动，行为，活动，心理活动的定型*

Abstract *(Mikhail N. Berulava & Galina A. Berulava: Charakterbildung oder die Entwicklung der Persönlichkeit: Eine innovative methodologische Plattform im informativen Bildungsraum): Gegenwärtig besteht eine akute Krise hinsichtlich der traditionellen methodologischen Plattform des Hochschulsystems. Die Forschung befasst sich weiterhin mit der Erforschung einzelner Facetten der menschlichen Persönlichkeit, ohne sich auf neue methodische Realitäten zu beziehen. Das dominierende Modell der Universität ist seit rund 200 Jahren unverändert. Heute jedoch verändern sich die Ziele, Mittel und Akteure der Sozialisation. In dem vorliegenden Artikel wird eine neue methodologische Plattform zur Persönlichkeitsentwicklung vorgeschlagen und diskutiert, die die Rolle von Verhaltensstereotypen für den sozialen und beruflichen Erfolg des Individuums untersucht.*
Schlüsselwörter: *Netzwerk-Paradigma für Persönlichkeitsentwicklung, mentale Aktivität, Verhalten, Aktivitäten, Stereotypen der mentalen Aktivität*

Резюме *(Михаил Николаевич Берулава и Галина Алексеевна Берулава: Формирование характера или развитие личности: Инновационная методологическая платформа в информативном образовательном пространстве): В настоящее время присутствует острый кризис в отношении традиционной методологической платформы системы высшего образования. Исследование продолжает заниматься отдельными гранями человеческой личности, не опираясь на новые методические реальности. Доминирующая модель университета примерно 200 лет остается неизменной. Однако сегодня изменяются цели, средства и действующие лица социализации. В настоящей статье предлагается и рассматривается новая методологическая платформа для развития личности, которая исследует роль стереотипов поведения для социального и профессионального успеха индивидуума.*

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Ключевые слова: сетевая парадигма для развития личности, ментальная активность, поведение, действия, стереотипы ментальной активности

* * *

The educational system of the 21st century needs new methodological bases and innovative educational technologies that provide compliance with the realities of the emergent information society. Given the multifaceted influences of electronic information sources, changes in the personal, behavioral, and cognitive development of today's youth require a fundamentally different approach to content and teaching technologies, and, consequently, to the development of new criteria for quality assessment of the growth and development of students in schools and in higher education.

The *practice* of teaching is informed and determined by those theoretical constructs on which it is based. Thus, on their long and intertwined journeys, theories of psychology and pedagogy have focused their attention on teaching practice, each offering certain advantages. There remains the fascination of psychoanalysis from the world of psychology in spite of the fact that its theoretical/experimental/empirical base is a matter of concern. But at the same time, its heuristic achievement lies in drawing attention to the role of the unconscious in human life (Fadiman, 1996). More recently, cognitive psychology has demonstrated the role of mindfulness, particularly regarding the development of mentality and personality (G. Berulava, 2010a). The work of such important contributors as Jerome Bruner (1996) and Lev Vygotsky (1965), who have demonstrated the role of culturally-derived language, perception, problem solving, and creativity, offers much improvement to both the purpose and potential of teaching and learning. Humanistic psychology, with its challenge to both behaviorism and Freudian psychology, particularly through the work of Carl Rogers (1942) and Abraham Maslow (1943), has identified the fundamental need of the individual's drive toward self-actualization and the importance of safe, trustful environments. Each of these, has made possible a greater understanding of the potential of learners' psychological resources. The aggregated achievements largely do not exclude, but mutually complement each other.

To a considerable extent, each of these developed distinctively in different national and cultural settings. And in the former USSR, Marxist-Leninist ideology generated a number of its own theoretical constructs, particularly with emphasis on the collective as opposed to the Western emphasis on the individual (Zimmerman, 2011). Lev Vygotsky's socio-historical approach with its focus on shaping of the individual from the "outside in" has in recent years received much acclaim in western societies (Vygotsky, 1965).

Twentieth Century psychologies and pedagogics clearly demonstrate the dominance in various national sciences of action theory (Fadiman, 1996) as the result of the implementation of the postulates of these ideologies. The importance of action theory (Parsons, 1937, 1968) with its system-theoretical approach in the co-development of the individual and society cannot be denied. At the same time, every theory has its range of application and implementation within its cultural/historical context and may not enjoy universal domination over long periods of societal development. Each of the aforementioned psychologies is, in fact, a product of the industrial age. While this does not necessarily render them obsolete, each lacks a systemic structure suited to an information-dominated society. Today's milieu suggests the need for a new paradigm of human development suited to a view of the realities of the information age.

Current appeals to the sphere of rational consciousness are and have been embodied in the dominance of the verbal-monological form of teaching, to organizing training from the general to the specific, from theory to practice, from knowledge to skills. However, it is clear that many young people today have a completely different style of thinking, appealing, at least intuitively, to other cognitive strategies (G. Berulava, 2010b). It seems that the existing verbal and theoretical constructs are in fact in conflict with behavioral, communicative, and cognitive commonplaces that were more sustainable in times past.

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Today, the result of the dominance of action theory, as exemplified by the contention that knowledge is constituted in action or performance in academic knowledge and skills, in national education systems can be seen in the fact that you will not see a single section devoted to behavior or to the unconscious in many Russian psychology textbooks (G. Berulava, 2008). However, it is easy to overlook the fact that it is mostly everyday behaviors and their cumulative effects which determine the civility and mentality of a nation and its culture, and which contribute greatly to an individual's success in life.

*   *   *

Very often the visible form of a person's learned mental activity refers to behavior. This is, however, an overly simplistic, unproductive and non-heuristic description. *Let us understand behavior in this context as the type of mental activity that is not conscious at the stage of its implementation,* although it may be analyzed purposefully in the future. In this sense behavior refers to automaticity, a term used by the psychologist Benjamin Bloom (1986) to describe unthinking, automatic behaviors, for example, tying one's shoe laces. In contrast to behavior, *purposeful action is mental activity that is determined by a conscious objective.* Human activity in this latter sense represents conscious, rational, purposeful action.

Behavioral patterns are much more stable than the rational forms of activity in that they "form a habit and harvest a nature." But today the higher level of personality development remains outside the sphere of the Russian education system. Unfortunately, this is the case not only in theoretical psychology and pedagogy, but also in national educational practice, behavioral psychology moved into the background, refusing to respond to Marxist ideology with its dominant activity approach. And, in our opinion, this is quite unjust. It is not rational and thoughtful activities which are more often found in daily life, but rather unconscious automated patterns of behavior. Communicative stereotypes are also very important in our lives, when a person is communicating in standard situations using established and familiar patterns, not thinking consciously about what to say and how to respond. He or she does it using familiar phrases and clichés. Each person uses emotional stereotypes in interpersonal communication, expressing emotions, likes and dislikes in a familiar way.

Indeed, a civil person, whose effective behavior patterns have been formed, does not have to reflect whether to give up a bus seat to an elderly person or a small child. Such an individual does this automatically. It may seem a small gesture, but such activity has cumulative effects in the building of a civil society.

Appropriate civil behavior patterns are best established early on. An individual need not ponder whether to help an elderly person cross the road, to help someone who drops something, to speak politely. All this should come automatically. These should be automatic responses.

The positive stereotypes in the sphere of personal emotional activity are also very important, for example smiling without reflecting when welcoming another person. Such responses are the social/moral fabric of a civil society.

It is a societal deficit when young people do not understand that a cultured, civilized person should be able to express joy when someone feels good or succeeds. Knowing how to speak to others politely, how to make calls to services, how to talk to supervisors and other such everyday responses are reminders that manners are fundamental to civil society. The hopeful thing is that civil behavior can be taught and learned, especially when it is modelled by teachers and others in authority. An old saying tells us that civil behavior is better caught than taught.

*   *   *

It is abundantly clear that in Russia the school as an institution has not taken up this task in any serious manner. Undoubtedly, pupils were and are told that they should behave well. But nobody seems to know exactly what 'well' means and in what situations this should happen (sadly, even

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teachers are not always an example of proper behavior). Today, the schools and universities continue to attempt to improve academic standards, but elements of civil behavior are not included in the new educational standards (G. Berulava, 2010b). This ought to be no less an important concern than fostering the development of a rational consciousness, the development of the mind and supporting the acquisition of knowledge and skills. John Dewey (1907) went so far as to say that the school has two important missions: academic and social, but that the social mission, that is, the mission of building up an active, civil, participatory society is the more significant of the two.

Often, this consideration is missing in school and university education and in published educational programs and standards. It is impossible to develop a full personality and a healthy society by shaping consciousness only and not shaping behavior. Certainly, both must be taken seriously, and they have different but complementary psychological manifestations.

The concept of disciplined practice was standard procedure in the Russian pre-revolutionary school (Berulava, 2001). In the Soviet era, this concept was always viewed with a negative connotation, and it has remained so till the present day (Berulava, 2001). Of course, drill and practice, also known as repetitive disciplined practice, is not of itself a sufficient condition of education, but it is significant and should not be underestimated. Anyone who has succeeded at higher, expert levels knows well the value of disciplined practice, whether in music, science, the arts, reading, even in sports.

An example of such a curriculum is found at the Suvorov military school of Moscow where positive social/moral habits are learned early on to the degree that they become automatic. Parents who send their children there are subconsciously aware of the proverbial saying, "they will be taught how to live there." They are confident that patterns of productive mental activity will be formed at the behavioral, communicative, affective, and physical levels. It is a commonplace to speak of 'habits' in everyday life. Habits are indeed habitual, that is, people act on them without thinking. The pupils are expected to rise early, dress quickly, tidy their clothes and make their beds. These are simple, natural habits of personal everyday hygiene. They are taught that it is necessary to communicate with elderly people and to treat others with respect. They are expected to form the habit of systematic reading and other important stereotypes of mental activity (M. Berulava & G. Berulava, 2009). In the laboratory school of John Dewey at the University of Chicago in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, students were expected to clean the school rooms, to help with food preparation, to work with others on projects, and to learn habits of civil behavior. Dewey wrote that "we cannot overlook the factors of development of character building involved in the training in habits of order." (1907, p. 3) So, this is not a new idea, but one we can learn from and rediscover.

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Many wealthy people in Russia send their children to private schools, where there is a very strict and often ascetic regime (G. Berulava, 2010b). They are attracted to such schools not only because they feel a positive potential will be formed in their children, but because the child will be taught in "strict frames," the meaning of which is the will to establish certain behavioral patterns in their children, for instance, the habit of valuing work and self-regulation. Further, they learn to dance, sing, and participate in the arts and sports programs in such schools because school life is about community as well as academics.

Sadly, it will come as no surprise that large numbers of young people who complete school and seek work lack the most basic communication and team-work skills. Nowadays, such terms "communication format" and "team-building" are increasingly used. These are social skills, sometimes called "soft skills" that carry over into widely different spheres of human endeavors and relationships (M. Berulava & G. Berulava, 2009). But what are we to think when young people graduate from school and university with a deficient and narrow range of communicative behavioral patterns and habits? The necessary abilities to communicate are primarily determined by the presence of adequate and

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productive communication and emotional experiences, taught and learned in civil conditions which prepare young people for success in domestic life, society, and in careers.

Cognitive growth and development plays an equally important role in human life. In most cases we at first do not see and then define, we first define for ourselves a certain phenomenon, and then observe it. In all the chaos of the outside world, we have an obvious tendency to perceive information in the form of stereotypes, that is, to include this information automatically in a certain system of coordinates. These are established in relation to typical situations in human life, and they then become unconsciously active in these standard situations.

Cognitive growth as seen from certain views of Gestalt psychology (Bruner, 1996) in time enjoys a certain priority over the further development of behavioral, communicative and affective stereotypes which will function as the actual, real-time forms of an individual's mental activities.

Thus, most human behavior in everyday practical situations is automatic and manifested in behavioral acts, communication and emotional response. In practical situations cognitive fixed images are actualized automatically. This does not mean that individuals will act only on that basis, since these actions can be accompanied by some analytic-synthetic reflection in the future. Cognitive images are stable, mindful algorithms, primarily based on implicit knowledge, in which the strategies of problem solving are presented a priori (James, 1914; 1996).

Thus, fixed mental images play an enormous role in human life. Any changes of them are seen as an attack on the foundations of our world.

* * *

We have already noted that the imitation of external repetitive patterns of behavior and how their internalization is a very important mechanism for the formation of positive behavioral stereotypes. In the past, mass media played a very important positive role in this regard. Our best film-makers, actors and, in general, whole generations have grown older under the influence of the positive examples of national cinema. As the psychologist Albert Bandura has noted, we do what we see (Bandura, 1986).

In the age of information technology, ever-emerging forms of mass media play an important role, presenting humanistic patterns of behavior which are then internalized. It is one of the most essential and effective mechanisms for shaping human behavior. In earlier times cultural stereotypes of behavior, along with the transmission of certain cultural values, were passed on from generation to generation.

Unfortunately, modern television, film, internet, and social media have ceased to be sources of positive and productive patterns of behavior; on the contrary, persistently, they often promote patterns of pathological, aggressive, anti-human, inappropriate behavior (G. Berulava, 2010a).

It is impossible today to underestimate the immense role of the internet in the formation of stereotyped patterns in a person's mental activity. Psychologically speaking, the internet to a great extent replaces real activity with virtual activity; it is now credited by young people with the ability to establish oneself in life through activity in the virtual world (G. Berulava, 2010a).

The current education system fails to take into account that the implementation of new information technologies has created a global transformation, completely replacing former systems of knowledge acquisition. The lack of hierarchy in the information, as opposed to knowledge, that is purveyed is a characteristic of "network education," and the logic of perception and internalization of such information is determined primarily by the motivation of the learner, mediated by his or her "what-is-the-purpose-in-my-life?" orientations.

The virtual sphere of communication and reception of information forms novel patterns of mental activity, considerably different from those formed in traditional educational spaces. It is worth pointing out that information networks are far more than a technical tool, having acquired the sta-

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tus of a new culture with its own semi-sphere. Texts and images presented by electronic carriers of information today act as sensory and perceptual standards that greatly change the framework of norms of behavior and social interaction.

Virtual space has turned into a new reality which replaces the real world of things, people and relationships for many young people. The analysis of human life in virtual space gives reason to talk about and thoughtfully examine previously unknown processes that affect the perception of people and their mental functioning. Replacing objective reality with virtual reality has become for many people a way of life. In this sense, technologies have gotten ahead of the existing infrastructures of human relationships and have begun to create unknown consequences (G. Berulava, 2008).

<div align="center">* * *</div>

It seems utterly reasonable to underline the crucial role which school and university could and must play in the formation of productive behavioral patterns. They emerge first in the family setting, as imitation and reaction, and then as patterns of behavior stimulated by parents. However, in systematically organized education they must be formed in a like manner as an imitation of the behavior of teachers, but mainly as the result of systematic, purposeful experiences in humane behavior in situations created by those we entrust in school settings to guide the young. There is much to criticize regarding the old system of Soviet education, but for better or worse that system offered young people patterns of moral behavior that were successfully internalized and manifested in society (G. Berulava, 2008).

We suggest that applications of psychological principles by those working in school and university settings in the process of special behavioral training could rectify this gap substantially. If a person speaks certain necessary words 100 times and smiles in the course of typical training situations, these reactions will remain in his or her unconscious, "in autopilot mode", and he or she will utter them completely freely and correctly at the moment they need to be expressed (G. Berulava, 2010b). That determines the choice of words to express, for example, delight, surprise or contempt. So much of the career and destiny of the young person greatly depends on these seemingly simple things.

A special training system could achieve that goal, primarily through the work of psychologists and educators, who can create these typical communication situations and work out the necessary communication patterns for schoolchildren and older students in the making of civil society. Yet the behavioral trend in the activities of psychologists has recently receded into the background. In fact, training work today is based on the creation of completely atypical and artificial situations, possibly appealing and entertaining, as a form of emotional self-expression, to search for associations and other artificial constructions of life patterns among young people (M. Berulava & G. Berulava, 2009). In many cases, the interaction of psychologists with trainees turns into an adapted presentation of a psychology course, based on a verbal-monological style of material delivery. But a great need exists for practical applications centering on daily life where students are engaged in the purposeful and systematic formation of effective, socially positive patterns of behavior.

Thus, the education system ignores a very important layer of human expression that can manifest itself not only in the sphere of purposeful activity, but also in the sphere of unconscious behavior, often of a stereotyped nature. However, reliance only on an appeal to the sphere of theoretical consciousness, with the support of verbal-monological methods, corresponding to this teaching approach, has resulted in today's situation, where schooling provides the world with culture-deficient, non-adaptive, aggressive, intolerant personalities showing inadequate forms of behavior.

What is the theoretical basis of network education that we have developed, which, from our point of view, should be the new methodological platform for the present education system? Its basic postulate is personality development with the support of the rational consciousness sphere combined with the sphere of the unconscious. This implies the need to form not only a sphere of

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knowledge, skills and abilities, to establish mechanisms of thinking, to awaken individual creative potential in the process of rational purposeful activity, but also to educate young people in positive and productive behavioral, communicative, affective and motor stereotypes of mental activity (M. Berulava & G. Berulava, 2009).

The human psyche is indisputably considerably active not only with regard to the sphere of the rational, but also to the sphere of the unconscious. The unconscious, as Vygotsky notes, "is not separated from the consciousness by some impenetrable wall - the processes that start there often have their continuation in consciousness and, conversely, a number of conscious issues are supplanted into the subconscious sphere. There is a constant, dynamic connection between the two spheres: the unconscious influences our actions, is revealed in our behavior, and by these tracks and manifestations we learn to recognize the unconscious and the laws that govern it" (Vygotsky, 1965, p. 94). The latter sphere produces all kinds of stereotypes of mental activity embodied by the stereotypes of behavior, communication, emotional response and motor activity. However, many people appear not to have the skills necessary to deal in socially positive ways with the problems of everyday life, or have acquired the wrong skills and erroneous patterns of behavior. Some people do not know how to be welcoming and friendly, how to talk in company, how to express an argument or point of view appropriately, how to reject unreasonable requests, or how to express a range of simple positive behaviors that are the essence and fabric of civil society. (Hjell & Ziegler, 1997).

