

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Ed.)

**INTEGRATED PROGRAMMES FOR
LOWER-PRIMARY TEACHER TRAINING**

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Lisbon – Szeged – Vienna
2004

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Ed.)

**INTEGRATED PROGRAMMES FOR
LOWER-PRIMARY TEACHER TRAINING**

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Lisbon – Szeged – Vienna
2004

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Ed.)

**INTEGRATED PROGRAMMES FOR
LOWER-PRIMARY TEACHER TRAINING**

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Lisbon – Szeged – Vienna
2004



European Commission



Pädagogische
Akademie des Bundes
in Wien

Comenius 2.1: Integrated programmes for lower primary teacher training
94320-CP-1-2001-1-HU-COMENIUS-C21

Editor of the Series: Zsuzsanna Benkő

Editor of the volume: Klára Tarkó

This project has been carried out with the support of the European Community
in the framework of the Socrates programme.

The content of this project does not necessarily reflect the position of the
European Community, nor does it involve any responsibility on the part of the
European Community.

© by Benkő Zsuzsanna, Bolz Martin, Cardoso Carlos, Erdei Katalin, Lippai László Lajos,
Madureira Isabel, Pinto Paulo Feytor, Pinto Teresa, Seebauer Renate, Soares Lúcia Vidal,
Tarkó Klára

ISBN 963 9167 96 7

Juhász Gyula Felsőoktatási Kiadó
Szeged, 2004

Contents

Conceptual umbrella	5
Preface	9
Zsuzsanna Benkő: Possible ways of understanding the concept of minority. Social perception of minorities	11
Klára Tarkó: History and present of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary .	19
Carlos Cardoso: Ethnic minorities in Portugal: History and present situation	33
Renate Seebauer and Martin Bolz: Ethnic minorities in Austria – from “minority“ to the so-called “Austrian national minority“	39
Katalin Erdei and László Lajos Lippai: The concept of prejudice and its role in personality development	55
Klára Tarkó: Linguistic discrimination, linguistic human rights	63
Klára Tarkó: Gender roles in the society; the state of women	75
Klára Tarkó: gender roles in the society; the state of women in Hungary	85
Teresa Pinto: Gender roles in society – the status of women in Portugal	93
Renate Seebauer: Gender issues in Austria – Optimisation of opportunities through the “gender mainstreaming” movement	99
László Lajos Lippai: Sexual minorities	115
Zsuzsanna Benkő: Social acceptance of otherness. The disabled	123
Zsuzsanna Benkő: Social acceptance of otherness. The disabled in Hungary ...	129
Isabel Madureira: Social acceptance of otherness. The disabled in Portugal	135
Martin Bolz and Renate Seebauer: Austria: Inclusive education against the backdrop of the concept of dignity	139

Klára Tarkó: History and concept of multicultural education	147
Klára Tarkó: Educational methods for preventing prejudice. Cooperative education	157
Klára Tarkó: Curriculum and teaching aids	163
Klára Tarkó the state of multicultural / minority education in the partner countries – Hungary	171
Carlos Cardoso: The state of multicultural / minority education in the partner countries. Ethnic diversity in the Portuguese education system	177
Martin Bolz: The state of multicultural / minority education in the partner countries – Austria	183
Klára Tarkó: Bilingualism, bilingual education	189
Klára Tarkó: Bilingualism, bilingual education in Hungary	197
Lúcia Vidal Soares and Paulo Feytor Pinto: Bilingualism and bilingual education in Portugal	201
Renate Seebauer: Bilingual education in Austrian schools	207
Authors of the volume	219

Conceptual umbrella

Since the development of hierarchical societies most social scientists agree that inequalities in the countries of the developed world are still characteristically defined by this hierarchical arrangement. Different classes, strata and groups of the society are arranged along financial, property, educational, social division of labour and settlement differences. Social scientists agree also on the fact that opportunities in the society are largely influenced by factors that can not be represented in the hierarchical arrangement. What are these factors?

Without hierarchical ordering of the factors in question here we think of inequalities related to gender: women in all societies of the developed world are in worse social positions than men of similar stratification characteristics. The national and ethnic palette of European societies is very colourful; belonging to a national or ethnic minority can be source of social disadvantages. Though cases are different by countries and societies, the state of the disabled further expands the system of unequal opportunities.

An increasingly indispensable part of knowledge-based society, highlighted more and more in the recent years – beside disciplinary knowledge (geography, biology, chemistry, etc.) – is the need for a complex orientation in the society. Public education can support social orientation the best if it is able to develop, strengthen and implement practice-oriented skills and expertise. What are those skills we aimed at developing in this project? We intend to deepen health promotion, health-conscious behaviour, value system and practice. Opportunities for health are described also along social hierarchy and along the level of education as a decisive factor within, and this chance or opportunity is further increased or decreased by minority status or of being different. It is already an important aim and task in itself that lower-primary school educators and through these educators, children, parents and grandparents should become acquainted with modern approach to health. So as to reduce health inequalities new educational and psychological methodological elements are required beside essential knowledge, because paradigm-change is also essential for getting to know, accepting and make others accept “difference”.