Specialists have always stressed the importance of automatic, stereotyped behavior in humans as predominant, since in many cases it is the most appropriate, and in other cases it is simply necessary (Bodenhausen & Lichtenstein, 1987). The famous British philosopher A.N. Whitehead (1999) argued that civilization moves forward by increasing the number of operations that we can carry out without thinking about them. William James (1888, 1914) also insisted that "ninety-nine hundredths and, perhaps, ninety-nine thousandths of our operations are completely automatic and customary, from getting up in the morning to going to bed in the evening. Dressing and undressing, eating and drinking, greeting and parting: most of the forms of our ordinary speech are so stereotyped by repetition that they can almost be called reflexes. For each kind of experience, we have an automatic, pre-prepared reaction...."

As James notes, we are creatures of habit, stereotyped individuals, imitators and copies of ourselves in the past. And since under any conditions this is what we are inclined to, it follows that the fundamental concern of a teacher should be to foster in learners at any level a set of habits that will serve them well in life. Education creates behavior, and habit is the material from which the behavior is made. There is no unhappier a creature than a man or woman in whom there is nothing customary, except indecision. For such an unfortunate person, raising a cup to the mouth, getting up and going to bed, the beginning of any fragment of work becomes a matter of explicit volitional decision. Much of our time, decisions to do or refuse to do, are things firmly rooted in automaticity, so as not to occupy consciousness at all (M. Berulava & G. Berulava, 2009).

In our theory of networked education, stereotypes are a form of mental activity determined by the sphere of the unconscious and actualized in the process of solving typical problems. That is, we are talking about stereotyped behavior in which a certain attitude is stable for the behavior of a particular person within the framework of the occurrence of typical problems in life. The concept of stereotypes is based on the concept of behavior in the broad sense of the word. Unlike activity as we have described it, behavior is not subordinated to a previously set goal: there is no preliminary thinking, plan of action nor foresight; it is mediated by the sphere of the unconscious and is therefore automatic.

Typically, researchers, as a rule, do not focus on differentiation between the rational and unconscious components of the subject's mental activity, do not take into account that the subject very

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often forms relationships with people based on unconscious stereotypes of behavior that he or she has developed. Behavior in this case is viewed as the level of mental activity initially not controlled by consciousness. In the broad sense of the word, behavior includes both uncontrolled acts of communicative and affective behavior, as well as behavior in the narrow sense of the word, as a set of defined behavioral acts. As we define the matter, differences between the concepts of activity and behavior are explicit. The distinctive features of activity are its awareness, purposefulness, objectivity and instrumentality. The awareness of activity means its thoughtfulness, planning and anticipation of result, the existence of a certain logical scheme. Alongside that conception, there is a point of view that the distinctive feature of activity is its impersonal character, in the sense that it does not depend on who is performing.

At the same time, we should consider that behavior and activity are inseparable, in the same way the conscious and unconscious are in the course of constantly changing interactions of the individual with the outside world, ensuring the continuity of mental activity. In any psychic phenomenon of the conscious person there is nothing that is fully conscious or completely unconscious (Brushlinsky, 1994). Thus we need not fall victim of a false dichotomy between behavior and activity.

The integrative image of the world determines the personal choice of any stereotypes of mental activity. At the same time, the stability of the image of the world and its personal determination are considerably conditioned by the fact that "our emotions, affects, and aspirations exist in us persistently only because during certain phases of their existence do they act as systems of unconscious psychological attitudes, thereby ensuring the unity of the personality of the subject and the consistency of his or her behavior." (Bassin, 1985, p. 445).

In this regard, it is purposeful to study the behavioral stereotypes of young people today, for they are an unconscious means of interpreting events in accordance with individual socio-cultural experiences and covering all kinds of physical and mental experience. Such a cultural scheme of the individual in the context of the larger society is reasonably taken into account when organizing educational experiences.

An axiomatic feature of the educational space in the emergent information society is that the amount of information accumulated by mankind globally exceeds the amount of knowledge that can be learned by an individual. The modern education system seems focused on distilling and extracting the core of the available information which must be learned. But with the sheer volume of new knowledge, the problem is practically insoluble, especially for the Humanities, where the cumulative effect does not reduce the role of the earlier cultural layer while at the same time placing emphasis on studying the "archive of information." Even so its different clustering and systematization does not necessarily make the graduate of the university ready for professional activity. To purposefully address and solve this problem, certainly one beyond the scope of this essay, can help us to address the development of all types of individual mental activity, that is, not only in the sphere of rational consciousness, but also the unconscious one.

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Duez: Global Applications of the Japanese "Lesson Study" Teacher Education and Training Model
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Erin Duez (USA)

Global Applications of the Japanese "Lesson Study" Teacher Education and Training Model

Abstract *(Erin Duez: Global Applications of the Japanese "Lesson Study" Teacher Education and Training Model): "Lesson study" has been used for over a century in Japan (Makinae, 2010). However, only recently, in 1999 with the release of The Teaching Gap by Stigler and Hiebert, did the practice begin to spread globally (Fujii, 2013; Ebaeguin & Stephens, 2013). The Teaching Gap is a summary of the Third International Math and Science (TIMSS) video study and included an entire chapter titled "Beyond Reform: Japan's approach to the improvement of classroom teaching." This chapter stated that the way the United States was reforming education was not systematic and offered lesson study in eight steps as a way to improve teaching and learning (Stigler & Hiebert, 1999). From 2000-2006 the lesson study process spread across the globe to nations including Indonesia, United States, England, Philippines, Australia, Sweden, and several African Nations (Groves & Doig, 2014). This paper will describe Japan's lesson study process and the successes and failures of global application.*
Keywords: *Lesson Study, Teacher Education, international comparison, global application*

概要 *(Erin Duez: 日本"课程学习"的教师培训模式在全球范围内的应用。):*
"课程学习"在日本已经运用了一个多世纪（Makinae，2010）。然而，直到最近，1999 年随着 Stigler 和 Hiebert 发布的"教学差距"，这种做法才开始在全球传播开来（Fujii，2013；Ebaeguin & Stephens，2013）。教学差距是第三次国际数学和科学（TIMSS）视频研究的一项总结，其中包括了一整章题为"超越改革：日本改进课堂教学的方法"。本章指出，美国教育改革的方式在当时并没有系统化，通过八个步骤为课程学习提供了一种改善教学和学习的方法（Stigler & Hiebert，1999）。从 2000 年至 2006 年，课程研究的过程遍及全球各个国家，包括印度尼西亚，美国，英国，菲律宾，澳大利亚，瑞典和一些非洲国家（Groves & Doig，2014 年）。本文将介绍日本的课程学习的过程以及全球应用的成功与失败。
关键词: *课程学习，教师培训，国际比较，全球应用*

Abstract *(Erin Duez: Globale Anwendungen der „Lesson Study" in der Ausbildung von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern): Seit mehr als einem Jahrhundert verfolgt Japan das Lehrmodell der „Lesson Study" (Makinae, 2010). Doch erst 1999, mit der Veröffentlichung von „The Teaching Gap" durch Stigler und Hiebert, begann sich die Praxis weltweit zu verbreiten (Fujii, 201; Ebaeguin, & Stephens, 2013). The Teaching Gap ist eine Zusammenfassung der dritten internationalen Videostudie zu Mathematik und Naturwissenschaft (TIMSS) und enthält ein ganzes Kapitel mit dem Titel "Beyond Reform": Japans Ansatz zur Verbesserung des Unterrichts." In diesem Kapitel wurde festgestellt, dass die Art und Weise, wie die Vereinigten Staaten die Bildung reformierten, nicht systematisch war und daraufhin Unterrichtsstunden in acht Schritten anbot, um das Lehren und Lernen zu verbessern (Stigler & Hiebert, 1999). Von 2000-2006 verbreitete sich „Lesson Study" über den ganzen Globus, unter anderem in Indonesien, den Vereinigten Staaten, England, den Philippinen, Australien, Schweden und mehreren afrikanischen Nationen (Groves & Doig, 2014). Dieser Artikel beschreibt Japans Unterrichtsprozess sowie Erfolge und Misserfolge der globalen Anwendung.*
Schlüsselwörter: *Lesson Study, Teacher Education, internationaler Vergleich, globale Anwendungen*

Резюме *(Эрин Дуец: Глобальное применение «Lesson Study (Анализа процесса преподавания)» в подготовке учителей): Более ста лет Япония использует модель обучения в форме «Lesson Study (Анализа процесса преподавания)» (Makinae, 2010). Но лишь в 1999 году, с публикацией «The Teaching Gap» Стиглером и Хибертом, практика начала распространяться по всему миру (Fujii, 201; Ebaeguin, & Stephens, 2013). The Teaching Gap является обобщением третьего международного видеоисследования по математики и естественным наукам (TIMSS) и*

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содержит целую главу с заголовком «Beyond Reform (За рамками реформы)»: Метод Японии для улучшения преподавания». В данной главе констатируется, что способ, которым Соединенные Штаты реформировали образование, был не систематическим и в связи с этим занятия предлагались в восемь шагов, чтобы улучшить обучение и учение (Stigler & Hiebert, 1999). С 2000 по 2006 гг. «Lesson Study (Анализ процесса преподавания)» распространился по всему земному шару, в том числе в Индонезии, Соединенных Штатах, Англии, Филиппинах, Австралии, Швеции и некоторых африканских странах (Groves & Doig, 2014). Данная статья описывает процесс обучения в Японии, а также успехи и неудачи глобального применения.

Ключевые слова: *Lesson Study (Анализ процесса преподавания), Teacher Education (Подготовка учителей), международное сравнение, глобальное применение*

Lesson Study in Japan

Lesson study became a formalized process in Japan in the early 20th century. However, the process of studying lessons being taught dates back even earlier to the 1870's when a Tokyo normal school had an educational lab attached so teachers could come observe and discuss findings (Sithamparam, 2015, p. 173). The process evolved from a method to create lesson plans with formal steps to one of true inquiry with a goal of continuing education though lifelong learning (Akita & Sakamoto, 2015). The collaborative culture of teaching in Japan lends itself to the lesson study process. Teaching is often viewed as a public activity and learning is part of the community rather than an individual endeavor (Fujii, 2013, p. 16). Japanese *jugyou kenkyui* has been translated into the English "lesson study." The word jugyou refers to live instruction, so lesson study indicates the studying of instruction, not how to improve upon a lesson plan (Lewis, 2013). Toshiakira Fujii, Tokyo University, says that "for Japanese educators, lesson study is like air, felt everywhere because it is implemented in everyday school activities" (Fujii, 2013, p. 2). In fact 99% of elementary and 95% of secondary Japanese teachers report being involved in lesson study within the prior year (Lewis, 2013, p. 3). The goals of lesson study go beyond attempting to perfect one lesson, they include developing knowledge, beliefs, norms, and routines that improve instruction (Lewis & Perry, 2013).

Japanese lesson study occurs within four different domains in Japan: school, district, national, and outside organizations. Although lesson study cycles are very similar among the domains, the intended purpose of each varies slightly. For the local school, school educators often decide as a grade-level team the focus of the next year's lesson study during the spring of each school year based on the mission of the school (Lewis, 2013). During a school lesson study, school librarians, office staff, and school nurses all take part in the lesson study planning, observation and debrief (Akita & Sakamoto, 2015, p. 27). The Principal appoints a school supervisor for a period of two years to lead the school lesson study process (Akita & Sakamoto, 2015, p. 28). One should note that the entire lesson study process occurs during paid staff school time (Lewis, 2013). Lesson study is further structured and supported at the school level with a lesson study toolkit that includes planning and observation sheets (Akita & Sakamoto, 2015, p. 28). Lesson study has become the heart of school-based educator professional development that includes all educators from office staff to teachers to librarians; all collaborate to learn more about student learning and ultimately to better educate their students (Akita & Sakamoto, 2015; Lewis, 2013).

At the District level, educators are invited to explore topics or subject matter that interest them such as mathematics, science, social studies, music etc (Sithamparam, 2015; Lewis, 2013). The District level teams of educators meet during paid time at least once a month to conduct the lesson study process. National lesson study occurs at Japanese National Schools which are attached to Universities (Akita & Sakamoto, 2015). Often during a national lesson study, new national curriculum content and pedagogy are researched. All Japanese teachers are invited during the teaching stage to be an observer of the lesson and often hundreds attend, with the lesson being

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projected in nearby auditoriums (Lewis, 2013). There are also many independent education organizations in Japan, similar to the United States, with a particular focus such as science or special education. However, lesson study plays a prominent role in their activities. For example, when they have conferences, rather than meet in a hotel for sessions, they observe lessons in local schools and meet together in the evening to discuss findings (Lewis, 2013).

Lesson study cycles in Japan span several months, some lasting an entire school year (Fujii, 2013, p. 4). Japanese teachers begin lesson study by *kyouzai kenkyuu,* studying materials for teaching. This includes examining available curriculum material, research articles, and how the lesson topic fits into the students' course of study (Takahashi & McDougal, 2015, p. 515). This important review is done by the entire team of educators involved in the lesson study and includes studying common misconceptions surrounding the topic. By doing this curriculum topic research, the team ensures that their investigative aim will generate new knowledge for their team and educational community and is not an issue that can simply be cleared up by an internet search. This topic study also allows the team to compose a lesson that utilizes the current research to better anticipate student misconceptions (Takahashi & McDougal, 2015, p. 520).

After carefully studying a topic, groups of educators formulate a question they want to investigate and long-term goals for student learning (Fujii, 2013, p. 3). The investigative question is central to the lesson study process, Fujii stated "starting lesson study without such a question would be like beginning a lesson without a lesson plan" (2013, p. 7). The lesson study group writes a lesson plan that includes anticipated student thinking, actions, and the goals for student learning. The group then selects a teacher to teach the research lesson while the rest of the group records the lesson through observation notes, videotaping, and the appreciation of student work (Lewis, 2000, p. 5). The data collected during lesson study is focused on the student actions and learning, not on the teacher (Fujii, 2013, p. 11).

After the lesson study, a discussion takes place which may last two or more hours. The discussion includes the lesson study research team and invited guests. In the case of Japanese National Schools, the public is invited to the discussion. Usually the discussion follows this agenda:

- Comments by the instructor
- Comments by the lesson study team collaborators
- Discussion
- Remarks from the Invited Commentator (Lewis, 2013, p. 12).

The discussion is focused on student learning and evidence of that learning. The discussion may be structured or unstructured, depending on team preference (Lewis, 2013, p. 12) Often in Japan, a commentator is invited to the lesson study. Their role is not to lead the lesson study but to ask questions and give insights that the internal research team might have missed. The outside commentator is often a retired Principal or a University professor (Lewis, 2013; Sithamparan, 2015)

Lesson Study in the United States

Lesson study first began to spread through the United States in 1999 (Takahashi & McDougal, 2015, p. 514). It has been implemented in various forms. Some schools tried to implement it directly as it is prescribed while many have had to adapt it to meet their system constraints, including time (Lewis, Perry, Hurd, O'Connell, 2006). While lesson study has been widely used across the United States, there are few experimental studies demonstrating its direct impact on teaching and learning nationally (Takahashi & McDougal, 2015, p. 514).

In 2013, Lewis and Perry published the results of their experimental study which demonstrated that participating in lesson study had a significant impact on teachers' and students' mathematical knowledge. This study focused on improving fraction knowledge of both students and teachers

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from grades 2 through 5. Volunteer teams of educators, 39 teams total, participated in this study. The bulk of teachers were elementary teachers (87%) with the remaining being administrators and instructional coaches. Teams were randomly assigned to the experimental condition of receiving mathematical and lesson study resources with instructions to follow. Teams assigned to the control group did the same amount of professional development of their choosing. None of the 39 volunteer teams had personal contact with investigators. All data, including videos of lesson study meetings and lessons, lesson plans, written reflections, and student work was mailed to investigators for review (p. 4). At the end of the cycle, on average a 91-day period, all participants took a fractions post-test (p. 4).

The experimental group was provided with both lesson study and math resources. The lesson study resources included norm setting guidelines, outlines and explanations of the lesson study process, observation notes, and sample meeting agendas (Lewis & Perry, 2013, p.14). The math resource kit that the experimental group received provided support for studying the curriculum, the first step of lesson study. The math resource kit included research into students' challenges learning fractions, including common misconceptions among students and the focused interventions that work using a linear measurement context (p. 5-7). Teachers wrote in their reflections that by reading and discussing the math resource kit they uncovered their own misconceptions and deepened their content knowledge (p. 9). The inclusion of the math resource kit provided United States' teachers information that is often lacking in teacher manuals, including information on common student misconceptions, content knowledge, and research-backed interventions (Takahashi & McDougal, 2016, p. 514-515).

There were significant differences in pre-test and post-test scores for teachers in the experimental group but no significant difference in scores for teachers in the control group (Lewis & Perry, 2013). For example, in linear representations of fractions the experimental group teachers scored on the pre-test (M=1.33, SD= 2.05) and post-test (M = 2.95, SD= 2.05); t(72) = 7.25, p < .0001). Four other categories had similar results with a p value of less than .001, including fractions as a number, units fractions, and whole number representation. By providing elementary school teachers in the United States with a lesson study guide and math resource kit, they were able to increase their fraction content knowledge. One drawback of this study was that the experimental group had both resources, and it was not tested what would happen if they had only had one of the resources, lesson study or the math resource kit. The authors of the study feel both are necessary to achieve the results. Without the lesson study kit, the teachers would not have gained a deeper understanding of fraction instruction through planning a fraction lesson together. Without the math resource kit, they would not have been able to kyouzai kenkyuu, or do an adequate study of the targeted fraction curriculum.