We can hope for a modest result only if we base health promotion solely on knowledge transmission – however thorough it is –, and it is the same case if we

focus only on knowledge transmission in relation to minority issues. In the case of health promotion we considered practice-oriented education and the transmission of values as decisive educational methods. In case of minority issues value is carried and transmitted by arts. Music, dance and literature – saga as a genre corresponding to the age characteristics – make this complex world visible, audible, perceptible and enjoyable. This scope of questions means not only the historically determined, traditional minority groups (for example the Gypsies, the Jews, Black people or the disabled) but it also means the present migration process within the European Union that happens in front of our eyes: migration from close countries within Europe and from distant countries in Asia, Africa, Latin-America.

There are considerable differences among European countries in terms of their attitudes to their down-and-out, and here we mean the disabled primarily. Though we know it well that those countries where disability is visible in the whole society, because most of them left the closed institutes two or three decades ago (Great Britain, the United States), has defined many tasks for themselves, this process has just started in other countries, where at the same time all this should be made acceptable for small children and for their parents, that is for the whole society.

Inequality appears not only in health chances or in case of minorities but in fostering talent as well. Hence we are well aware that public education strives at the capital-reproduction of the middle class of the society (see the theory of Bourdieu). That is why it is essential to foster the talent of those children in lower-primary school whose parents lack this cultural capital: their communication is underdeveloped, their self-evaluation is low. That is why we have chosen an educational domain for fostering talent where these two factors are not decisive, and it is mathematics. But we are not approaching mathematics the way as the vast majority of the adult society would imagine on the basis of their earlier school experiences. All these of course do not help the communication difficulties of disadvantaged children. Communication skills practice is the answer to that. According to our experiences, teacher training in most European countries does not offer this kind of skills development practice for their students.

We take an invaluable step by developing mother tongue communication, but this increases equal opportunities within the given nation only. Speaking foreign languages (like English and German), especially in three small EU countries like Hungary, Portugal and Austria, is extremely important. Austria has helped a lot in working out the German language module.

Striving at equal opportunities is of key-value in each content module. Creativity, practice-orientation, the socially integrated individual (keeping family, settlement and cultural backgrounds in mind during the education of lower-

primary pupils) are the methodological bases of the transmission of these contents and values. This new perspective can form an organic part of the traditional values of lower-primary teacher training of these three countries.

Zsuzsanna Benkő

International professional coordinator of the project

Preface

Nowadays the question of colourful societies, that is, the state of minorities in our countries, has come increasingly into the foreground. But who do we call a minority? The concept does not refer to numerical characteristics but to an inferior, disadvantaged position. Different national and ethnic minorities, women, the disabled and the sexual minorities belong under this concept. Classification by ourselves or by others to the given minority groups is the result of different social, political, economic and personal considerations. Present modern societies are aware of this variegation of nations, though it does not mean they show maximal tolerance towards individuals and groups differing from the majority society.

Schools have a great role in developing a perspective in people in which discrimination and xenophobia are not present. Schools transmit their values through the official and the hidden curriculum; the development of a multicultural perspective in every educational institute would be a favourable aim. Multicultural education policy though can be developed in those cases only when the given minority formulates its unique aims concerning education and at the same time the dominant ethnic group acknowledges cultural and linguistic differences.

For the sake of being able to overcome the negative effects of prejudice we have compiled a professional – methodological package for lower-primary teacher trainees and teachers. We founded the theory of multicultural education and minority studies with processing the following topics: Possibilities to understand the concept of minorities. Social perception of minorities; History of national and ethnic minorities; The concept of prejudice and its role in personality development; Linguistic discrimination and linguistic human rights; Gender roles in the society, The state of women; Sexual minorities; Social acceptance of otherness, the state of the disabled; History and concept of multicultural education; Educational practices for preventing prejudices; Curriculum and teaching aids; The state of multicultural education in the participating countries; and Bilingualism, bilingual education.

Theoretical issues are founded by the so called “General” topics that aim at providing a wide – relevant to each country of the European Union – understanding of relevant concepts. These general topics are then completed with “Unique” topics containing country-specific realisations of multicultural issues in question, making the module itself multicultural this way.

Klára Tarkó
Sub-coordinator

Possible ways of understanding the concept of minority. Social perception of minorities

(General topic)

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Hungary)

1. Possible ways of understanding the concept of minority

Not independent from the European process, a bit late though, as an effect of the political change in 1989–90, the need for and importance of studying present ethnic – national – minority groups has burst into the world and thinking of Sociology. There were precedents to the ‘after the change of regime’ renaissance of the topic, but these were motivated by history and the intent to handle self-knowledge. In the third part of the 20th century and in the 21st century the social sciences became more and more interested in those “otherness” including social, cultural, and life-style differences that were rooted not only in differences between financial status, education, occupation, place of living, that is, social status differences.

Behind the present changes, the change in politics towards judging ethnic – minority groups also plays part. Legal respects of the above are the ethnic and minority laws brought in during the past years or the establishment of minority local governments. Social issues like the process of pauperisation and its ethnic respects, the change in the identity and living circumstances of the youth or the significant change in the status of women play an important part in changes concerning the status of and opinions about ethnic and minority groups.

The strengthening desire for minority identity plays a huge role in the minority – ethnic renaissance, and it can not be denied, that scientific debates on the issue and its appearance in educational projects has also intensified, not independent from international interests.

Who are minorities then?