There were also significant differences in mathematical fraction knowledge between the experimental group (n=339) and control group (n=720) with an effect size of .49 , p < .001. (Lewis & Perry, 2017, p. 282-284). A hierarchical linear model (HLM) was utilized so that co-variates could be accounted for when analyzing effect size including the educator's fraction knowledge at pre-test, the student pre-test score, and the number of instruction hours the student received during study (p. 283-289). The effect of the teacher's lesson study participation on students' fraction knowledge was significant even without any direct coaching of teachers. Catherine and Perry used the following model, Figure 1, to explain the relationship between the lesson study cycle, teacher knowledge and student learning. One thing of note in this study was that all the teachers were volunteers and results may be different for teachers who are mandated and would not normally join a mathematics fraction study (p. 290).
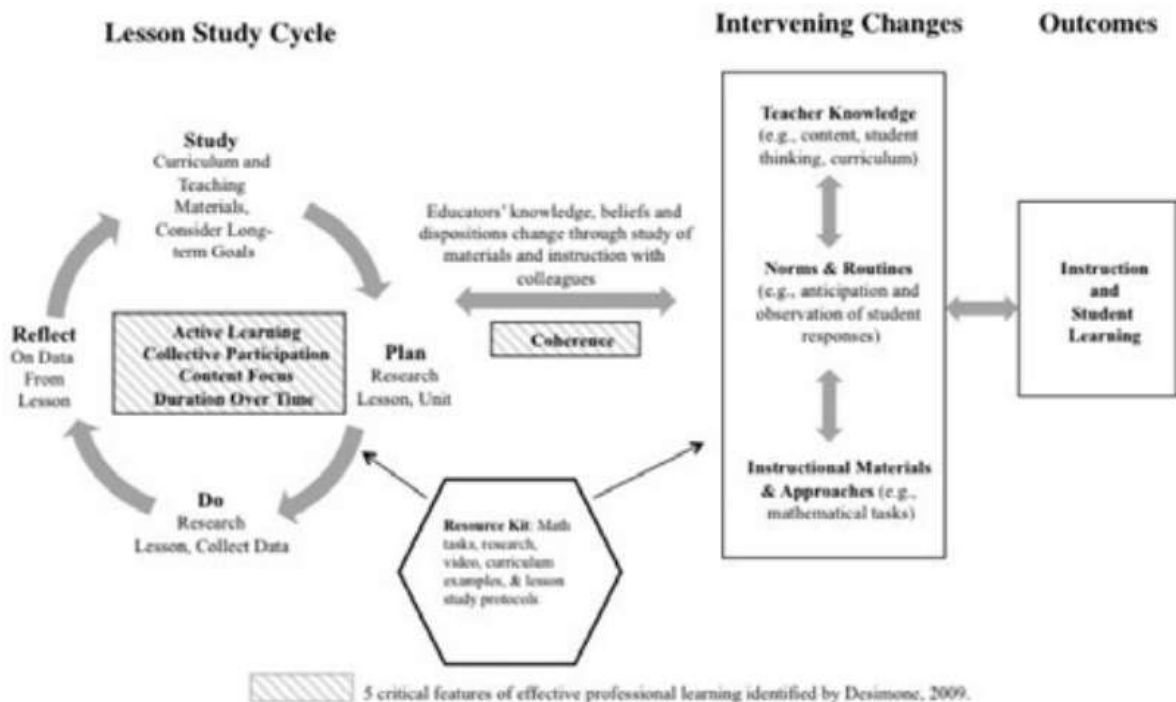
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Figure 1. Model of the relationship between lesson study, changes in teacher knowledge, and student learning. (Lewis & Perry, 2014, p. 41).

At Highlands Elementary School in San Mateo, California, a five-year case study was done on the implementation of lesson study beginning in 2000 (Lewis et al., 2006). The authors noted four ways in which lesson study has evolved at the school including: lesson study became teacher learning (not simply creating a good lesson plan), lesson study depends on skilled observations and worthwhile discussions, outside sources of knowledge are useful including outside teachers and research articles, and not looking at the lesson as the finale but one step in the cycle with discussion and a follow-up inquiry (p. 271-275). Student achievement on math standardized tests increased at Highland over the course of the case study. The net increase for students at Highland compared to other schools in the district was statistically significant though other factors were not ruled out (p. 276). The authors noted that one of the significant challenges for teachers at Highland Elementary School was that their teaching manuals did not provide teachers with additional information about teaching math as compared to Japanese textbooks which are full of research-based instructional guidance and background information (p. 280).

Lesson Study in the Philippines

Several attempts have been made to establish lesson study in many Philippine schools without much success (Ebaeguin & Stephens, 2013, p. 1-3). Filipino teachers and education officials have visited Japan to learn more about the process and Japanese educators have been to the Philippines to share the process (p. 2). Despite these efforts, the lesson study process may have been tried once or twice but has not had any long-term effect (p. 3). Ebaeguin and Stephens, two researchers from Australia, wondered if the simple transference of the lesson study process from Japan to the Philippines was failing due to cultural differences between countries (p. 4). Educators in the

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Philippines were attempting to directly copy lesson study from Japan without adapting it to Filipino culture nor preparing Filipino educators to work with a process foreign to their culture.

This study utilized Hofstede's Dimensions of Culture framework that includes the Power Distance Index (PDI), Individualism versus Collectivism (IDV-COL), Masculinity versus Femininity (MAS-FEA), the Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI), and Long-term versus Short-Term Orientation (LTO) (p. 10). Japan and the Philippines score very differently on these five indicators, including big differences in the Power Distance Index (PDI) and Long-term versus Short-term Orientation (LTO) (p. 12). A strong power distance dynamic indicates societal acceptance of hierarchy, here Japan had a score of 54, the Philippines a score of 94 (p. 11-13). LTO indicates whether a society has pragmatic future-oriented policies versus a short-term point of view, here Japan had a score of 80 and the Philippines a score of 19 (p. 11-13). The lesson study process requires all participants to have a voice and be respected, a very high PDI could be a barrier to the Filipinos' acceptance of this requirement. Lesson study also requires that teachers commit to long-term professional development, often with one cycle taking several months, and the long-term goals of improving educators' knowledge and beliefs (Lewis, 2013).

After the authors (Ebaeguin and Stephens) had studied the overall country differences in culture, they decided to examine whether there were any differences between educators in the Philippines and Japan within Hofstede's Dimensions of Culture framework and in perceptions of good math teaching (Ebaeguin & Stephens, 2013, p. 17-19). Over 200 teachers participated in answering their questionnaires, including 70 Japanese and 131 Filipino educators (p. 18). Interestingly, the largest gap between the educators was on the Individual vs. Collective (IDV) dimension with Japan at 59 and the Philippines at 47, with Filipino educators demonstrating more collectivism. However, the Filipino educators mirrored their overall Country score trends in the Power Dynamics Indicator (PDI) and Long Term Orientation (LTO) with higher scores in PDI and lower scores in LTO (p. 19) This could prove problematic for Filipino educators' adoption of lesson study if left unaddressed.

The results from the survey on what defines a good mathematics lesson were even wider apart with Japanese and Filipino teachers having very different ideas (Ebaeguin & Stephens, 2013, p. 23). A strong majority of Japanese teachers indicated that having other teachers observe their classroom, identifying in advance a possible range of student responses, writing detailed lesson plans, and sharing their successful math lessons with colleagues were all important, in contrast to the Filipino educators who did not have a majority who agreed (p. 21). Both Hofstede's Dimensions of Culture and the math teaching survey data are valuable to have when proposing lesson study implementation outside Japan. By knowing that the majority of the Filipino teachers have a strong sense of hierarchy within their school, some work may need to be done so that they are comfortable with lesson study and afford equal voices to all participants. Likewise, based on the math teaching survey, it may be helpful to spend time increasing Filipino educators comfort level with visiting their colleagues' classrooms and inviting others into their rooms since they did not see that as a valuable tool. By identifying and addressing the educator needs in the Philippines the implementation of Lesson Study may be more successful.

Lesson Study in Uganda and Malawi

Similar to the Philippines and the United States, Uganda and Malawi were interested in using the lesson study process to improve student learning in their countries (Fujii, 2013). In 2011, Professor Fujii of Tokyo Gakugei University did a qualitative study on the implementation of lesson study in Uganda and Malawi (2013). Groups of educators from Uganda and Malawi, among other African nations, visit Tokyo each summer for a three-week seminar in Mathematics Education. During this visit they learn the lesson study process by observing it in Japanese schools (p. 4). They also learn the reason behind each step and ways to implement the process back in their home country (p. 4). The author (Fujii) wanted to investigate the success of lesson study implementation three years

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after the educators had visited Japan (p. 5). Four research lessons and post-discussion were observed in each country. In addition to the observations, interviews were conducted of past participants of the three-week seminar in Japan.

During the lesson study observations and interviews, incorrect interpretations of Japanese lesson study became evident. In Uganda, lesson study had morphed into a workshop model with teachers arriving at a one-day clinic where they observed an instructor teach a lesson to students and debriefed it afterwards with the students (Fujii, 2013, p.7). The teachers never partook in developing the topic, studying the curriculum, forming a research question or writing the lesson plan together (p.7). Lesson study was designed to be an ongoing professional development that would continue to deepen teacher's knowledge. By conducting a clinic without teachers having a voice in developing the question to be considered, the lesson study loses its long-term benefits. In both Uganda and Malawi, teachers had a different interpretation of the lesson plan, gakushi-shidou-an, which translates to "learning/teaching proposal" in Japanese. Because it is thought of as a teaching proposal in Japan, instructors are encouraged to alter the lesson to respond to the needs of their students. However, in all of the lessons observed in both Uganda and Malawi the instructor attempted to follow the plan exactly, often ignoring student needs. In the post-lesson discussion, one teacher was even praised for "using his authoritative approach to push the lesson to the end" (Fujii, 2013, p. 8). Although both Uganda and Malawi educators were trained in Japan in the lesson study process, both sets of educators had difficulty implementing true lesson study (p. 14-15).

Discussion and Lessons from Global Application

Lesson study has spread all over the world with varying success and levels of implementation since it was brought to global attention in 1999 (Lewis & Perry, 2017). Although lesson study has been implemented globally, there have been few quantitative studies documenting the direct impact on student learning (Takahashi & McDougal, 2015). Lesson study is such a central part of the Japanese educational system, beginning in teacher training programs, it is difficult to find students and teachers who have not participated in lesson study, thus making quantitative studies difficult. Catherine Lewis, United States, has documented the impact lesson study has on student and teacher fraction knowledge through a randomized experimental study (Lewis & Perry, 2014). Lewis and Perry demonstrated that lesson study can have an effect on student achievement but did not analyze, as part of their research, how closely they implemented the Japanese model (Perry, 2017, Lewis & Perry, 2014).

Although lesson study has spread across the globe, its implementation has not been without difficulties. Ebaeguin and Stephens studied failed attempts to establish lesson study in the Philippines and wondered if the cultural differences between Japan and Philippines prevented it from being fully implemented (Ebaeguin & Stephens, 2013). Fujii spent years teaching Uganda and Malawi educators lesson study, with other Japanese professors, but then discovered that the essential parts of lesson study were not being applied in either location (Fujii, 2013). In both Uganda and Malawi, a workshop model had been adopted with teacher participants not partaking in important steps such as deciding on a research question, deciding which data to collect, and writing a joint lesson plan (Fujii, 2013). Fujii proposed a pyramid model for looking at lesson study in which educational values are at the heart of lesson study, Figure 2.
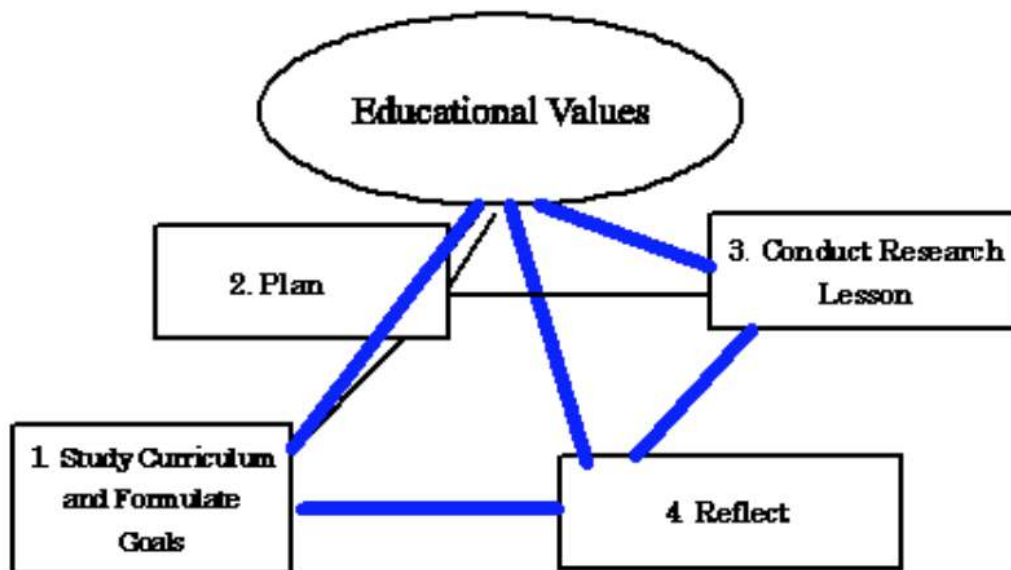
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Figure 2. Pyramid model of lesson study. (Fujii, 2013).

Whether one identifies cultural or educational values differences as the main challenge in adopting and implementing Japanese lesson study, it has been widely documented that challenges do exist in its global adoption (Ebaeguin & Stephens, 2013). The question becomes, when implementing Japanese lesson study abroad, is how much to adapt the Japanese lesson study model and how much does one attempt to match the Japanese education culture. Ebaeguin and Stephens both discuss ways in which the culture of Japanese educators allows them more easy collaboration; does one first build trust and collaboration before attempting lesson study implementation or does one realize that a simple transference model may not work but there are still benefits to be had from the Japanese lesson study model? Lesson study will continue to be applied globally and implementers must thoughtfully analyze how much adaptation is necessary and how much that adaptation detracts from goals of lesson study.

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Hildebrandt & Weißhaupt: The End of Playtime? The Time at Kindergarten and School
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Elke Hildebrandt & Mark Weißhaupt (Switzerland)

The End of Playtime? The Time at Kindergarten and School from a Cultural-Theoretical Perspective

Abstract: *This article will, from the point of view of cultural theory, discuss the polarization that is frequently found between playful learning at the kindergarten and serious learning at school. Planning of the time in the German-speaking Swiss kindergarten is strongly influenced by the portent of preparation for school, which is combined with a reputedly vital transition from free playtime to planned curriculum-oriented learning time within a specific school order, additionally driven by a discourse on time pressure. The question is asked whether this is primarily a matter of "gaining time" for education, or whether it is about familiarizing the children with primary school culture as such. The question is asked: What potential for school-learning processes could possibly lie in play? Both cultures, that of the kindergarten as well as that of the primary school, are viewed as performance practices deeply rooted in historical, differing symbolic traditions.*

Key Words: *Play, playing time, school culture, kindergarten culture, transition from kindergarten to school, curriculum, cultural analysis*

概要 *(Elke Hildebrandt & Mark Weißhaupt: 游戏时间结束？从一个文化理论的角度看幼儿园及学校的时光):* 本文将从文化理论的角度讨论在幼儿园趣味学习与在学校认真学习之间经常发生的两极分化。在讲德语的瑞士幼儿园，时间规划受到了为学校做准备的重要影响，该准备课程结合了按照特殊的学校规定从自由活动时间到以课程为导向的学习时间的重要转变，另外还引发关于时间压力的一项讨论。 问题在于这主要是关于的教育"赢得时间"的问题，还是关于是否让儿童熟悉小学文化的问题。问题由此提出: 学校学习的过程在游戏当中可能会发挥什么样的潜力？ 两种学校文化，幼儿园和小学的文化都被视为根深蒂固的历史性表现实践以及不同的象征传统。

关键词: *游戏，游戏时间，学校文化，幼儿园文化，从幼儿园到学校的过渡，课程*

Abstract *(Elke Hildebrandt & Mark Weißhaupt: Ende der Spielzeit? Die Zeit in Kindergarten und Schule aus kulturtheoretischer Perspektive): In diesem Beitrag wird aus kulturtheoretischer Perspektive die oftmals vorgenommene Polarisierung zwischen spielerischem Lernen im Kindergarten sowie ernstem Lernen in der Schule diskutiert. Die Zeit im deutsch-schweizerischen Kindergarten wird stark unter dem Vorzeichen der Vorbereitung auf die Schule geplant, die mit einem vermeintlich notwendigen Übergang von freier Spielzeit auf nach Planung verlaufende curriculare Lernzeit in einer spezifischen schulischen Ordnung einhergeht. Es wird die Frage diskutiert, ob es dabei primär um „Zeitgewinn" für Bildung geht, oder um eine Gewöhnung der Kinder an die Kultur der Schule. Es wird gefragt, welches Potential für schulische Lernprozesse im Spiel läge. Der Unterricht und die Diskurse im Bereich des Kindergartens und der Primarschule werden als Aufführungspraxen zweier unterschiedlicher, historisch gewachsener Schulkulturen perspektiviert.*

Stichworte: *Spiel, Spielzeit, Schulkultur, Kindergartenkultur, Übergang Kindergarten Schule*

Резюме *(Эльке Хильдебрандт и Марк Вейсхаупт: Конец времени игры? Время в детском саду и школе с точки зрения культурно-теоретической перспективы): В данной статье рассматривается с точки зрения культурно-теоретической перспективы часто совершаемая поляризация между игровым обучением в детском саду и серьезным обучением в школе. Время в немецко-швейцарском детском саду имеет сильное планирование под знаком подготовки к школе, которая сопровождается предполагаемо необходимым переходом от свободного игрового времени ко времени обучения, протекающего по плану, со специфическим школьным порядком.*

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Рассматривается вопрос, идет ли при этом речь первоначально о «получении времени» для образования или о привыкании детей к культуре школы. Ставится вопрос, какой потенциал для школьного процесса заключается в игре. Обучение и дискурсы в области детского сада и начальной школы рассматриваются как вводные практики двух различных, исторически выросших школьных культур.

Ключевые слова: *игра, время игры, школьная культура, культура детского сада, переход из детского сада в школу*

Introduction

"Playful learning" is often opposed to "serious learning" in school - a polarization that is deeply rooted in everyday language and that has characterized the cultures of kindergarten and school (Hildebrandt & Weißhaupt, 2012; Hildebrandt, Nieswandt, Radtke, Schneider & Wildt, 2014).

As portrayed by Helsper, this represents an understanding of culture "in whose context the school culture is understood to be a symbolic order, a sensitive complex of values, norms, rules and expectations within the tense balance of the tangible, the symbolic and the imaginary" (Helsper 2008, 36, himself using Lacanian concepts). With regard to the kindergarten, we use this definition of Helsper, too, because in kindergarten the symbolic order, the interaction of the real and the imaginary within it, discourses, artifacts, role expectations and values also pertain to it (the teaching practitioners themselves do not use the term *school* culture, even if the kindergarten in Switzerland is part of the school, since the two institutions are structured by different school culture traditions).

In this article the situation of these school cultures, especially within German-speaking Switzerland, is considered, although there are also general tendencies of a globalization of education (among other things through international tests) and common historical roots of some school cultures that also pertain to this discussion (ibid., Proske, 2009).

Our observations, presented both as a contribution to the debate and a theoretical paper, will, during the course of the following discussion, argue in a deliberately typifying manner, so as to be able to clearly illuminate the dynamics of the two school cultures in question, proceeding from the kindergarten and the primary school in German-speaking Switzerland, and will also use some instruments that a culturalist perspective on school culture offers.

Through this culturalist perspective, we are able to analyze certain dynamics, but also a certain persistency, some partially unconscious traditions and the discourse shifts in the field of our subject matter, school cultures of primary school and kindergarten, more clearly.

One main thesis of this article is that, as a result of certain dynamics, which will be laid out, the school culture in German-speaking Switzerland-Kindergarten is currently developing in the direction of the traditional primary school culture, especially since in Switzerland the kindergarten forms a part of the primary school. When the time in the kindergarten – in the "pre-school" – is planned now, it is strongly influenced by the portent of preparing for school, since the kindergarten has been allocated to the 1st cycle (kindergarten to 2nd grade primary phase) within the context of the "curriculum 21" (a framing national curriculum in Switzerland). This also implies a perceived essential transition from free playtime to an ordered (curricular) learning time that runs according to plan within a specific school order (Röhner, 2009).

Following the reception of PISA, attempts have been made to accelerate the educational processes by frequently implicitly moving structures from the primary school forward to the kindergarten, in order to "gain time" (see below). This decreases the time for play, which is characterized as a learning mode through intrinsic motivation and self-determined time (Hauser, 2013). Official argument in the "curriculum 21" claims that the change from kindergarten to school learning should be a gradual one, aiming to keep up playful learning and even to transport some of it into primary school, but at the same time it portrays play as the element that must ultimately end in the devel-

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opment process of learning in favour of "systematized" school learning (D-EDK, 2014). So the implicit message is not "Keep up the play", but quite the contrary: "The sooner play ends, the further, more advanced, your curriculum positions itself within the developmental axis of learning culture." This implicitly ambivalent status of play in the curriculum results in, or as a consequence, justifies more sequences in kindergarten that are planned right down to the last detail (Stamm, 2014; Hauser, 2013), intended to get the children "used to" instruction by teachers, instead of following their own curiosity (see also D-EDK, 2014). However, this aim of externalizing motivation should be perceived critically, since the motivation of children in school decreases (Angelone, Keller & Moser, 2013) in proportion to the way in which the alleged "seriousness" of school increases.

Is there a real threat of the paradox of over-formalized early support? Instead of the children being motivated for better and earlier learning, could the joy of learning be unintentionally diminished even earlier?

How exactly could that happen? There are a number of reasons found at different levels. We will deal with them in five steps during the course of the following discussion.

1. Models, concepts and metaphors of Kindergarten and School

As a result of the different historical backgrounds and forming processes of kindergarten and school, different traditions have emerged. Even if there are differences with respect to country or region, and it would be worthwhile to make cultural comparisons (e.g. in the German kindergarten one would never speak of "lessons", whilst the kindergarten in France already bears the name "école maternelle"), we claim there are nevertheless a few general differences between kindergarten and school that can today be found at least in several European countries. Some examples are:

- different guiding metaphors that originate (in Helsper's and Lacan's terms) in the sphere of the imaginary (see below for Fröbel's garden metaphor),

- going along with these metaphors, different perceptions of time, of legitimation strategies in discourse and of the roles in interaction (elements that belong to the realm of the symbolic, where imaginary models are used, negotiated and implemented before the background of the real, see Helsper, 2008),

- different educational concepts (eg. von Bülow, 2011, 40: "The current educational concept of the developmental phase generally tends to describe education as a construction of the subject. ... . However, in contrast, the educational task of the primary school interprets education as a mediation task" (< Citation of German sources are translations by the authors >).

The Swiss "curriculum 21" shows that these differences are effective not only at the level of the teachers and the school, but also at the school administration level, as it uses a similar differentiation, when describing the transition between kindergarten and primary school. The rhetoric is that of a gradual change of focus from a "developmental" (Kindergarten) to a "subject-oriented" focus (primary school), which should ensue, according to the "curriculum 21", within the first cycle (kindergarten to 2nd grade primary phase). But the rhetoric of gradual change within these years is again subverted by the same description – beside the above mentioned teleology of a final end of playful learning –, as, on the one hand, even in kindergarten the themes and objects of any given sequence have, of course, language-specific, mathematical or other subject-specific dimensions (Streit, Künzli & Hildebrandt, 2016) and, on the other hand, after kindergarten or after 2nd grade primary school the development of the children naturally doesn't stop. Development and school subjects are in fact two different levels of perspective on any teaching situation, not two phases that (however gradually) follow each other. The rhetoric tries to smooth the traditional cultural difference by temporalizing it as slow, but at the same time it reaffirms it in a performative self-contradiction.

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These elements of school cultures are persistent, irrespective of their appropriateness for the children's education. Thus, the garden-metaphor continues to adhere to the kindergarten and can be interpreted didactically in different ways. However, it generally implies development, individual growth, a degree of freedom, shelter and tranquility. At the same time it hardly matches current concepts of co-construction and learning in play, education as joint socialization in play-learning-environments, and cognitive apprenticeship through teachers and competent other children (Collins, 1988; Röhner, 2009; Zimpel, 2011; Hauser, 2013).

Neither does the garden metaphor fit seamlessly with the idea of child self-education processes (Schäfer, 2011) nor with more instructional concepts of early childhood education (Fthenakis, 2008). As a metaphor, it is part of the kindergarten culture, which reproduces itself in its own logic and to some extent independently from the respective current conflicts in the educational sciences. Similarly, the "seriousness of life"-metaphor adheres to the primary school, as if everything prior to it was just fun, not serious and as if "real" learning, as the opposite of fun, were only now to begin. This metaphor often manifests itself symbolically in rigid timetables and spatial design with fixed arrangements of chairs and tables, as a place of unbending, fixed procedures, that underlie und structure the interaction in school up until today, even if there are already signs of change in various places.

Teachers at the kindergarten and the elementary school in Germany perceive it as follows: "The elementary school is regarded by both professions as an institution characterized by its compulsory nature and the pressure to perform, whilst the kindergarten, by comparison, is seen as a 'play institution with free spaces' "(von Bülow, 2011, 233). There is no analogue study in German-speaking Switzerland, but we tend to assume that kindergarten and primary school teachers in Switzerland would argue in a like manner, not least because of some of our own studies that were carried out in kindergarten and primary school (Weißhaupt & Campana, 2016; Hildebrandt, Pautasso & Güvenç, 2016) focussing on play forms in these institutions. While the place of play is still seen generally in kindergarten, in primary school it can often maintain a place only during recess or very short introductory phases.

Nevertheless, it seems precisely because of these contrasts that the mental models and metaphors of the kindergarten and the school are preserved – they retain their oppositional form because of the defining and identifiable quality of this oppositional relation. The transition between these two cultures is often seen as a clear split or rupture, which is rather the result of implicit cultural perceptions than of actual pedagogical requirements. Hauser, for example, argues (2013, 136): "… learning through play simply requires too much time. … The wedge of instructive, goal-oriented and compulsory learning – as in school – is driven further and further between 'playful childhood' and adult life, the more demanding the latter becomes." He then correctly states: "It has not been sufficiently clarified when which type of learning is how effective" (ibid.) and thus he queries the position of play from a learning-theory perspective, whereas we are posing questions from a culturalist perspective.

As historical forms, the respective school cultures have a self-perpetuating quality. From a culturalist perspective the empirical interaction within these cultures can be seen as two unequal performance practices. Teaching is also done in order to comply with the respective underlying cultural concepts (Breidenstein, 2006). And both the children and the teachers participate: They work within the education system as actors with the available props, roles and scripts that have been distributed before their performance – what choice do they have?

The kindergarten culture should not be viewed uncritically, often lacking conscious reasons for their own choice of teaching forms and topics. An example regarding didactic decisions: the choice of themes such as the "penguin" (not seldom erroneously combined with the "polar bear"), an ever-popular figure in kindergarten culture (Imhof & Bigler, n.d.; de Beer, 2012) even though this animal actually features only marginally in children's primary (non-medial) experience, if they have the

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opportunity of visiting a zoo. Such themes stay in the imagery of kindergarten culture, but mostly without conscious didactic reflection, whereby the implicit motivation can be seen in the "delight-fulness" of the theme, which can lend habitual stability to the teaching scenario, as it brings togeth-er the image of innocence (associated in pedagogy with childhood since Rousseau, Thies, 2016), with the image of a certain animal, making it "cute", quite in contrast with its wild nature. The fig-ure can be described as a condensation, a subconscious bringing together of contradictory images (Jakobson & Halle, 1956/2010), in this case of the contradictory founding motivations and aims of kindergarten culture: a kindergarten figures as a shelter from bad civilization and industrialization, keeping children nearer to nature (following Rousseau), but also has the goal of taming the un-tamed, unsocial, wild behavior of pre-socialized children. Thus described, the choosing of the pen-guin is not a conscious didactic decision of individual teachers, it is a non-reflected characteristic of the culture of kindergarten that has emerged historically.

Thus, the central focus appears often not to be the suitability for children in the sense of educating them, but rather the non-reflected school culture and the images, roles and ideas of what teaching in the kindergarten should "look like". The kindergarten culture thus also shows itself to be a self-sustaining form, irrespective of whether some traditions should be consciously re-considered.

Another small example that opens the perspective also for primary school: In the German-speaking Swiss kindergarten tradition the "Stübli" session is still most often used, even if it isn't called that anymore; this is a time where the participants join together and are guided in a circle – named "guided sequence" by Chanson (2004). The children gather in a circle and eventually end the se-quence with the communal breakfast, the "Znüni". During this time the children frequently sing, learn rhymes and participate in certain rituals. As Chanson writes: "In the circle everybody is equal" (2004, 72). Unfortunately, in reality this is also a sequence during which there is a great deal of waiting, when the children cannot initiate activities on their own. The symbolic form of the Stübli circle still fits into the organic imagery of the garden as well as into the progressive pedagogical tradition, but it is also now very suitable to train the secondary virtues, that are seen as important for being "ready" for school: being able to wait, to be quiet. Thus, certain forms can be used in the logic of both school cultures, or in preparation for the "other" culture within its "own" form.

In comparison with the school, there is, however, a uniqueness to the kindergarten: The free se-quence, or free play is defined by Chanson (2004) as time in which the child is largely allowed to determine his activities himself. "The free sequence" represents autonomous learning in a prepared environment" (Chanson, 2004, 10), where the framework is given through the materials made available by the teacher, the space indoors and outdoors that can be used for play, as well as the playing time and the play-partners (Walter-Laager& Fasseing Heim, 2002). Nevertheless, it needs to be investigated in individual cases to what extent the autonomy of the children is actually possi-ble with regard to the choice of their play activities, goals, space and partners, particularly when taking the real pressure and implementation of primary school teaching elements in kindergarten in the last years into consideration. In German-speaking Switzerland the kindergarten culture tradi-tionally refers to the precious asset of free play, an environment in which the child is protected from the adult world, and with which one should not interfere without being asked to do so (Fröbel, 2017; Association of Swiss Kindergarten-Teachers, 1990), quite in line with the idea of the shelter from bad civilization. The priority of autonomy per se over play-support by the teacher can, howev-er, actually be to the detriment of children who may, for whatever reason, have difficulties in play-ing (De Haan et al., 2013).

On the other hand, from a culture-theoretical point of view, it becomes clearer in primary school that the children do not only direct their learning, and perhaps not primarily at all, towards the development of their skills, but rather towards the implicit goals of school culture: Children, don't show us their "readiness to learn" but rather their "school readiness" (in the sense of readiness to act according to their preset role in school)! The implicit behavioral stage directives are soon un-

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derstood by the children: I show that I can sit still for a long time. I can do my tasks without talking to someone about them. I can listen to the teacher and show signs of paying attention, irrespective of whether I understand or can make associations. I show that I can subdue my impulse to find something out by working and communicating with someone else. I can ignore my primary interest and my curiosity and turn to those things that I have to do at the moment in accordance with the timetable (Breidenstein, 2006; Jäger, Biffi & Halfhide, 2006; Jäger, 2007; Röhner, 2009).

Officially, no one would speak out in favour of the priority of integration into the school interaction order as opposed to education. However, in particular the secondary disciplinary virtues that are part of this school performance are those that are often the first and most important in the eyes of new teachers in the primary phase. That primary preference, once having "successfully" structured their teaching, then remains as a standard habitual preference. They sense that the appearance of that which seems to be "normal" (traditional) class teaching is what the school culture primarily expects them to achieve. Am I in control of my class? Does my class look like "a class that is functioning well"? And that means: Do they appear quiet, concentrated and organized? Do they respond to my instructions and do they give the impression of being ready "to be taught upon", of teachability? The appearance of an orderly class can thus become a goal in itself, more important than the educational interaction in the classroom.

This becomes reinforced as the implicit behavioral habitus of the teacher: I am in control when it is quiet. I always know exactly what my pupils are doing (because there is no particular degree of freedom in my teaching). If I have an overview of all activities, I am a good teacher. I don't have to question the world any longer like my pupils do. I pass on knowledge of the world and don't act from the point of view of a learner; that would detract from my authority as a teacher, if I didn't always know the answer but had to ask and investigate together with the pupils.

Please note: Teacher training has for a long time now shifted towards moderate constructivist teaching models (Bruner, 1997; Reich, 2008), however these only come to limited effect due to the tacit and powerful school cultures and their stage directives.

The imaginary and symbolic elements of the kindergarten- and school-cultures convey the appearance of sheltered tranquility or hierarchical order and of the transmission of – allegedly – secure scholarly knowledge towards the parents, the school management, the teachers and lastly the children; this is done on the basis of a long tradition of not always conscious ideas and habitual knowledge, in defiance of what appear in the end to be only rhetoric-seeming efforts on the part of constructivism and the scientific training of the teachers-to-be. And those teachers who still develop an individual teaching culture have to deal with considerable acceptability problems.

Such movements of the goalposts from learning to the performative presentation of existing ideas in kindergarten and school are, however, also the result of a "time-pressure thought-pattern" that has followed particularly in the wake of the PISA-research.

2. PISA-reception promotes images of time pressure

Discussions about instructional early support and self-socialisation concepts have been reported in earlier research before PISA, having pointed out washing-out effects for strong intruction oriented, program-acquired learning and also hinting to sleeper-effects in children (later having better cognitive and social skills), that were raised with more child-centered approaches (Dollase, 2010; Grochla, 2008). Since the year 2001, at least in the German-speaking areas, numerous measures resulted from the public discussion around education after the publication of the results of the PISA-studies; these measures revolved around early education, even though the study was on a school-system regarding the performance of 15-year-old pupils. The German Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs, for example, determined seven areas of action (Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs [KMK], 2002), of which three apply explicitly to the pre-school and primary school stages. In Switzerland a plan of action with five areas of action was also

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decided upon (EDK, 2003), whereby one explicitly takes "Preschool and Starting School" as its topic, whilst three others include the kindergarten phase: language promotion, language promotion for children and young people with unfavorable learning preconditions, after-school care options.

In both countries the aim was to support children linguistically in the preschool phase, to enable them to start school earlier via a better interrelationship between kindergarten and school, as well as generally improving elementary and primary school education. On the one hand, this was positive due to an improvement in the training of elementary and primary phase teachers, even though more still needs to be done (Heinzel, 2009). On the other hand, the pressure to act resulted in numerous further training programs being presented which, although labeled as play-oriented, were designed more in line with primary school order and culture (e.g. the Würzburger training program for phonological consciousness according to Knuspert & Schneider, 2008, and the mathematics training program "Mengen, zählen, Zahlen" by Krajewski, Nieding & Schneider, 2007). Because these programs can really be time-consuming, free play time in the kindergarten is often lost, which is why we are asking here whether the end of playing time is near (viz. title).