One possible approach to minorities distinguishes between four dimensions:

1. historical minorities
2. Jewish, Gipsy minority (ethnic minorities)
3. immigrants from close countries
4. immigrants from distant countries

From this grouping gender and sexual minority groups are missing.

In the meantime it is not always clear, who the subjects of different ethnic – national – minority groups are. Political, legal or social – cultural definitions of national and ethnic minorities are not always separate in the literature as well.

When we are talking about who is considered to be a Gipsy, a Jew, a German or a Slovakian in present Hungary, partially independent aspects like the political acceptance of national identity and its consequences opposite to the cultural and linguistic characteristics of a given minority group or everyday prejudices and group definitions accordingly are mixed.

In the given areas – thanks to different reasons though – Hungarian society was characterised by social homogenisation directed by assimilation on the field of politics. Concerning group identity, cultural respects have remained the most, and the dominance of traditions is extremely strong.

Data referring to national and ethnic minorities are small and controversial. It must be emphasised though, that these differences are primarily not a result of professional incompetence, faulty measures or false information, but of the fact, that things can be analysed and empirically documented from several aspects.

So if there are very small, or large-scale differences occurring in the different statistics concerning present Jews, Gipsies, German and Slovakian minorities or refugees in Hungary, these result mainly from the aspect of the approach used.

A minority group is defined – and its members are classified – differently by a bureaucrat, a state official, a statistician or by someone who belongs to a minority group, and by the representative of a minority organisation.

When minority organisations and their leaders largely overestimate the linguistic or administrative influence of their own group, it is more the political desires, attitudes, feelings and interests playing part than exact and measurable social facts. (cf. ÖRKÉNY, 1995)

Table 1. National and ethnic minorities living in Hungary – according to nationalities

[Source: Magyar Nemzet 1994. november 10.; in. Replika 17–18. sz. 1995.]

Minorities	Data from population census 1990	Data from council, 1980 (unambiguous national minority)	Estimated data by minority leaders
Gipsies	142 683	No data	400–600 000
Germans	30 824	65 969	200–220 000
Slovakians	10 459	34 601	100–110 000
Southern Slavic	No data	27 650	No data
Croats	13 570	No data	80–90 000
Serbian	2 905	No data	5 000
Slovenians	1 930	No data	5 000

Connections between minority, ethnicity, ethnic identity and culture

According to the Black Report, the main reason for the ethnic, minority health inequalities lies in their different *social status* compared to the members of the European society (Inequalities in health, Middlesex, PENGUIN, 1982).

An other research compared the physical and mental state of ethnic minorities and the Whites. This research has come to the result, that one of the main components of health inequalities is the social – economic status, but ethnicity, meaning not only class differences, is also an important component.

An other simplification of ethnic and cultural difference is the “*culture of poverty*” concept (LEWIS, O., 1968) (today in the concept of underclass). A unique lifestyle characterises the poor: living to the present; feeling of inferiority; passive resignation.

The American “Head Start” programme has put the emphasis on changing cultural habits, instead of financial aid to the poor: rising the motivation level of marginalized children (using the middle class as the point of reference).

Ethnicity, ethnic identity

In the western world the concept “Ethnic group” refers to ethnic minorities: It means the connection system between identity and position taken in the social structure.

Possible approaches to ethnicity

“External viewpoint” – studies ethnic groups in terms of the majority society. Ethnicity – “the other” (disclosure; exclusion; can be the means of building hierarchical relationships). “Internal viewpoint” – it is about actually existing communities, distinguished from the majority by differences in thinking and behaviour patterns, they have different languages, different customs, religion and all these are not only the product of pressure, but the unique way of living of the community. With the help of this internal definition the *individuals and the groups build their own identity. While the former is a „racial” indication, the latter, internal definition can be grasped through the concept of ethnicity.*

In this approach to ethnicity we should not concentrate on changing power relationships but we should strive at the worthy representation of a given ethnic minority, the just access to resources and to public acceptance.

Ethnicity is not a static, constant category; it is changing in history, influenced by time, space and the fate of the individuals (there can be a struggle among gender, class status and other identities).

There is a need for the complex perception of *ethnicity and culture*:

- the common ethnic origin does not result in identical cultural relations,

- does not result in identical social status and way of behaviour.

Many has come to the conclusion, that:

- class based approach should be supplemented by the *theory of ethnicity*,
- understanding ethnicity as a “*sleeping*” *collective contract*, that activates when *the given group realises its common interests*.

Ethnic differences are such constructed differences that have at least as much to do with the groups that build the borders of their communities between themselves and the others, as with the dominant group considering them to be “Others”.

An other trend (*social psychology*) urges a change in paradigm – tries to approach this phenomenon in terms of *social perspective*. Social inequalities appear not only in terms of income and financial status, but in

- power inequalities too,
- and they appear also in status inequalities, in comparing gender or ethnic groups.

*The bigger social inequalities are,
the bigger the differences in income are,
the more autocratic the relations in different groups (family, school) are,
the more the quality of social relations can be damaged.*

Inequality can result in anger, frustration, animosity, fear and uncertainty. The aim, the task is to handle in a complex way the:

- status in the social structure
- ethnic identity
- cultural determinateness
- total of discriminative effects excluding minority groups in terms of the minority – majority relations.

2. Social perception

Statistics compiled by the journal Replika can also be evaluated from the aspect: how different social actors view the present “majority” Hungary in terms of ethnic – national minority division.