Thus, today the "natural" inertia of the kindergarten and school cultures appears to be under the pressure of the no longer questioned motto of "the earlier - the better", which is further strengthened by neuro-metaphors such as the "closing windows" (Küls, n.d). Consequently, play is now often only justified in a learning mode when it is proven that one learns "more quickly" through play.

Thus (pre-)school order is to some extent oriented in its temporal dimension by the PISA reception, whilst these processes are frequently not consciously perceived and reflected upon; for the professionals they are part of the sphere of the *real*, that which cannot itself be addressed or questioned (Hummrich, 2015).

3. "Preparation for School" as a new guiding metaphor

With every good intention, one often refers to the kindergarten in rhetoric as the "preparation for school", whilst school is not seen to be a place of leisure, meditation (lat. "schola") and education, but as a place of a certain scholarly order. In the heart of the kindergarten time, preparation for school can in this way become an end in itself.

The metaphor of the preparation for "something else" frequently blocks out the current situation, blocks out the structures and advantages that exist in the here and now, the resources of the children, the forms of interaction in the kindergarten, things on which one could build, from the bottom upwards. Instead, one thinks in terms of a deficit-hypothesis, from later to earlier (von Bülow, 2011), and at the same time teaching structures from the primary school phase are brought forward to the kindergarten; in doing so hardly finding time for the present in the here and now. Rossbach (2004, 12f) explains it as follows:

> "The educational goals that need to be specified for the kindergarten should still refer to autonomous, phase-specific goals, but at the same time should also be explicitly geared towards the connectivity of the learning processes in the kindergarten ... to subsequent learning."

The autonomous nature of the kindergarten is still referred to here, but in essence it is all about the future and not about the value of autonomous play in the kindergarten, which in turn could well be meaningful for the school.

Parallel to the increase in diagnostics and tests concerning the introduction of educational standards (EDK, 2011), as well as diverse support programmes, the discourse conveying this time pressure pattern of thinking has spread publicly, so teachers are being pressurized not only by their superiors and the test materials, but often also by the parents.

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The same applies to the structuring of time and lessons: The aim seems to be to become accustomed to the school lesson as a unit per se, irrespective of the research, play, in-depth processes of children which would and should result in their own time frames.

The familiarization with school orders which takes place earlier and earlier, the "familiarization with instructions", in practice unfortunately results in "familiarization with extrinsic motivation" in the sense of external regulation (Ryan & Deci, 2000). And this is exactly the opposite of what one intends: motivated, sustainable learning, which takes place precisely in play (Singer et al., 2006; Pellegrini, 2009; Hauser, 2013; Brooker et al., 2014).

Although the autonomy theory of motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000) shows that the relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is empirically well established, and this theory should be known to all teachers, school education still follows traditional patterns rather than constructively making use of this knowledge and thereby developing teaching further. Intrinsic motivation can be killed very efficiently with extrinsic motivation (ibid.).

One could actually ask: How could one promote intrinsic motivation in children as a habit of play, thereby perpetuating their ability to become interested in something for its own sake and developing their educational ability – based on play in the kindergarten? In the primary school phase one could then build on this further, with feedback on the relevant activity itself, instead of a strongly emphasized external system of reward with grades. Children with a lot of experience in play succeed better at identifying with more distant and abstract goals and at overcoming obstacles with self-activated interest in the matter. Playful motivation has been proven to be a more sustainable manner of effective education than strongly externally regulated, extrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Montie, Claxton & Lockhart, 2007).

Instead however, habitually, and perhaps also unconsciously, discourse and school materials tend to approach matters the other way around: The question is then asked: How can we get the children used to following an external, extrinsic instruction with reward as soon as possible? What for?

If one argued on the level of conscious decisions, this would lead to a cynical view: perhaps so that the school and the teachers don't have to concern themselves too much with the interests of the children, but rather that the children get used, as quickly as possible, to the school's culture as an end in itself. However, the unquestioned preparation metaphor and consequent time pressure drives us to lose sight of the ability of children for self-education – via learning through experience (e.g. Schäfer, 2011 & 2013; Militzer, Demandewitz & Solbach, 1999) – and also the centrality of co-construction in class interaction. And here one could query whether an implicit culture struggle about the culture of the kindergarten is taking place via the direct transfer of primary school structures onto the kindergarten.

4. Ideas about the relationship of play and work

The separation of the two school cultures is supported through the opposing terminology of learning (serious work) and play (fun). By using play as a vehicle through the addition of a didactic framework and the "preparatory" adoption of school-oriented support programs, the primary school culture gains further acceptance in the kindergarten. The reason for the reservations made regarding play, which are frequently expressed with words such as "fun" or "frivolous", could lie in the widespread understanding of the nature of play and work and their relationship to each other. Should one not pose Freinet's question as to whether one "overlooks the power of argumentation and interaction, of adaptation and liberation in play and only sees the euphoric fun that is apparent" (Freinet & Boehncke, 1980, 80)? One overlooks that play and playing are degraded and reserved exclusively for childhood and recreation times. Even Dewey had established that play and work are not all that different, since both activities have to do with acting in and with the world, changing it and thereby changing oneself (Dewey, 1993).

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Perhaps the strict separation of play and work has to do with developments that have increasingly led to work forms that are imposed from outside and are seen as useless or unworthy (in Marxist terms: alienated work) (Marx, 1867; Freinet & Boehncke, 1980; Heimlich, 2015), which is why the term 'play' possibly stands as a realm of preserving freedom, of countering that. Thus Freinet (1980, 89) maintains: "One is convinced that work and play are radical and irreconcilable opposites. One believes that the work that one normally knows only in its tyrannical form is nothing for children." Moreover, newer tendencies of flexibilisation and fluid job arrangements pervert the purpose of "self-determination" and "free" work (corresponding to the spirit of play), and in so doing change them into only the appearance of freedom, concealing the external control (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2003). The relationship between play and work is pushed more and more into the direction of alienation, when only imaginary betterment of the intrinsic motivation takes place. These social tendencies further misinterpretation and even the danger of misuse of the term 'play' in school and kindergarten: 'play' as a Trojan horse that is constantly packed with specific school-oriented demands and guidance from outside, demands directed towards the continuous and intended learning of very specific school contents and culture-techniques, 'play' that is thus removed from its essential nature even in kindergarten and is still free play by word only.

At the same time, it is precisely the games of children that are the most fascinating, in which they create their own world and act out their ideas in flow, in which they negotiate outer "real-world" impulses all on their own. Freinet therefore demands "travail-jeu", work with the nature of play, as well as "jeux-travaux", games of a working nature that describe the transition from play to work in a constitutive manner and where the intrinsic nature of play is retained (Freinet & Boehncke, 1980).

But: What does play "that should be taken seriously" look like? What kind of play should be promoted in kindergarten and school when it is not always about fun, but also about the desire to understand and (re-)construct the world? Which (play) materials are required? Could they also be such materials that are interesting for the children, but that make use of feasible adult activities that are adapted to the realm of the child? Rule games as well as role play in such a context can, besides fostering language, mathematics and abstract thinking, also make topics, roles and rules in certain areas of society accessible and open to play with/for children. Games with rules can be competitive and challenging and allow for the experience of a collective, the players being equals, at the same time.

What does this all mean with regard to the pedagogical activity in the context of play and school ideally as a place of work and learning with the character of play?

5. Conclusions

The long-term opposition of the terms 'work' and 'play' concurs with the acute shifts described in the discourses around PISA and early intervention, in the working world as well as in educational plans. Together they generate dynamics and connections in the partly self-formulated school cultures of kindergarten and primary school. In particular, the culture of the kindergarten in German-speaking Switzerland is currently in danger of developing unilaterally in the direction of primary school culture. This discussion is, however, not a simple, contradictory plea to "change everything" in school "to play". And it also does not imply a decision in favour of a purely open teaching methodology. Open teaching methodology, like daily and weekly to-do-lists can be followed in a very rigid, uninviting way, with rewards being externally motivated, all of which is thus done in a rather "unplayful" manner. On the other hand, even in traditional and teacher-up-front-settings stimulating challenges, mental and physical movements can be initiated in the children with a sense for the research aspect of play (Weißhaupt et al., 2018, in print), and one can enable them to reconstruct the world from many perspectives through the medium of a playful as-if-attitude. A prerequisite for this would be that the teachers also develop a sense of play. These ideas also pertain to the "crea-

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tive potential of the imaginary" (Hummrich, 2015, 73), which takes the developmental space of school into consideration.

Thus, class settings would be conceivable both in kindergarten and in primary school, situationally and adequately arranging for children's free activities and instructed activities, relating them and keeping a balance between them (Streit, Künzli & Hildebrandt, 2016).

Thus, irrespective of concrete, different teaching settings, one can argue that ultimately it could be unimportant whether the activities of the children were at first glance labeled as "work" or "play", but rather that "playfulness" were part of the children's activities and learning. The traditional idea of the kindergarten as a cultural shelter, in opposition to the serious, or even dangerous world of grown-ups, of work and serious learning at school should then also be approached critically (Weißhaupt & Campana, 2014).

Nevertheless, the consequence cannot be the advance building of a school habitus formation within the kindergarten as an adaptation to school work structures, thereby hurrying to replace play. On the contrary, possibilities could lie in the playful habitus which can emerge in kindergarten and its culture. That could be seen as a vital resource to build on and to be developed even further in primary and later school, pertaining to both children and teachers, thus consciously working and playing with the respective school cultures, instead of just acting them out.

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Meier & Páez: Education for Reconciliation in the Local Context – Three Case Studies from Colombia
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Markus D. Meier & Manuel Páez (Colombia)

Education for Reconciliation in the Local Context – Three Case Studies from Colombia

Abstract: *The Colombian Peace process has come to a formal end with the signing of the Treaty of Havanna in 2016. The article gives a short introduction of the developments since then, focusing on the plebiscite before reporting the results of our visits to three different municipalities, where we talked with victims and victimizers, carried out various pedagogical exercises and received a feed-back concerning measures implemented to compensate victims and reintegrate former victimizers.*
Keywords: *Colombia, peace education, field work, reintegration, compensation, Interlacing*

概要 *(Markus D. Meier & Manuel Páez: 在当地语境下的和解教育 – 哥伦比亚的三个案例研究)*: *随着 2016年哈瓦那条约的签署，哥伦比亚和平进程正式结束。文章简要介绍了自那时起的一些发展状况，着眼于在汇报我们对三个不同直辖市的访问结果之前的全民公决，在那里我们与受害者和危害人进行了交谈，开展了各种教学活动，并收到了为补偿受害者以及曾经的危害人重新融入社会而采取措施的一些反馈。*
关键词: *哥伦比亚，和平教育，实地工作，重新融入，赔偿，联系*

Abstract *(Markus D. Meier & Manuel Páez: Bildung zur Versöhnung im lokalen Kontext - drei Fallstudien aus Kolumbien): Der kolumbianische Friedensprozess ist mit der Unterzeichnung des Vertrags von Havanna im Jahr 2016 zu einem formalen Ende gekommen. Die Autoren geben eine kurze Einführung in die seitdem geschehenen Entwicklungen, wobei sie den Schwerpunkt auf die Volksabstimmung legen. Danach berichten sie über die Ergebnisse ihrer Besuche in drei verschiedenen Gemeinden, in welchen sie mit Opfern und Tätern gesprochen, verschiedene pädagogische Übungen durchgeführt haben und ein Feedback zu Maßnahmen zur Entschädigung von Opfern und zur Wiedereingliederung von Tätern erhalten haben.*
Schlüsselwörter: *Kolumbien, Friedenserziehung, Feldforschung, Re-Integration, Entschädigung, Vernetzung*

Резюме *(Маркус Д. Мейер и Мануэль Паец: Образование для примирения в локальном контексте - три практических примера из Колумбии): Колумбийский мирный процесс пришел к формальному окончанию с подписанием Гаванского Договора в 2016 году. Авторы дают краткое введение в произошедший с тех пор процесс развития, причем основной акцент они делают на общенародный референдум. Затем они сообщают о событиях их визитов в три разных общины, в которых они беседовали с жертвами и исполнителями преступлений, проводили различные педагогические занятия и получили отклик на мероприятия по компенсации жертвам и реабилитации исполнителей преступлений.*
Ключевые слова: *Колумбия, воспитание к миру, полевое исследование, реинтеграция, компенсация, объединение*

* * *

* * *

Abbreviations:

ACR – Colombian Agency for Reintegration (of the former illegal armed combatants)

AUC – United Self-Defense of Colombia, politically right-wing illegal paramilitary armed groups

AGC – Autodefensas Gaitanistas de Colombia, a follow-up organization of the AUC

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Bacrim – *Ba*ndas *cri*minales, apolitical criminal gangs, mostly in the drug business and illegal mining

CONPES – National Council on Economic and Social Policies

DDR – disarmament, demobilization and reintegration

ELN – National Liberation Army, Marxist armed group

ERP – Revolutionary People´s Army, Marxist armed group

FARC – Revolutionary Colombian Armed Forces, Marxist armed group

IOM – International Organisation for Migration

OACP – High Commissioner for the Peace, Hightest Ranking Colombian official for the Peace process

ODIH – Observatory for the International Humanitarian Rights

Peace-making – the act of breaking military resistance

Peace-building – the act of transforming a society affected by armed conflict into a civil society

Peace-keeping – the act of securing the sustainability of peace

PPR – Person in the process of Reintegration (former combatants of the FARC)

UARIV – Unit for the attention and integral reparation of the *victims* of Colombia's armed conflict, counterpart to the ACR

Content

* * *

There is no handy roadmap for reconciliation. There is no short cut or simple prescription for healing the wounds and divisions of a society in the aftermath of sustained violence. Creating

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> *trust and understanding between former enemies is a supremely difficult challenge. It is, however, an essential one to address in the process of building a lasting peace. Examining the painful past, acknowledging it and understanding it, and above all transcending it together, is the best way to guarantee that it does not – and cannot – happen again.* Desmond Tutu

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

1. Introduction – background, aims, and scope of our study

In the summer of 2016 we published a theoretical, legal and historical framework for the understanding of the complex reconciliation process Colombia is undergoing after more than 50 years of armed conflict, focusing on *education* as a possible mediator between the extreme positions of "peace vs. justice" (http://www.ide-journal.org/article/education-between-peace-and-justice-in-times-of-armed-conflict-and-reconciliation-the-colombian-case/). We announced a follow-up that would describe in detail our experience during visits to three communities heavily affected by the conflict and report on their efforts to overcome it.

Colombia is making significant efforts to build peace and settle debts with victims. An internal conflict between many armed actors, more than 50 years old and with more disappeared civilians than in any of the South American dictatorships (see recently Bello Albarracín, Suarez & Márquez Ramírez, 2016), has left a mark difficult to erase. As a result, since 2003 many policies have been implemented in the country to facilitate the demobilization of combatants and the massive redress of atrocious crimes. For our historical overview of the conflict see Meier & Páez 2016, p. 92-97. We had concluded:

> pedagogical peace-building procedures for reconciliation must be seen in the Colombian context as mediating between two extremes, which permeate the civic society and will in fact be determined by *a nationwide plebiscite* soon: They can be labeled as "legalist" and "pragmatist" approaches to the question of how to deal with the atrocities and violations of numerous rights, laws and norms during the 50+ year Colombian conflict period. (Meier & Páez 2016, p. 97, *italics* added)

We can now say that this nationwide plebiscite showed the dilemma and the division of the country *in nuce*: Held in October 2016 with a voter turnout of only 37%, the peace agreements between government and FARC were *rejected* by the Colombian electorate extremely narrowly by 50,21% ("no") against 49,78% ("si") – against every single demoscopic prognosis (all data from here on taken from the official State Website Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, 2016). The issue had come down to a confrontation between President Santos, whose government had negotiated the agreement in order to stop bloodshed and terror, and his predecessor Uribe, who insinuated that the country was at the verge of surrendering to terrorists without need. What were their respective argumentations?

Apart from the longstanding divide between "liberals" and "conservatives" in Colombian history, apart from personal animosities and disillusions, apart from the "peace vs. justice"-debate (see Meier & Páez, 2016, p. 98), apart also from a lack of a strong, visible and convincing campaign on either side, analysts agreed that an issue seemingly absurdly remote from the actual confrontation had reversed the trend of the plebiscite: Protestant Churches ("cristianos" as opposed to the mainstream Catholics) had announced that they felt provoked by the extensive coverage of "gender-issues" (*asuntos de género*) in a political-military contract and viewed these as a modernized form of "social re-education", as formerly promoted by the Marxist *FARC*. By August 2016 "gender had become the battle-cry of the ´no´-campaign". (Semana, 2016). And in fact, the term "gender" appears 114 times in the 297 pages of the final document, the term "education" 26 times, "single-moms" 5 times, "family" – as referring to the dominant rural social micro-structure – not once (Gobierno

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Nacional & FARC-EP, 2016). The liberal daily newspaper *El Espectador* had welcomed the inclusion of a gender perspective, but had also warned early, that

(p)aradoxically, this gender perspective, which is one of the great successes of the agreement, is being used by those campaigning for the "No" in the plebiscite to confuse and polarize. Worse: some [Catholic] priests and [Protestant] pastors ask their parishioners from the pulpit to vote "No", because the agreement includes the "gender ideology" that the FARC wants to "impose". (...) This message was taken advantage of by Senator [and ex-president] Uribe, a fisherman in muddy rivers, who affirmed that "the ideology of gender, included in the peace agreements, will enter – without further debates – to be part of our constitutional order". (Ruiz-Navarro, 2016, translation MDM)

President Santos stood with his back to the wall after his defeat in the plebiscite, only receiving the Peace Nobel Price five days later and an invitation by the Queen to a State Visit to England ensured his political survival and gave free way for Congress, dominated by Santos´ coalition, to approve the agreement anyway – despite of the narrow rejection by the very plebiscite.
The post-conflict process and reconciliation thus starts with a dissonance. Especially the negotiated reduction of punishment for crimes committed for many *FARC* members in the context of "transitional justice" and its unclear perspective for the future of rural Colombia lacked broad majority public support, save enthusiasm, from the beginning. Society is everything but unanimous about how it should deal with its past and how it should envision its future – even less so are communities in the afflicted rural areas. (The big cities had voted slightly in favor – 50,57% "si" –, the countryside slightly against – 50,98% "no" – the peace agreement.)
In the recent nationwide elections in March 2018, Colombian voters left no doubt that even a "si" for the Peace Process had by no means indicated any sympathy for the Marxist guerrilla, the newly registered follow-up political party FARC (now: *fuerza alternativa revolutionaria del común*) received only 0.3% of the total votes.

We cover this historic continuation *in extensu*, because it elucidates that a post-conflict period may mean very different, even contradictory things to different actors. It sheds light on the deep ambiguity the Colombian voting public obviously feels about the post-conflict period and the way, the country should head, and also the wide and diverse scope of directions that different regional, national, and international advisors, but also religious, academic, political and social leaders would like to prescribe and announce for the future. It also makes clear, that times of uncertainty and new beginnings are crucial for future developments, and different parties keep a watchful eye on each other conspicuously in their efforts to head into the future of a post-conflict society:
- Does peace mean the "status-quo-ante", a "pre-conflict" Colombia of the 1960´s with a strong clerical influence, strong family ties, with a weak civil society and weak state institutions – "back to the good old days"?
- Does peace mean the "status-quo", a truce between "pacified and modernized modernizers" and evermore-conspicuous conservatives – Colombian "business as usual"?
- Does peace mean a catching-up with the international developments of individualization, hedonism and an economically and socially atomized society – the Social State of "making money" between "women´s rights" and "environmental protection"?
- More abstractly: What balance should be struck between the interests of local, regional, national and international actors and their different agendas?
- More concretely and controversially: What economic perspectives can the Colombian countryside develop in a globalized agro-industrial market, if any? Which alternatives

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could e.g. realistically und sustainably replace its illegal, but flourishing and very lucrative drug business and illegal mining industry?
- In general: How "globalized" should and could Colombia become, and how much local and regional patina can and shall remain?

All these questions were also subordinated to the misleading prescriptions of the plebiscite. These unclear perspectives have to be born in mind when we now turn to the local context.

2. Methodology – Our focus groups and how they worked

In 2014 the Presidency of the Republic commissioned the OACP to carry out activities that sought to "build a culture of peace and reconciliation". (Presidencia de la Republica, 2014, p. 13). To this end the OACP issued numerous programs and guidelines, all with the aim to educate for a "territorial peace".

The normative framework of these programs is based on *Law 1448* of 2011 (Presidencia de la Republica, 2011), also known as the Victims' Law (*Ley de las víctimas*), and strategies for community reintegration of members of illegal armed groups adopted by the CONPES. (Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social, 2008).

According to OACP, each territory must weave its own culture of peace and set specific guidelines that will guide the construction of coexistence according to their needs, which will allow the parties involved to reach more pertinent and lasting policies, created by the local actors such as citizens, governments, social organizations, the private economic sector, the churches and academia. Thus, territorial peace can be seen as an educational process that aims to "implement a participatory planning campaign so that the authorities and communities can think about the characteristics and needs of the territory, the responses to those needs, and in a methodically concerted way plan to transform those territories." (Alto Comisionado para la Paz, n.d., p. 4-5)

In an exploratory project, our group - psychologists, pedagogues, lawyers and ACR and UARIV officials – visited three communities and met separately, two times each, with three affected groups in *focus groups*: 1. The victims, 2. the PPR and 3. the community. The ACR had advised us to consult the PPR anonymously, as many of them lived without revealing their true identity to their communities in order not to threaten the public order. The *focus groups* met at the beginning of 2016, each meeting lasted about five hours.

Municipality	Victims attending	PPR attending
Carmen de Bolívar	30	9
Tulapas	20	5
El Palmar	85	15

Table 1: Number of attendees / municipality

The meetings with the *victims* and the *PPR* were held separately, but the agendas overlapped partially:
(1) Socialization of the project and hearing expectations of the exercise.
(2) Exercise called *My territory*. Construction of a diagnosis of the region, through a relaxed activity around a map, in which the assistants drew or wrote symbols related to relevant socio-economic characteristics of their environment.
(3) Exercise *The vehicle of local reconciliation* (see below).

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(4) Exercise *Perceptions of reconciliation*. Assessing the participants' perceptions, opinions and expectations of the process of reconciliation
(5) Exercise *Reconcili-action* (reconcili-acción). Stimulating the formulation of viable and sustainable reconciliation proposals, highlighting the need for active participation.
(6) Validation of recommendations for the diagnosis of IOM routes

We employed several pedagogical tools:
The vehicle of local reconciliation was an imaginary local *colectivo*, the typical Colombian public transportation bus. The "movement" metaphor was intended to symbolize the process nature of reconciliation, the "collective" metaphor was supposed to symbolize the need to agree on a common goal, the "technical" metaphor referred to the possibilities and the need to "get things together". The meetings were accordingly guided by questions such as:

- Who is driving? Who are the passengers? When can they get on/off the vehicle? How would they stimulate the others to get on/off the vehicle? How are the passengers perceived by non-passengers?
- What or who is the engine? What is the fuel? Which actors could serve as tires/brakes/lights etc.?
- How is the route defined, and by whom? What obstacles does the vehicle face on the road? Where should it stop or accelerate?
- Is there a definite end to the journey? If so, where is it? If not, how and why keep moving anyway?

Perceptions of reconciliation was aimed at reconstructing the visions (*imaginarios*) of the affected population concerning reconciliation, to *not* impose external administrative procedures that did not meet their needs. It was thus also an exercise in clarifying and articulating inner representations.
Reconcili-action was a play on words that stressed the need for all group members to actively work for reconciliation, aimed at preventing conceptions of passive and assistentialist attitudes all too often associated with the issue.
In all three communities visited the UARIV had implemented the *Entrelazando* (Interlacing) program: (Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Victimas, 2015), consisting of participatory activities revolving around five thematic axes – Learning, Feeling, Doing, Transforming and Reflecting:

(1) Social Pedagogy or "Learning", i.e. cognitively carrying out analyses of violence and developing possible alternatives for the protection of human rights. Its end is to stimulate reflection on the forms of violence suffered by individuals formally recognized as victims, it is *not* extended to other members of the community, or the PPR, although many of these experienced painful events during their transit into illegality themselves (see Meier & Páez, 2016 pp. 104-106, for details). The perspective is psychologically strictly limited to the victim itself, to prevent any relativization of his or her experience and excluding (ambivalent and undesired) feelings of "victim's guilt". Nevertheless, becoming aware of this reality may help develop empathy and lay the ground for potential points of encounter with the PPR. "Understanding the 'why' and 'how' of the victimizer's actions is not the same as exculpating them, but it is a precondition for any policy of reconciliation. The diversity of their guilt, their motives and their crimes require that the politics of reconciliation reflect a similarly diverse approach to the subject." (Instituto Internacional para la Democracia y la Asistencia Electoral, 2003, p. 8)

(2) Collective Pain or "Feeling and Elaborating", i.e. exercises that facilitate the collective expression of suffering. The idea in the focus group with the victims to permit the expression of pain and

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overcome the feeling of isolation and "guilt" that may accompany the experiences and give way and room for a feeling of "group-solidarity" and strength. However, in order to lend this exercise a truly reconciling nature, we consider it necessary to show courage, respect and recognition for the pain of other members of the community (and that means: including the PPR), and not to focus exclusively on registered victims. Only in this way will any individual be allowed to consider himself part of a broader social group (again), characterized by a geographical region, in which different ways of understanding *la violencia* (the violence) coexist.

(3) Social Practices or "Doing", i.e. recovering, rebuilding, and innovating common customs in order to promote the restoration of trust among others. The aim to restore the trust of the victims in their community is meant to get them out of the isolation often associated with their victimization, sometimes called "second victimization" in criminology. We agree with the approach. However, recovering local trust needs a collective vision of the community, in which joint actions are carried out among *all* its members, including the PPR, but also populations often stigmatized by latent prejudices and stereotypes in the community (such as LGBT, the poor, leftists, afros, indigenous etc.)

(4) Transformation of Local Scenarios or "Transforming By Remembering", i.e. reassigning symbolic values to the experienced "scenarios of terror". The resignification of the region should respond to the needs of the recognized victim specifically, but to those of the community in general, too. Also including the PPRs into the symbolic reconstruction of space would be desirable, we think, so that it would become a democratic experience whereby *Places of pain* become starting points for the reconstruction of citizenship (see the example of El Palmar below).

(5) Collective Perception or "Reflecting", i.e. seeking to reduce the prejudices and social stereotypes associated with violence. This dimension should be oriented towards the recognition of the otherness of others (following the *theory of social recognition*); Honneth, 1994), reconfiguring the common perceptions of "others". Thus, it can include a reflection on the functioning of the community as a whole, not only those who carried weapons.

To conclude and summarize, we tried to encourage new ways of perceiving and acting around reconciliation, and also addressed the recognition of institutions and institutional paradigms and popular beliefs about them, relying on our previous experiences in numerous field studies and some helpful practical literature that inspired us and provided valuable tools. (Fondo de Justicia Transicional, 2012; López-Martínez, 2009; Montoya Salamanca & Fernández Guarín, 2006; Vela Mantilla, Rodríguez Fernández, Rodríguez Puentes, & García Muñoz, 2011) Our theoretical approach was inspired by contemporary reflections on the evaluation of reconciliation policies with the direct participation of communities in conflict zones, e.g. the works of Kenneth Bush (for practical details see K. Bush & Salamanca, 2016; for pedagogical, epistemological and methodological questions see K. Bush & Duggan, 2013).

3. Experiences in local contexts

The three cases to be studied were *Alta Montaña* communities in the municipality of Carmen de Bolívar (*departamento* Bolivar), the community of San Pablo de Tulapas in the municipality of Turbo (*departamento* Antioquia), and the community of El Palmar in the municipality of Leiva (*departamento* Nariño). Some criteria for choosing these communities were:
- the existence of a *collective subject* of reparation (referring to the community as a whole – not just some individuals – being affected by the *violencia*)
- the occurrence of *multiple and diverse* severe violations of Human Rights in the area,

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- the representation of *three different geographic regions* of the country (coastal, tropical, Andean)
- the presence of *different armed actors*,
- the existence of people in the process of reintegration (PPR).

Illustration 1: Geographical location of the three communities evaluated (©Meier, 2017)

The three communities under investigation have similar socio-economic characteristics. All have been victims of armed violence and state abandonment, which is why most of the inhabitants are experiencing multidimensional poverty and/or lack of resources.

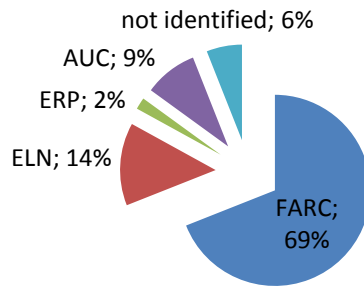## 3.1. Alta Montaña, municipio de Carmen de Bolívar (Bolívar)

Photo 1: Carmen de Bolívar, "AGC" are associated with the paramilitary AUC (© Paéz, 2016)

Carmen de Bolívar is located on one side of the *Montes de María* valley, in the center of the department of Bolívar, 114 km southeast of Cartagena. With an extension of 954 km2, by the year 2015 the community had about 75,000 inhabitants, out of which about 60,000 lived within the city. Situated in a tropical, humid climate with an annual average temperature of 29ºC at 197 meters above sea level, it shows an ideal climate for artisanal agriculture – both legal and illegal. Other

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economic opportunities are limited to the informal sector such as motorcycle taxi services, car and motorcycle cleaning and repairing, hauling and stone extraction. Only 20% of inhabitants of working age have a formal job, mostly in the public sector.

Guerrilla groups such as the FARC, the ELN, and the ERP have been operating in the area since the early 1980s. At the end of the 1990s the AUC also entered. The AUC committed terrible massacres in El Salado (1997 and 2000) and Macayepo (2002), and gained control of the urban centers, while the guerrilla stayed in the mountainous area with its very difficult access by land – an almost typical "draw"-situation between leftist *guerrilla,* rightist *paras*, and the Colombian state during the conflict years.

Graph: Armed illegal activities by actors for the Bolívar department 1990-2002 (Vicepresidencia de la República, n.d., p. 8)

The internal conflict greatly affected local work dynamics and led to massive forced displacement. Carmen de Bolívar showed the highest level of forced displacement in the Bolívar department in the 2012 report, 46% (UARIV, n.d., p. 6). Important companies in the region such as tobacco companies were disappearing and with them numerous economic opportunities and social and cultural activities around the plantations. Currently the quality of life of the inhabitants of Carmen de Bolivar is marked by poverty, insufficient infrastructure, a lack of basic sanitation and housing, which is why many residents live in shacks made of palm leaves. Regarding education, the 2016 development report states that "(t)he 16 municipalities of the Montes de María are not certified in the sectors of Education and Health." (Gallo Paredes, 2016; see also De Bolívar, Esther, & Leon, 2012).

Photo 2: Focal group in Carmen de Bolívar (© Páez, 2016)

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3.2. Gulf of Urabá, San Pablo de Tulapas, municipio de Turbo (Antioquia)
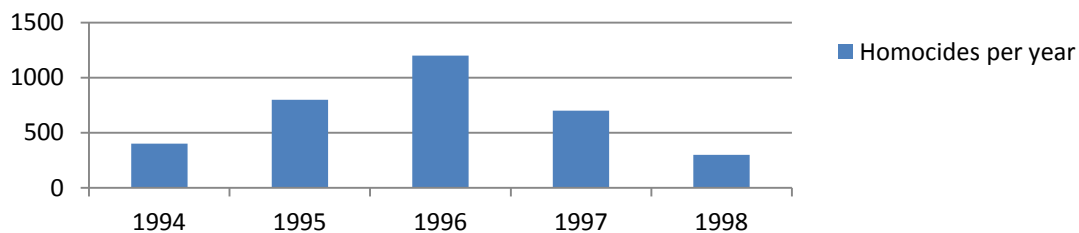
San Pablo de Tulapas is located on the *eastern* side of the gulf of Urabá, close to the coast of Panamá, 374 km northwest of Antioquia's Capital Medellín. This isolated remoteness, its location at sea level near one of the most tropical-humid climates of the planet, the almost complete lack of infrastructure, and its proximity to Panamá make it a strategic point of interest for international drug-traffickers – both for drug cultivation and for its transportation towards the global North (ACNUR, 2004). This has fueled the armed conflict from the 1980´s onwards.

The community is mostly inhabited by Afro-descendant or *mestizo* Colombians and consists of about 1800 inhabitants. Its main legal economic activities are the breeding of small cattle and the cultivation of tropical fruits and vegetables such as cassava, yams and bananas – economic opportunities other than subsistence or illegal agriculture are technically non-existent. The majority of houses are built with palm leafs, with "dirt"-floors and precarious sanitary facilities. At the moment of our visit San Pablo de Tulapas did not count with any health or education services and faced a food shortage for the extreme seasonal rains. The nearest town is Necoclí, located two hours on foot on unpaved roads, where access to health care and basic education is available.

Photo 3: Round table (mesa de trabajo) with victims, San Pablo de Tulapas (© Páez, 2016)

The region was heavily affected by homicides and massacres during the 1990´s:

Graph: Homicides per year in the Turbo region (source: Verdadabierta, n.d.)

In addition to homicides of specific persons, 30 massacres occurred between 1990 and 2005 with 184 dead and 46 "disappeared" inhabitants (Verdadabierta, n.d., ibid.).

Currently, the municipality of Turbo brings together more than 70,000 victims, more than half of its population, who have suffered a diversity of criminal acts, such as forced disappearance or homicide of relatives or neighbours, sexual violence, child recruitment, kidnapping, and land deprivation – and violent acts persist. Two weeks before our visit in May 2016, the *Clan Úsuga* (a

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Bacrim group) carried out an armed strike in the area, affecting 18 of Antioquia's 125 municipalities, leaving one person dead, several wounded and 35 illegal actors captured (Radio Caracol, 2016). On our way to San Pablo, graffiti on various houses warned us "AGC presente" (*The AGC is here;* see photo 1).

According to the UARIV the damages inflicted upon the community by the conflict are psychosocial, economic, and cultural as well as political. In the political sphere, freedom of expression could not be exercised and democratic participation at the municipal level was limited and dangerous. The community gradually lost its leadership to the armed groups that banned community association and development of any kind. These armed groups and the dispossession of land led to the disintegration of the social fabric and often even family ties (see e.g. Meier & Paez, 2016, p. 104). The population was threatened indiscriminately for facilitating or belonging to one armed actors or the other – or the opposite thereof. Life had turned into a lose-lose equation for most of the ordinary population. We sensed a general sense of bitterness, sadness, anger and fear during our visits, as well as the feeling of having lost the possibility of living with due dignity and enjoying basic rights such as health, education, food and recreation.

3.3. The Andes, El Palmar, municipio de Leiva (Nariño)

Photo 4: The steep mountains of Nariño (© Páez, 2016)

The settlement of El Palmar belongs to the municipality of Leiva and is located in the northeast of the *departamento* Nariño, near the western Andean mountain range. It covers approximately 100 square kilometers consisting of a steep mountainous landscape, 900 - 1800 meters above sea level (Alcaldía de Leiva - Nariño, 2016). The trip to the urban center of El Palmar took us about 3 hours on unpaved roads from Leiva.