While according to official statistics 400 thousand people belong to some minority groups at most, the minority leaders talk about 1 million people or even more, and the representative everyday perception by the journal Replica estimates for more than 2 million the number of minority members in Hungary. The editorial staff of the Journal Replica has carried out a representative research on a sample of 1000 people in 1994. The research focused on the social perception of

the origin and financial status of 12 ethnic groups in Hungary. The 12 groups are: Black; Russian from former Soviet Union; Arabic, Asian; Romanian from Romania; former Yugoslavian; Romanian Hungarian; Serbo-Croatian; Slovakian; German; Jewish; Gipsy.

On the basis of the above we can conclude, that independent from real numbers and values, the Hungarian people, and the political organisations of minorities view present Hungarian society as a considerably divided, ethnically and from the aspect of minorities a differentiated and colourful society. This of course does not mean that we are open and tolerant towards otherness, and cultural – linguistic – lifestyle differences. The experience of division and the multicultural approach to the society is present in social public life, on a cognitive level at least.

A unique aspect of the social existence and role of ethnic – minority groups appear when we study the social perception of national and ethnic minorities. The starting point of this approach here is not the viewpoint of the minority member, but that of the “other world”, that is the minority society surrounding and incorporating the minorities, its optics.

When the sociologist wants to collect data to be able to measure and judge social facts, phenomena or processes, he or she presupposes, that these facts and processes exist not only objectively, but both the questioner – observer – researcher and the interviewee has real knowledge and information on these things.

But this presupposition is not so unambiguous (see the above examples). The question of ethnic – national – minority affiliation and identity and its everyday perception belongs as much to the world of social constructions, psychological phenomena, individual and collective cognitive processes and symbolic representations as to the factual and existing structural – inequality relations of the society, the political – cultural division of the society, or to the given form of political integration. The judgement of minority – ethnic – national affiliation is over the scope of phenomena considered to be empirically existing and measurable.

If we would like to analyse social perception of ethnic and minority groups then, we should understand the process and characteristics of social perception, the everyday attitude formation and the nature of proportioning first, and we can talk about the presupposed knowledge content behind the given magnitudes of estimates (ÖRKÉNY, 1995).

Questions proposed by Replica on the socially estimated size of national and ethnic minorities raise several interesting morals. The most striking experience refers to the fact, that the number of missing answers is fairly high compared to

traditional researches. 45 % of those questioned did not make an estimate to the size of any groups. Approximately half of those questioned thinks it is not characteristic to the present Hungarian society.

Table 2. The number of non-appreciable size estimates according to the given minority groups listed in the questionnaire

[Source: ÖRKÉNY, 1995]

	<i>Number of cases</i>
No estimates ever	450
No estimates only to nationality groups	16
No estimates only to refugee groups	3
No estimates only to foreign (Arabic, Asian) groups	7
No estimates only to Gipsy – Jewish groups	53
No estimates to Jewish – Gipsy topics in relation to other topics	62

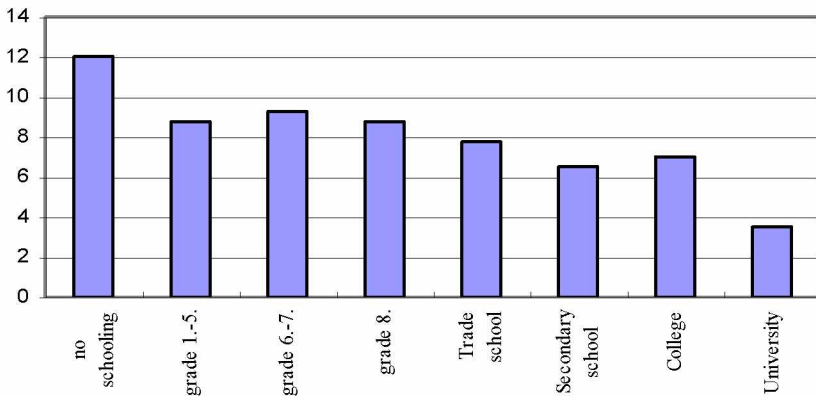
From this result we can conclude, that we face an almost collective ignorance, or that considerable groups of the public do not account for the fact, that there are ethnic – minority groups living among us, that refugees are coming to our country.

Distribution of non-interpretable answers according to social status and place of living is theoretically relevant to analyse, if we accept, that when forming our identity and distinguishing our identity, we obtain our information on minority groups through socialisation or through the channels of publicity – with the help of learning or everyday experiences from our surroundings. This way we could presuppose, that the size of missing answers and non-interpretable size estimates is at least in connection with the general knowledge level and cultural capital of those questioned, or with education officially measuring all these. The results are not calming. Though there is a weak connection between education and the neutral answers, it does not show a significant relationship.

There are similarly no significant relationships in the distribution of those asked according to the place of living. The number of missing answers in case of estimates referring to Gipsies, Germans, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats or refugees are equally high in counties, regions or settlement types where more and where less of them are living.

If these background factors are not working in the explanation of estimates, then instead we should presuppose individual or collective mental or social psychological phenomena, fears and prejudice behind. Instead of meeting conflicts, the answerers hid behind the veil of ignorance (ÖRKÉNY, 1995). According to ÖRKÉNY (1995) it is not by chance that among the 12 ethnic – minority groups measured in the research, we experience a relatively higher number of missing estimates in case of two ethnic groups, the Gipsies and the Jews.