El Palmar counts about 5,100 inhabitants, mostly small-scale farmers, out of which 2/3 live in poverty. The main agricultural products cultivated are sugar cane, coffee, banana, peanuts, beans, maize, wood – and coca. There is no other industry. According to the Mayor of Leiva illicit crops such as coca and poppy provide "most of the income" in the area and have displaced other traditional economic activities. Wood logging has caused serious environmental problems in the area. It only has one health center in precarious conditions and a basic education institution that has been the target of clashes and attacks by illegal armed groups present in the region. Similarly, it lacks public security forces. (all data from Alcaldía de Leiva - Nariño, 2016). In short, El Palmar shows high state abandonment.

Both El Palmar and the municipality of Leiva have suffered the consequences of the internal armed conflict. Its remote location, rugged topography, and difficult access to the area by road positioned them both as preferred cultivation location and strategic corridors for drug trafficking (OIM, 2016). In 1979 the FARC took control of the region, carried out attacks and armed incursions in the

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municipality in 1982, 1985 and 1986 and so consolidated its presence in the community (all data in Muñoz, 2013). During this very long period of domination of the FARC together with the historical absence of the Colombian State, the neighbors developed "informal relations of power" with the first, by virtue of which

> (t)hese actors [of the FARC] were "the Law", addressing various issues of the community such as: domestic violence, robberies, land suits. In the same way [they] established "Laws" for the coexistence of the community. This historic collaboration permitted the community to accept and tolerate its situation, [but] which affected it in a negative way, since it has stigmatized them – a stigmatization [as "community of criminal collaborators"] of which the community is still a victim. (Hoyos, 2014).

By the year 2000 the AUC had entered the area to control the water supply and the exploitation of the land. Coca and poppy cultivation increased consecutively, making the department of Nariño the largest producer in the country in 2007 (Muñoz, 2013, p. 215). At the same time, the population displaced by violence also increased, as did crimes such as theft, intimidation and indiscriminate verbal and physical mistreatment (Ávila, Escobar, & Torres Tovar, 2014; Muñoz, 2013). According to the UNHCR, "while the department of Nariño in 2000 recorded the expulsion of 2,411 people, in 2002, 2005 and 2006 it saw about 10,000 people displaced annually, who had to flee to protect their lives and their integrity" (Muñoz, 2013, p. 215). Following the negotiations with the AUC by the Uribe government and their disarmament agreement, the year 2005 saw the demobilization of 689 AUC-men. However, violence *in*creased with the birth of the *Bacrim* (said to be mostly recruited from Ex-AUC-*paras*) and their longstanding dispute over land and drugs (Muñoz, 2013, p. 224; OIM, 2016). These *Bacrims* alone killed hundreds of civilians in the municipality, seven of which in El Palmar in December (Rutas del Conflicto, n.d.), causing great socio-psychological injury to the community. The church was a place often used by illegal groups to gather population and "dispense justice", even killing people inside it. Plans are now to deconsecrate it and turn it into a peace monument.

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Photo 5: Church of El Palmar, place of illegal gatherings and executions, now proposed to become a peace monument (© Páez, 2016)

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By 2012, the FARC had regained control over the region after multiple armed "guerilla"-type-skirmishes with the Colombian Army and monopolized the trade routes for narcotics in the department. In 2013 homicides, indiscriminate detentions and forced displacements were reported massively – and also attributed to the Colombian Army in combat. (see e.g. Raigozo, 2013).

Was (and is) the Colombian Army a player or an opponent of the drug business?

The question is vital to the understanding of the conflict and the post-conflict period, and it would be far beyond the scope of this paper to investigate it empirically. Also, the thorny issue of the *falsos positivos* (literally "false positives") – army members that killed (supposedly) innocent civilians and declared them *enemy combatants* in order to gain military benefits – hovered over the peace talks in La Havana for a long time. Was the Colombian state arbitrarily committing crimes against humanity itself, or were the *falsos positivos* merely singularities to be settled by disciplinary military law? The first interpretation would have delegitimized the state monopoly of violence; the second interpretation would have rendered the argument politically irrelevant. We repeat that the issue is politically still highly charged and cannot and need not be answered in detail in our context here.

Finally, since the year 2015 with the peace talks in Havana/Cuba advancing and the transition of the FARC into a political party (now *Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común*), an increasing presence of the ELN has been noticed. (OIM, 2016) and reports of illegal detentions and kidnappings related to the drug trafficking business continue, as well as numerous murders of civilians (DIV03, 2016).

4. Results

Our research in the three municipalities yielded several lessons in terms of territorial reconciliation. Six appeared central to us:

- Victims, victimizers and the communities have developed a deep mistrust in the State and its institutions that will be hard to overcome for the peace process.
- Isolating *collective redress* to *formal reintegration* reduces PPR contributions to reconciliation. Victims and victimizers in a 50+-year conflict are not always, and not always definitely, distinguishable (although in many instances they indeed are, and drastically) nor is the line between them and the "indifferent rest" clear at all times.
- *Systemic reconciliation* helps improve conditions in communities and avoid assistentialism.
- Setting up economically successful, self-organized small enterprises works to bring affected people together and envision a better future.
- Cultural and sports activities are important to ease tension and regain zest for life.
- As long as the (political and economic) causes of the armed conflict remains, it will not be extinguished.

4.1. Victims, victimizers and the communities alike have developed a deep mistrust in the State and its institutions that will be hard to overcome for the peace-process

In general, the population of the municipalities visited showed a profound mistrust towards the functioning of the democratic system, the Colombian State specifically. Complaints about the poor management of public goods by the officials, referring to corruption, administrative inefficiency and links with illegal armed actors were heard during almost all occasions. This ubiquitous and constant complain is problematic for the transition to peace, since one of our main goals was to establish confidence in the political processes, to recover the legitimacy of the State in the eyes of its citizens, and to consolidate democracy (see Van Zyl, 2011, p. 65).

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Both victims *and* PPR reported that functionaries of the Army or National Police subjected both groups to arbitrary detentions, unjustified searches, indications of belonging to illegal groups, and violations of the right to due process. And in fact, Public Force has received augmented rights in the context of *Transitional Justice* to secure public safety in the transition period, but for the citizens it had the effect of destroying an already weak trust towards the State. A certain lack of commitment of the Armed Forces to the reconciliation process perpetuates the image of the State as an enemy of the civilian population – to which the PPR belong now – and puts their reintegration at risk.

Our informants demanded "democratic training" to participate actively in public management beyond electoral activity. Some points they mentioned were a clear information about administrative responsibilities and limitations, control and denouncement of corruption of public resources, more direct impact of community decisions on local government plans, especially on the definition of budget spending, along with a general interest in skills of public and private leaderships and entrepreneurship. We evidenced a lot of ignorance about legal ways to demand their rights and strengthen community associative capital during the training and the necessity for technical training in areas as diverse as new technologies, basic accounting, the design of a simple administrative scheme or how to establish channels of communication and cohesion.

For example, in Carmen de Bolívar several social leaders from the victims' spectrum pointed out to us that numerous civic associations have political agendas for the region, but that they lack the capacity to influence traditional political parties or to launch their own candidates for regional governments, because of the existence of strong clientele networks, we were told. Likewise, both in San Pablo de Tulapas and El Palmar the inhabitants emphasized the need for the creation of spaces for informal democratic deliberation, within which plans for the reconstruction of the regions could be realized.

To compare this with a distant example, Sierra Leone demonstrated that the distrust of the PPR in "others", including the State, diminishes the feeling of attachment to the democratic process and can stimulate recidivism.

Past participation in an abusive military faction is the strongest predictor of difficulty in achieving social reintegration. On economic and political reintegration, we find that wealthier and more educated combatants face greater difficulties. Ideologues, men, and younger fighters are the most likely to retain strong ties to their factions. Most important, we find little evidence at the micro level that internationally funded programs facilitate demobilization and reintegration. (Humphreys & Weinstein, 2007, p. 531)

In fact, in all three populations our informants identified

1. State abandonment and 2. public corruption

as the main causes of *la violencia* (the violence), even more than the actions of armed groups. "We have been hurt more by corruption than by armed groups," (Informant "Jhon", El Palmar, 5.5.2016) said one informant, and questioned us about how exactly the resources allocated to the collective reparation of his community by UARIV were to be distributed. Peace and reconciliation is "big business" now, more so as it includes many international actors not well acquainted with the history of the Colombian conflict and local traditions.

Legally, compliance with the requirements set forth by national reintegration policies cannot be left to the political willingness (or unwillingness) of the respective local politicians or teachers (see below) but has to be enforced. The socialization of the respective state programs and a general sensitization for the vulnerability of the victims as well as the PPR population is a national challenge and should be promoted intensively in order to secure the process of "social healing" envisioned. This must include the PPR.

In all three municipalities, there was a clear lack of knowledge about the components of the reintegration route, but also a lack of interest on the part of the media and educational institutions to communicate these and thus help overcome the situation. This ignorance facilitates myths about

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disproportionate (economic) state benefits for PPR, visions promoting PPR rejection and discrimination and stimulating feelings of bitterness among the victims, who see their victimizers as being "rewarded" by the State. "Delinquir paga" (to commit crimes pays) was a phrase we heard several times in this respect. The wrong information had spread that PPR receive a free monthly pay of three minimum wages – way above any rural income attainable for the average Colombian *campesino* –, disseminated by the political opposition. This had obviously created a feeling of exclusion and betrayal not only in victims, but also large parts of the communities. This policy, aimed at helping PPR in their reintegration process and well justified compared to the high costs of the armed conflict, also played a role in the rejection of the plebiscite.

4.2. The victim-victimizer dichotomy is too person-centered

The legislation of *administrative reparation* sought to settle the historical debt of the Colombian State vis-à-vis those who suffered from the absence of state institutions. It gave – for the first time – legal recognition to the *category* of victims, under formalized procedural schemes, without the necessity for *individuals* to win a trial before a judge. However, the focus was clearly on the past, not so much on securing their future. Furthermore, in both the cases of the victims and the PPRs, we see that peace-processes must focus from the beginning on *peace-building* and *peace-keeping*, not only *peace-making* – or more positively, the three have to be intertwined from the beginning, not just consecutively.

The Colombian reconciliation expert Moreno warns that only "buying one's way out" will not do, but that the "ideal of inclusion should serve as a framework for administrative redress in a way that will dignify the victims and reintegrate them into the community in full equality." (Moreno, 2011)

Similarly, the effective reintegration of PPR requires a coherent and inclusive discourse that gives meaning to the process, and a change of a social climate of excessive polarization or reticence of local actors. For this reason, reconciliation strategies must revolve around citizens, rather than victims and victimizers, since the latter category is inclusive, ideologically more neutral and associated with the active participation of democratic institutions. Likewise, the role of citizen places the subject as an actor of social change and protagonist of the exercise of public power, which triggers changes in their expectations of life.

In this regard, the Center for Non-Violent Action, committed to the transformation of conflicts in border areas of the former Yugoslavia, considers that perpetuating the role of victim among the population represents an obstacle to the construction of sustainable coexistence scenarios, as it dismisses the person from his or her responsibility to actively build one´s life and care for the community (Austin, 2011). The State can compensate for failures in the past, but it is the victims and the victimizers who have to actively work their way back into the community, all of them being prepared for the psychological and social transformations that are associated with it (see also Sikkink, Marchesi, Dixon, & D'Alessandra, 2014).

As for the former, the idea that economic compensation alone allows communities to reconcile or establish relationships of trust in a framework of sustainable coexistence was discarded for lack of empirical support. In our view, it could not be otherwise, because reparation and reintegration seek to satisfy demands and provide services to only certain small sectors of the population, which in quantitative terms do not represent the majority of the inhabitants and the institutions of a community. It is the community, its institutions such as schools, churches, companies and cooperatives and its citizens and their different states of minds, indifference, opportunism, anger and anxiousness, and the situation in which they occurred and occur, which forms the scenario for reconciliation.

In this sense, the fact that both institutions – UARIV y ACR – distribute their services only to individual recipients of their programs and not to regions or communities, they account for a sort of disconnection from the social, political and economic environment they work in. The person-

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centered approach they follow and implement excludes the local dynamics and the specific configurations of each region, but instead leaves them with an unfavorable assistentialist notion that "something is being done".

This can be attributed in part to the legal framework for the *reintegration of ex-combatants* as it was limited to determining the special processes through which combatants would lay down their arms and take on new life projects outside the illegal armed group – *peace-making*, not *peace-building* nor *peace-keeping* was the primary focus (for a theoretical discussion see Fetherston, 2000; Greig et al., 2005). The proposal for community reintegration, although existing and seeking to improve local conditions or incentives to prevent the return of the PPRs to illegal groups, was more conceived as a legal guarantee for the "defenseless" PPR and to facilitate reconciliation (cf. the DDR), and not so much as a direct mechanism to actively promote community development and the rebuilding of a social fabric. In our conception, that was an error.

Practically, the PPRs interviewed experience the ACR as their only governmental ally and perceive indifference, exclusion and even open hostility on the part of municipal mayors, local companies, but also in the education sector and the media. This is particularly noticeable, when they seek work, or try to access public services. In general, the language "the rest of society" uses to refer to them is distant, cold and even hostile.

PPR, but also victims, felt that many public and private institutions did not contribute to the reintegration of PPR but rather perpetuate their stigmatization, from which they suffer. As a PPR put it, "the commitment to reconciliation is important for everyone, not just for us – or for the victims" (PPR "Juan", Carmen de Bolívar, 26.4.2016). In this regard, an ex-member of the AUC reported with sadness the discrimination one of his daughters suffered in the public school she attends, because although she obtains good academic results and is a respected student, some teachers deny her any public recognition and openly remind her classmates of her father´s criminal past. (Informant "Iván", Turbo, 19.4.2016)

4.3. Systemic reconciliation helps improve conditions of communities and avoid assistentialism

If social reconciliation has to do not only with the victims and victimizers of the internal armed conflict, but also with society in general, and this is to be more than lip-service, approaches need to differentiate between the personal – often traumatically painful – experiences of the victims (but also those of the PPR), and the destruction the conflict has left to both of them within the social fabric they come from and they are about to reenter in renewed roles.

An armed conflict of such magnitude and length could not have passed unnoticed by the many other social roles it created: the seemingly indifferent, the bystanders, the ones with "open accounts", the fearful, the courageous, the opportunists, the sympathizers and the many others and the different roles they may have taken in different situations and circumstances during more than 50 years. It is therefore indispensable to differentiate existing methodologies and approaches and develop new ones.

Concretely, there is a need to develop a systemic approach, away from the person-centered toward a community-centered perspective. Otherwise, peace may be stuck halfway in the communities evaluated. This is not to deny that integral reparation and effective reintegration increase the local conditions of reconciliation, and thus, the chances of making peace sustainable. In effect, "when guilty parties are held accountable, when facts are openly investigated, when pardon is requested and compensation is paid, when guilty institutions are subject to reform, reconciliation is more likely to succeed" (Vera, Contreras Pardo, Torres, & Salcedo, 2015, p. 14), but the reparation and reintegration programs under study are not sufficient to promote reconciliation in communities as a whole, since the latter requires specific and additional activities that foster empathy, provide

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encounters, establish and/or deepen relationships and promote – above all – changes in living conditions in these communities.

This would also move forward towards modifying the *welfare logic* with which State authorities intervene in the communities. Welfare involves an understanding of subjects as being – temporarily or chronically – incapable of managing their needs. This is not generally true for young men and women in the PPR project, and not generally true for the victims neither. Thus, it does not contribute much to eradicating the causes of poverty or exclusion (Franco Martínez, 2011) nor does it improve the capacity for interest agency. For these reasons, the negative logic of *welfare dependency*, that accentuates inequality in the long term and increases the vulnerability of communities, has to be overcome, as it does not confront the real causes of pressing needs, but rather hides them with palliative measures (Franco Martínez, 2011; for a discussion of the concept see Schugurensky, 1998; Villanueva O'Driscoll, Loots, & Derluyn, 2013)

In the selected municipalities, the role of the UARIV, the ACR and other local entities was mostly associated with the delivery or provision of welfare services. The three municipalities shared a common perception that numerous social projects carried out for income generation or improvement of the quality of life, failed or did not achieve the expected results, because of the lack of personal involvement on the part of the recipients. We see them as investments of public financial resources for laudable purposes, but without sustainability and little or no contribution to build any capacity for self-management of the people in the region.

4.4. Setting up economically successful, self-organized small enterprises works best to bring affected people together and envision a better future

In the *Montaña Alta*, as well as in Tulapas and El Palmar, economically profitable activities enabled actively involved inhabitants to become agents of local transformation and created scenarios favorable for the encounters and the building of relationships between them.

For example, UARIV officials in charge of El Palmar and PPR residing in the area spoke very positively to us about the spontaneous reconciliation between victims and former members of the AUC – thanks to their participation in a small-scale poultry business: In 2015 UARIV, ACR, SENA and a foundation called *Manyani de Luz* started a business of egg and chicken production in the city of Pasto including seven PPR and 20 victims, which was reported in the focus group to have generated close ties and even friendships among the two and led to spontaneous forgiveness exercises.

According to the participants, the success of this initiative was due, among other factors, to the psycho-social support they received throughout the process, but also the adequate marketing chances of the products, which made the association profitable and helped them to financially support their families and develop a sense of economic sufficiency (Caracol TV, 2016). We reported the "success story" to UARVI, ACR and OIM back in Bogotá and it was televised as a successful example of the reconciliation process. Methodologically we are referring here to anecdotal "there-is"-evidence without statistical back-up, that nevertheless shows, that the combination of psychological accompaniment – oriented towards the past – and economic prospective – oriented towards a better future – did work in this specific case.