Figure 1. Missing answers and 0% estimates referring to the 12 minority groups, according to education



At the same time, differences between value estimates referring to the Jewish and the Gipsy minority strengthen the experience, that when we would like to measure the size of ethnic – minority groups through the optics of everyday perception and judgement, we should take into consideration, that the questions presuppose and mobilize different knowledge base and informational background, and induce different affective and cognitive processes in the answerers. The given group estimates show the mental processes, judgement abilities of the answerers and their hidden cognitive knowledge content rather, than the actual size of the groups to be measured.

Size estimates to minority groups significantly distinguish between problems like refugee issues and our attitudes towards nationalities or the admittance of foreign immigrants and the judgement of Gipsy and Jewish minority influence (ÖRKÉNY, 1995).

References

- BENKŐ ZSUZSANNA (2000): A családok életmódját meghatározó tényezők. *Szenvedélybetegségek*, VIII. No. 1.
- NEMÉNYI MÁRIA (2002): Az egészségre ható tényezők strukturális, etnikai és kulturális összefüggései. In: Forray R. Katalin (2002, szerk.): *Romológia – Ciganológia*. 43–53.
- ÖRKÉNY ANTAL (1995): A kisebbségek csipkerózsika álma és a szociológus észlelése. *Replika*, No. 9. 260 – 279.

History and present of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary

(Unique topic)

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

The summary is based on the report created by the Prime Minister's Office in 1999., and chose the most important aspects concerning the history and present of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary.

1. Basic Information about the Country

Hungary's area is about 93,030 square kilometres and its population is somewhat more than 10 million people. It is located in Central Europe and has borders with Austria, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Slovenia. Its capital is Budapest. The country's administration is divided into 19 counties and 7 regions.

Hungary bears the signs of a democracy with a secure institutional background. These ensure the rule of law, human rights, and the respect and protection of minorities. Hungary is a parliamentary republic.

Hungary has been marked by cultural diversity for centuries. The national and ethnic minorities that have coexisted with Hungarians for at least 100 years are the following: *Bulgarians, Gypsies, Greeks, Croatians, Poles, Germans, Armenians, Romanians, Ruthenians, Serbians, Slovaks, Slovenians, and Ukrainians.*

The economic and social integration of the Hungarian minorities can be considered complete - with the exception of the Gypsy minority. The educational, employment, and income indices for minorities are generally no different than those of the majority population living in similar conditions in the same regions.

The situation of the largest minority in Hungary, the Roma communities, is different from that of the other minorities in Hungary in several respects. Their problems are not primarily linguistic or cultural. Social, job training, and educational problems are considerable in the case of the Gypsy minority. However, the self-organization of the Gypsy communities has become significantly stronger and a Gypsy middle-class is developing. Nevertheless, society will have to pay closer attention in order to increase the Gypsy community's opportunities for integration.

2. Basic Historical Information

Various people have inhabited in the Carpathian basin in the heart of Europe since the age of the great migrations. The Hungarian tribes that arrived in the region 1,100 years ago found Avar, Slavic, and Celtic populations settled here. Saint Steven, the founder of the Hungarian state, invited German knights and Italian and French monks into the country in order to help spread Christianity and West European social norms.

The Ottoman wars began in the fifteenth century, and the country's population decreased drastically in the central part of the country during the 150 years of Turkish occupation. Meanwhile, massive immigration of Romanians and Serbians began along the Eastern and Southern borders. After the Turks were driven out of the country, the rulers of Hungary, which had become one of the member countries in the Hapsburg Empire, populated the previously Hungarian-occupied areas primarily with German and Slovakian settlers. As a result of this, the total number of national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary at the end of the eighteenth century was higher than the number of Hungarians. Only 41%–48% of the population was Hungarian in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Treaty of Trianon of 1920, which concluded World War I, however, radically altered the political and ethnic map of the Carpathian basin. Hungary lost two thirds of its previous territories, and the number of national and ethnic minorities in the country has decreased to a small fraction because of the new national borders.

In the following we provide a brief summary of the history of the minorities living in the current territory of Hungary as they pertain to the history of the Hungarians.

The *Bulgarians* settled in the Carpathian basin in several waves. The predecessors of the Bulgarians who currently live in Hungary came to the country as gardeners and merchants. The Association of Bulgarians in Hungary was established in Budapest in 1914. The Bulgarian minority used its own resources to build schools and chapels in several towns around the country and a Bulgarian Orthodox church in Budapest. The Bulgarian Cultural Centre was built in Budapest with public donations.

The *Gypsies*, who arrived in Hungary in the 14th–15th centuries and pursued a nomadic, wandering lifestyle, started to settle down in the 18th century. The industrial mass-production of the 20th century rendered their traditional occupations in commerce and crafts (adobe brick-making, trough-making, and trade) superfluous. As a consequence, a great many of them undertook unskilled labour in large factories during the socialist industrialization and became

commuting residents of workers hostels. They were the first to lose their jobs and their modest livelihoods after the change of regime in the 1990s. The Gypsy minority that lives in Hungary can be divided into three large groups according to tribal origin and native language. The Romungros, whose mother tongue is Hungarian, constitute the majority of the Gypsies. The Olah Gypsies, whose native language is Gypsy, constitute approximately 20%-22%, while the Bea Gypsies, who speak an archaic version of Romanian, constitute 8%-10% of the Gypsies in Hungary.

Greek merchants arrived in Hungary in the 16th century and had churches and chapels in 19 towns by the end of the 18th century. Several Greek schools and a teacher training school in Pest operated in Hungary. A new wave of Greeks arrived in Hungary between 1948 and 1950 as refugees from the Greek civil war and settled in Budapest, Pécs, Tatabánya, Miskolc, and Beloianisz.

The predecessors of the *Croatians* living in modern Hungary arrived at their current locations as a result of a "continuous" immigration, due mostly to flight from the Turks. The joint Hungarian-Croatian state, which existed for eight centuries and ceased after World War I, greatly influenced their special position. The Croatian minority lives scattered throughout the country and is a collection of groups with no significant differences between each other in terms of their dialects and folk traditions. Most of the Croatians live in the area near the Hungarian-Croatian national border, but significant Croatian communities can also be found in the central part of the country. All of the Croatian ethnic groups are Roman Catholics.

The communities of the *Polish* minority in Hungary were the most populous in the middle of the last century. The first permanent Sunday school was founded in 1922. During World War II, there were 27 Polish primary schools in Hungary and – unique in Europe – a Polish High School and Lyceum operated in Balatonboglár. The Polish people live in various areas of Hungary.

The *Germans* who immigrated to Hungary in the Middle Ages came from the northern and central regions of the Holy Roman Empire. Those who came in the 18th century arrived from the southern and western areas of Germany. There are six large German communities in Hungary. The position of the German minority living in modern Hungary was fundamentally changed by the events that followed World War II. The enforcement of collective responsibility resulted in the complete transformation of the economic and social structures of their communities. Of those who declared themselves ethnic Germans in the 1941 census, approximately 135,000 people were sent to the American occupation zone in Germany in January 1946, and it is estimated that approximately 50.000–60.000

people were sent to the Soviet occupation zone. The German communities in Hungary have become stronger recently.

Most of the *Armenians* migrated to Hungary in the 17th century. The members of their communities have merged with the Hungarians as a result of natural assimilation. It is only their religious distinction (Armenian Catholic) that lingers as a reminder of their origins. The Armenians who still preserve their language and culture settled in Hungary after World War I and World War II.

During their known history, the *Romanians* who live in the present territory of Hungary have always lived within the Hungarian state outside the territorial frontiers of the Romanian state. Over the centuries, these communities have created institutions, schools, and societies and associations for representing their interests and carrying out cultural programs primarily within the scope of the native-speaking Romanian Orthodox Church. The most significant Romanian cultural foundation was operated until the end of the 19th century in the Hungarian capital. As a consequence of the Treaty of Trianon (1920), these communities were isolated from the millions of Transylvanian Romanians and left on their own as a small ethnic group. Most of the Romanian minority that currently lives in Hungary can be found along the Hungarian-Romanian border.

The *Ruthenian* communities in Hungary were most populous in the pre-1920 historical territories. Ruthenian communities now live in Hungary especially in the northeast, in the small communities in the Zemplén Mountains inhabited by Greek Catholics.

The *Serbians* who live in Hungary have lived alongside the Hungarians for 1,000 years. Serbians settled in Hungary on a massive scale in the 15th to 17th centuries as a result of the Ottoman occupation of the Balkan Peninsula and their later penetration into the Danube basin. On the basis of the privileges that were granted by the Hapsburg emperor, the Serbians acquired personal, religious, and related national autonomy in the 18th and 19th centuries. In addition to its own autonomous operation, the national (Serbian Orthodox) church had its own national assembly with jurisdiction in matters of autonomy. The Serbians established a religious primary school system at the end of the 18th century and later established a teacher training school and a seminary. At this time, the centres of Serbian cultural life were in Buda, Pest, and Szentendre. This is where the first Serbian cultural institutions were established. The Serbian population of Hungary has played a fundamental role in joining all of the Serbian people in the contemporary European civilization processes. After the Treaty of Trianon, which concluded World War I, most of the Serbians who lived scattered about in the country's current territory moved to Yugoslavia in the 1920s.

The *Slovakian* minority's presence in Hungary is connected to the large migrations of the 17th and 18th centuries and the linguistic islands that were created by the waves of immigrants. The Slovakian minority was most populous in the historical territory. As a result of the bilateral Czechoslovakian-Hungarian population exchange that followed World War II, approximately 73.000 Slovaks resettled from Hungary to Slovakia. The intelligentsia and the most sophisticated elements of the Slovakian community took advantage of the opportunity to resettle. As a consequence of this, the relatively closed ethnic communities, which had existed for more than 200 years and ensured the preservation of the language, customs, and culture of the Hungarian Slovaks, have broken up.

The Hungarian *Slovenians* live in seven neighbouring settlements in a geographically isolated area sandwiched in the corner of the Slovenian and Austrian border. The Slovenian community, which has preserved its language, cultural traditions, and ethnic identity, is one of the indigenous national minorities in Hungary that has been living alongside the Hungarians for the longest period of time.