It was also in the renewed social context of the poultry project also, where we sensed a desire to apologize and ask for forgiveness in our psycho-social workshops. One PPR expressed that he felt the spontaneous desire to apologize to the victims for his actions in the illegal armed group:

> The bait was the project, but the goal was reconciliation and we always had something in
> common: the same problems [...] culminated the stage well [sic], we cried without having to

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and we realized that we were all human, [...] but it is from above that they implement prejudices against us [...] " (Informant "Pedro", Pasto, 10.5.2016)

However, even if it remained clear that he felt emotionally sorry, the responsibility was not his personal one, but fell upon an unidentified "they at the top".

A negative example we encountered was in El Palmar, where between 2012 and 2014 national entities together with international cooperation funds had set up an organic coffee company. Its objective was to replace coca leaf cultivation with profitable and legal agricultural alternatives. However, according to villagers, the project did not yield the expected results because it demanded high cost inputs and effective marketing networks, both of which were missing. In addition, coffee hardly competed with the value of the coca leaf and its easy planting in the region. Hence the project never rooted within the community, who quickly abandoned the business and returned to its traditional illegal economic activities.

For many, the assistentialist attitude of the authorities involved in this exercise, coupled with the poor participation of the beneficiaries in their design and management, were some of the factors that led to their failure. The common denominators of successful projects were the impulses, commitment and personal contributions of the participants, it was seen as "their" project. Such was the case of the poultry company in Pasto, in which victims and PPRs contributed to the initial financing of the required machinery, received permanent advice and psycho-social care from the ACR and the UARIV during all the process.

Despite the success of the poultry project, administrative difficulties prevented its sustainability. In this regard, PPR regretted the lack of continuity of the project due to delays in the disbursement of individual reparations to several participating victims. A PPR commented:

> The Victims Unit depends more on politics [...] the activity worked and allowed us to make friends [...] but it was short, and the local entities disappeared [...] the victims left them even more hurt than they were before, one victim told me [a PPR]: "Do not believe these people [referring to the functionaries of the UARIV] they tell pure lies." (Informant "Pablo", Pasto, 10.5.2016)

This comment leaves no doubts again about the deep mistrust both victims and PPRs seem to have towards state functionaries, being considered by the former as "those who left us defenseless during the armed conflict" and by the latter as "those who fought and killed our comrades". It also makes clear that one of the main aims in the endeavor of reconciliation is building (or in some cases: restoring) trust in the impartiality of state institutions as such, be they security, health or education.

4.5. Cultural and sports activities are important to ease tension and regain peace

Another important area of reconciliation we witnessed in the municipalities studied are cultural activities, sporting events or the promotion of music, dance, theater and other artistic expressions, which individuals attend as neighbors and citizens (and explicitly *not* as PPR or victims of the armed conflict) and generate bonds of trust and maybe even friendship. It seemed exactly its apolitical, "leisure" nature that permits people to get together without falling into the traps of old roles and their respective old arguments.

An example: In October 2015 the population of San Pablo de Tulapas approved its collective reparation plan. In addition to requesting funding for banana, cacao and small livestock farming, it included the "endowment for the house of culture", abandoned by war or transitorily occupied by illegal armed groups. Also, the adaptation and re-opening of the existing sports facilities in the region and the realization of football and baseball sports tournaments to "strengthen the bonds of trust within the community" and motivate "integration among the residents of the village" (*Plan

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integral de reparación colectiva, 2015) seemed good tools. "It would be so great to celebrate *Carnival* again, like we used to, such a long long time ago ..." said one informant literally with tears in his eyes (Informant "William", San Pablo, 16.4.2016).

The three cases showed that such scenarios create artistic, sports and leisure opportunities and strengthen the sense of belonging to the community, to restore interpersonal relations affected by the conflict, to overcome the differences between former antagonists and to build new identities (individual and collective) that are distant from the armed conflict.

> During the time of the armed conflict and due to the process of dispossession and mass displacement, the different musical groups responsible for seasoning community and family festivities disappeared (...) With the arrival of paramilitary groups, musical practices had to be transformed with the purpose of preserving life and maintaining the order imposed [i.e. the few musical groups remaining had to adapt to the paramilitary musical taste] (*Plan integral de reparación colectiva*, 2015)

The UARIV had coordinated the construction of a collective reparation plan, where members of the community could participate. Consequently, in the collective reparation plan provided for two "peasant coexistence days" (*dias de la convivencia campesina*), during which the population meets to prepare the typical *sancocho* dish of the region, playing games and engaging in recreational activities throughout the day. To revive the tradition of the musical groups, instruments were delivered on the streets of Tulapas and the interested public was taught how to play and maintain them (Tulapas focus group, 18.4.2016).

In Leiva our informants also mentioned positively the creation of the "departmental board of social pedagogy", as prescribed by the Victims' Law as part of the establishment of guarantees of non-repetition. This initiative was composed of representatives from several local universities, Social Foundations, the Office of Human Rights of the National Police, the Departmental Education Secretariat, the ACR and the UARIV. Some of its achievements were the inclusion of a Chair of Peace in the departmental development plan, which began to be implemented in several public schools, and academic events on repair and reintegration of PPR. (Agencia para la Reincorporación y la Normalización, 2015).

4.6. As long as the (political and economic) causes of the armed conflict remains, it will not be extinguished

Returning to the poultry-project for the last time, it seems clear that economically productive, work-based projects contribute to reintegration, as otherwise PPR find it very difficult to enter the labor market. The stigmatization by the community, but also their lack of work-discipline due to their long time in the armed groups, mixed with a general sense of insecurity and irritability they may sense and/or radiate obliges them to carry out occasional, informal or simple agricultural work. This also confirms the strong links between the processes of reconciliation and the modification of the material conditions of the rural areas:

> Reconciliation has to be based on more than pragmatism and rhetoric. A public acknowledgement of what went wrong in the past, a minimum of retribution and redress and, above all, progress towards economic justice are needed. (Bloomfield, Barnes, Huyse, et al., 2003, p. 36)

For a process of reconciliation, it is necessary to treat the problem of economic injustice and participation in political power as related aspects. In this sense, the search for political solutions to conflicts should not only contemplate the armed dimension as a military question and respond to

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the effects of violence as a psycho-social problem, but also face the fact that at the root of the conflicts there is a strong component of political marginalization and social conflict directly related with conditions of poverty and exclusion in a community, but also a broad strata of society, as an economic issue. (Bloomfield et al., 2003)

All this hints at the private sector strengthening the social environment and their necessary active role in the post conflict period and the reconstruction of a strong and reliable state (see Gerson, 2001). For these reasons, it is imperative to link that sector to the management of reconciliation initiatives in the territories, so that they provide accompaniment or technical advice and even funding. As we have already emphasized, economic recovery depends on "the private business sector [and it] plays a fundamental role in the economic and social management and recovery of the regions most affected by the conflict as well as in the expansion of democracy." (*Perspectivas y aportes empresariales para la construcción de paz*, n.d.)

5. Some recommendations for the future

5.1. Promote greater linkage of local governments, private companies, educational institutions, the media and Public Security

During the Havana talks the focus was clearly on peace-making, on bringing an end to the 50-year-old conflict, it was aimed towards the past. The DDR was a military necessity that had to be treated with care, the focus was clearly not on a vision of the future for the communities. But peace-building and peace-keeping are systematic challenges. They require adjustments not just from PPR and victims, but an active role that local governments must take on, a commitment of private companies in the area to invest and employ, a willingness of educational institutions to accept new students with vulnerable biographical and educational backgrounds, a media that will cover and report the ups and downs of the process, without stigmatizing or faking, and Public Security forces that refrain from "balancing open accounts", but transform into reliable forces, securing the state monopoly on violence and the functioning of state institutions. Without this hand-in-hand co-operation the peace process will break down into a bundle of isolated state actions whose distribution will attract beneficiaries from all sides of the community, create an assistentialist *welfare mentality* and form new dependencies without a lasting and transforming effect for the communities and their future.

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5.2. Move from a person-centered to a community-centered reconciliation approach

We have found the *Entrelazando* approach extremely helpful as such, but it should be extended to include the communities as a whole, expressly also the PPR, and not only the victims, in order to turn into a strategy for reconciliation that moves beyond the current restitution and repair logic. The different psycho-social exercises proposed are not only helpful and healing for the victims but could prove to be so for the victimizers as well, most of whom were recruited being minor of age and without apparent alternatives (see Meier & Páez, 2016, p. 96). But it could prove useful and inspiring for the different other members of the communities as well, most of them involved in one way or the other during the traumatically long 50 years the conflict lasted – the indifferent, the broken, the cynical, the angry and the anxious and all the different shades and nuances in between.

5.3. Promoting reconciliation means empowering local citizens

The deep mistrust so obviously encountered during our visit will make it difficult for the State to regain control, or even the trust of its citizens in the affected areas. Local citizens should be empowered to "take their fate into their own hands" in the positive sense, that they do not expect

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too much from a historically always weak or even absent state but develop forms of self-organization that allow them to economically sustain themselves and head into a better economic future, leaving the past behind. The distribution process of PPR and victim state benefits has already left regions in bitter fights over their just allocation, potentially hurting more than helping in the post-conflict process.

5.4. Restore mutual trust and love of life in the affected communities by arts and sports

Social fabric is historically closely connected to feasting together. The desire to reestablish the old traditions of Carnival, musical processions, family and community festivities, playing football on the village square (while the girls seem to be otherwise busy, when they are indeed watching …), even seemingly unspectacular activities such as cooking and eating together without fear of violence and prosecution has to be taken very seriously, and become a paramount object of the reconciliation process. To ease the bitterness, the armed conflict has left, by celebrating together may even be a good tool to better overcome the economic hardships faced.

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Book Review by Olaf Beuchling & Maria Ladebeck

Paul Howard-Jones (2018). *Evolution of The Learning Brain: Or How You Got To Be So Smart …* **Oxon: Routledge. 237 pp., ISBN-13: 978-1138824461 (Paperback)**

Both neuroscientific as well as evolutionary approaches to human learning have made great advances in the recent years. Both fields will become essential sources of understanding learning and the role of pedagogy in transmitting human culture. Paul Howard-Jones, British neuroscientist at the School of Education, University of Bristol, and TV broadcaster, has written a new book in which he presents an overview of recent perspectives in this interdisciplinary field. *Evolution of the Learning Brain* is an entertainingly written and continuously illustrated publication, which covers no less than 4.5 billion years of evolutionary history from the Big Bang to the powerful brains of homo sapiens today. It is logically structured, thematically varied and always written in a very readable style. A clock with digital display accompanies the reader through the entire book. It ticks for 24 hours, from the time when researchers suspect the beginning of life on earth to the prospects that the author dares to have for the future of the human brain. This clock is helpful to visualize all the milestones that have existed over this immense period of billions of years.

Howard-Jones` book begins by offering the reader a short but insightful narration on the concept of evolution and its core ideas such as natural selection or heredity. In the following chapter "Origins", Jones starts out with the Big Bang, which scientists date about 4.5 billion years ago, and Jones explains that this is still only a hypothesis about how the universe came into being in the first place. After a brief introduction into rough assumptions about it, he starts the digital clock at "3.8 billion years ago". The following is a presentation of important basic biological knowledge: What are pro- and eukaryotes, how are they structured? Does the Escherichia coli or E. coli bacterium have something like a memory and a rudimentary capacity that could already be described as learning?

As soon as the author addresses the first multicellular animal species with the sponges 600 million years ago, the digital clock already shows "20:12:37 pm" - the future in which we find ourselves today is therefore only 4 hours away and so far we have only got to know a few - and admittedly still very simple - life forms. This will bring a real wow effect, especially for readers who are still unfamiliar with the subject, to realize in which rapid steps the following developments have taken place.

After the sponges, jellyfish with the first nerve cells, as well as the electrical and chemical synapse, which is one of the greatest surprises from the researchers' point of view due to its complexity. Howard-Jones leads at this point to the first bilateria (two-sided animals), whose learning needs are great compared to jellyfish, which is why a chemical synapse makes sense for them.

The third chapter is devoted to new forms of life. From the Bilateria on, biodiversity exploded: within less than 200 million years, the first vertebrates were formed. The author describes that fortunately the land had been offering food in the form of supporting microbial life - which in turn helped to transform the land with nutrients. Meanwhile photosynthesis was about to happen, whereupon green algae, which all plant life evolved from, came into being.

About 240 million years ago, dinosaurs, related to reptiles, dominated for almost 100 million years, but at the same time there is evidence of an animal that is very similar to mammals: the so-called Adelobasileus, to which Howard-Jones adds his own drawing.

Howard-Jones now describes over several pages which brain structures have developed how in vertebrates - the cerebral cortex, the cerebellum, the basal ganglia and the hippocampus are of particular benefit here, because each of these features refers to a specific learning system. For example, the hippocampus evoked the establishment of a memory system in the brain that was of great rele-

vance for survival. But on the other hand, sleep is needed for good memory. Howard-Jones illustrates this consequence and its importance (to this day). He also offers the reader a glance at the relation of stress and learning (remembering) by means of current studies.

In the chapter "The Social Primate", we are 65 million years in the past: The mammal species that have survived until now produced the great apes, our ancestors. They have a lot smaller olfactory bulb, but an enlarged cortex. In the chapter it is shown in detail that brains became more and more developed in comparison to other mammals, which naturally requires more energy and thus enormously increases the need for food. Their social coexistence justifies the evolution and use of such a large but demanding brain. At this point, the author again presents some relevant terms and "extensions" of brain development, including the theory of mind, social learning or mirror neurons. The importance of role models in social learning, an aspect to which great attention is paid in experimental research by evolutionary scientists like Kevin N. Laland, William Hoppitt or Joseph Henrich, is also summarized. Of course, here as in other chapters of this book, one should not expect an in-depth discussion of the topics mentioned.

In the following chapter,'homo' finally appears. Howard-Jones describes the various steps that hominization took along the Great African Rift Valley, until homo habilis, the first human species, emerged. About 1.9-2.5 million years ago, it is said to have developed and later evolved into homo erectus.

Chapter 5 explains the advantages such a large brain might have and how the roots of cultural learning emerged at the time of homo erectus. Jones' statements on flexibility and the so called "oxytocin-switch" are fascinating. The latter constitutes the cause of a more intimate (social) environment, hence the initiation to a cooperative social life has taken place. This meant the birth of teaching and Howard-Jones is in good company, when he describes our species homo as "the cooperative social learner". The basis for cultural learning was established.

In the following chapter on the evolution of speech, Howard-Jones first sums up that 1.8 million years ago, a lot had already emerged that forms the foundation of culture. He then focuses on the emergence and spread of homo sapiens, estimated 200,000 - 60,000 years ago. An information box shows the value of symbolic language in cultural transmission, compared with other modes of transmission like reverse engineering (the novice studying the outcomes of others) or even imitation (the novice is observing the skill of a role model). It becomes concrete what the learning content is about: language, gestures, symbols. Howard-Jones sketches competing theories and discusses whether gestures or speech came first and what brain structures were needed to become a lifeform in which symbolic thought and language emerged. The author states, that the "ability to transmit and receive abstract ideas using symbols has been cited as **the** key achievement that elevated H. *sapiens* to top predator" (p. 107).

Without the capacity of generating and transmitting symbols, numeracy and literacy would not exist. Chapters 7 and 8 are devoted to these cultural innovations and their neurological basis. Both achievements require complex brain structures, the ability of symbolic thinking and are regarded as "together forever" (in terms of origins) by the author. With the written word, an understanding of symbolism, of arbitrary signs that another had to decipher, became all the more established. The acquisition of reading skills in this sense strengthened the visual cortex in particular. With the arrival of numeracy material artefacts supported our brain function as well as the use of fingers (to a certain degree). Our memory improved, material culture augmented our brain. From the usage of fingers by children in the counting and calculating learning process to important topics such as dyslexia or theories about the functioning of the left and right hemispheres, this chapter contains many interesting impulses even if most of it is only briefly touched upon.

Howard-Jones thus creates a successful transition to the 9th chapter, which deals with pedagogy and the evolutionary achievement that connects the brain with such a great deal of learning capaci-

ty. He takes a brief (and somewhat eclectic) look back into the history of pedagogy, mentioning the Hindu Vedas, Quintilian, G. Stanley Hall and Jean Piaget on just a handful of pages. Clearly, these paragraphs of the book are not meant as a history of education. His comments on some – in his opinion – "evolutionary myths" of brain development and learning are more helpful. The same applies to Howard-Jones' summary of "educational learning from a deep-time perspective" (pp. 160-168).

In the final chapter the reader arrives at 00:00:00 am, that is, the present. Here Jones tries to take a look at the future. He outlines four possible scenarios for the future of our species and rounds off his work with a thought-provoking conclusion that questions our efforts at progress and the recognition of our still today astonishing brain. Especially in this concluding chapter, Jones is ambitious in defending the great importance of his neurobiological knowledge and emphasizing its importance for every human being.

Howard-Jones' new book will be a pleasant and inspiring read for a broader readership, including undergraduates. It may also give more advanced students from neighbouring fields a varied, handy overview and synthesis of recent research in evolutionary neuroscience and education. Given the thematic breadth of the book and the evolutionary period it covers, the reader should not expect an in-depth study. Much is only touched upon, competing interpretations are sometimes merely hinted at. For some readers, it may focus slightly more on the natural science side of the subject, while questions of cultural evolution or gene-culture co-evolution are addressed more briefly. Nevertheless, the book offers understandable and manifold information on a continually expanding research field and is therefore also suitable for those readers who are looking for an introduction to neuroscientifically informed pedagogy. One last critical comment on this otherwise successful publication: the illustrations of the book are in need of some improvement. A well-known publishing house like Routledge should be able to provide the reader with more professional graphics instead of the more or less amateurish drawings actually used.

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