The more significant *Ukrainian* communities in Hungary live in Budapest and in the larger towns around the country. In order to nurture their cultural inheritance and enforce their interests, the Ukrainians founded the Cultural Association of Ukrainians in Hungary in 1991.

The Hungarian Parliament dealt with the use of native minority languages as long ago as the last century. In 1868, Hungary's parliament was the first in Europe to pass a *National and Ethnic (Minority) Law*, which it did on the basis of the 1849 legislation.

It is worth emphasizing from Hungary's modern history in connection with minorities that the self-organization of society started to develop with the change of regime in 1990. As a result of this, the national identity of the national and ethnic minorities in Hungary has grown stronger. Hungary considers the preservation of the cultures of the national and ethnic minorities that live in Hungary to be one of its national interests. Hungary is aware of the fact that the harmonious coexistence of the national and ethnic minorities with the majority nation is a basic component of international security. Hungary has declared several times that it considers the right to national and ethnic identity to be a universal human right.

3. Demographic Characteristics

On the basis of the available census figures, table 1. provides information on Hungary's population according to native language and nationality.

Table 1. Number and proportion of national and ethnic minorities, by *mother tongue* and by *nationality* (population census of 1990)

[Source: MAPSTAT Central Statistical Office software, Budapest, 1992]

<i>Minority</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Gypsy	48.072	0,4630	142.683	1,375
German	37.511	0,3613	30.824	0,297
Croatian	17.777	0,1693	13.570	0,103
Slovakian	12.745	0,1228	10.459	0,100
Romanian	8.730	0,0841	10.740	0,103
Polish	3.788	0,0365		
Serbian	2.953	0,0284	2.905	0,028
Slovenian	2.627	0,0253	1.930	0,018
Greek	1.640	0,0158		
Bulgarian	1.370	0,0132		
Ukrainian, Ruthenian	634	0,0065		
Armenian	37	0,0004		
Other minorities			19.640	0,189
<i>Together</i>	137.724	1,3266	232.751	2,243

While the number of native-speaking minorities continued to decrease (with the exception of the Germans and Gypsies), the number of people who declared themselves as non-Hungarians increased (with the exception of the Croats).

When reviewing the age distribution, we can see a steady decline in several minorities (the Slovenians and Croats, for example) as we move towards the younger generations. The lack of young people is reflected primarily in the native language figures. Aging households have replaced the earlier multi-children families.

Full and natural integration, the freedom to choose identity, and the large number of mixed marriages might decrease the chance of determining one's identity as a minority. Some 40%–60% of the adult minority population live in ethnically mixed marriages – the percentage is the highest in the Slovakian minority. Obviously, many of the children born of such marriages "are lost" to their ethnic minorities, thus reducing the minority's already weakened ability to reproduce itself. In 1990, 20,5% of the total Hungarian population were children and 18,9% were over the age of 60. In the German minority, the percentage of children under the age of 15 decreased from 25,6% in 1941 to 12,1%, while the percentage of people over the age of 60 increased from 13,2% to 27,8%. The percentage of children in the Slovakian minority is 6,8%, and the figure is 9,1% in the Serbian minority.

The 1990 figures based on the estimates of the minority organizations show a significant difference from the official statistics (Table 2.).

Table 2. Estimated numbers of minorities in Hungary

[Source: minority organizations]

<i>Minorities</i>	<i>Estimated Number</i>
Gypsy	400.000–600.000
German	200.000–220.000
Slovakian	100.000–110.000
Croatian	80.000–90.000
Romanian	25.000
Polish	10.000
Serbian	5.000–10.000
Slovenian	5.000
Bulgarian	3.000–3.500
Greek	4.000–4.500
Armenian	3.500–10.000
Ukrainian	2000
Ruthenian	6000
<i>Total:</i>	<i>835.000–1.083.955</i>

Communities of national and ethnic minorities exist in approximately 1.500 settlements in Hungary. This situation is unique, because they are geographically scattered, usually as a minority even within the settlement, and they form the community of the given settlement along with the Hungarian and other minorities. For example, Slovaks, most of whom have dual identities, live in 105 settlements in 11 counties. Only the Ruthenians, who live in north-eastern Hungary, and the Slovenians, who live in seven adjacent settlements in western Hungary, live in the same sub-region in a block. Although most of the Hungarian Romanians live along the Hungarian-Romanian border, they also have centuries-old communities in Budapest as well.

The actual population with minority identity and commitment is somewhere between the census figures and the estimated figures. The difference between the estimated and declared figures can best be explained with the historical, social, and socio-psychological features of minority issues in Central and Eastern Europe.

4. Various issues considering minorities in Hungary

The national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary share the people's power and are part of the state. The Constitution guarantees minorities' collective participation in public life, the establishment of organs of local and national self-government, the nurturing of their own cultures, the use of their native languages, education in their native languages, and the right to use their names in their own languages.

Hungary is trying to develop a social atmosphere in which none of the minorities have to suffer any discrimination. In the course of implementing our minorities' policy, Hungary relies on the active cooperation of the national and ethnic minorities and the activities of their legitimate and elected bodies.

Jurisdiction and employment

It should be emphasized that minority affairs appear in the government structure in connection with more than one ministry. Activities and actions that are of particular concern to minority affairs are also regulated by statute. The National and Ethnic Minorities Office operates under the supervision of the Ministry of Justice. The Minorities Office is an independent government organization with national jurisdiction that operates under the supervision of the Minister of Justice. The Minorities Office is headed by a director, who is appointed and removed from office by the Prime Minister on the basis of the recommendation of the Minister of Justice. The Minorities Office is in charge of preparing the Government's minorities policy decisions and to develop its minorities policy program. The Minorities Office continuously evaluates the enforcement of the rights of the national and ethnic minorities and the situation of the minorities. It also prepares analyses in order to make government decisions in connection with minorities. The Minorities Office coordinates the implementation of government programs concerning minorities.

The government action programs that concern the Gypsy minority extend to the following areas.

- *Education* (education development programs, scholarship system, dormitory programs to promote talented young people, and a system of incentives for teachers and institutions).
- *Employment* (improving the employment conditions of the disadvantaged, training programs to help improve people's chances in the labour market, agricultural and animal husbandry programs, improving public employment, and announcing public work programs).
- *Social care, health care, and housing programs* (special home building programs, loans, and the reduction of housing projects).

- *Regional programs* (extending regional development objectives to consider the interests of the Gypsy minority and healthy drinking water program).
- *Anti-discrimination program* (supplementing anti-discrimination laws, analysing the experiences, taking measures to reduce prejudice, and improving relations between the police and the Romas).

Act IV of 1991 on the Job Assistance and Unemployment Benefits also contains the prohibition of discrimination as well as the possibility of positive discrimination. The employment organization system takes advantage of the application of positive discrimination that is ensured in the law and prefers unemployed people who belong to the Gypsy minority for public employment.

The employment organization system that operates under the direction of the Ministry of Social and Family Affairs and the county employment centres are in charge of developing programs, preparing legislation, and implementing these in order to help the Gypsy minority find work. The employment centres manage the insurance-based Labour Market Fund, which can distribute aid to expand and preserve employment. The county employment centres and the local governments and the self-government organs of the Gypsy minority have signed cooperation agreements. The Regional Labour Development and Training Centres also participate in training the unemployed for the labour market. The Public Foundation for National Employment grants support to organizations (especially non-profit organizations) that assist the unemployed.

The employment organization continuously examines the expansion of training possibilities in the labour market. The employment organization tries to develop programs that can be announced for the long-term unemployed, including the Gypsies, and can be very useful in the labour market.

The available training programs can be divided into two parts:

- The instruction of service-type activities that require traditional manual skills (broom maker, adobe brick-maker, skilled mason, etc.)
- Social welfare services on behalf of the interests of the community (Gypsy community developer assistant, Gypsy employment organizer)

In many cases the learning, communication, reading, and writing difficulties of young Gypsies hinders the success of technical training. The alternative and personality developing methodological program modules, which can be fit into the 9th and 10th grade syllabus of general public educational or in the academic improvement programs, were designed to deal with these problems.

Gypsy affiliation is not registered in Hungary in any manner since the Hungarian constitutional concept of the protection of human rights does not make this

possible. In consideration of this fact, the data concerning them can be based only on estimates and studies prepared on the basis of ad hoc surveys.

In the absence of regulation, the development of a system of employment policy instruments that is applied only for the Gypsy minority is impossible and even unnecessary.

Culture, language and education

All minorities living in Hungary are characterized by being dispersed across the country, a dual identity, an advanced state of assimilation, loss of language and strong emotional and cultural ties with their native land, namely Hungary. In most minority families the language is no longer passed on to the next generation. Hungarian has become the dominant language. The various dialects spoken by the minorities are not able to adapt and therefore their role in social communication is diminishing. Schools play a growing role in passing on the native language, which has increased the responsibility borne by these institutions.

Hungary has no law stating that Hungarian is the official language. Everyone is free to use his or her native language. According to the procedural laws of the country, authorities must ensure the free use of the native language for everyone. This applies to national and ethnic minorities specifically referred to in the statutes as well as citizens of other countries and immigrants.

The Minorities Act recognizes the importance of minority languages in maintaining the cohesion of minority communities, and provides extensive rights for persons belonging to minority groups in using their own language for official purposes as well.

Article 68 of the Constitution guarantees minorities the freedom to cultivate their cultural traditions, the right to use their native language, the availability of education in their native language and the right to register their name in their own native language. The Minorities Act specifies the above guarantees. It states that the language, the material and intellectual culture, the historical traditions and other characteristics of national and ethnic minorities form a part of their personal and collective identity. Minorities have a fundamental right to preserve and cultivate these values. The culture of national and ethnic minorities forms part of Hungary's culture.

Minority organizations may pursue activities related to general education and may establish, within the bounds of the law, institutions which are entitled to maintain international relations. These rights are set forth and provided for in the Minorities Act. The national self-government is entitled to establish and run minority theatres, exhibition facilities in museums, public collections with nation-

wide coverage, libraries, publishing houses, nation-wide cultural, art and scientific institutions as well as secondary schools and higher educational institutions of nation-wide coverage. It may apply for budgetary support for such purposes.

The Act on Culture reinforces that it is in the interest of society as a whole to preserve and maintain minority cultural heritage. The same Act states that everyone has the right to learn of their cultural heritage and its significance in shaping history and national, minority self-understanding.

In settlements where there is a minority population, local cultural and general education institutions have an obligation to satisfy its cultural needs as well. At the same time, specific minority cultural and general education institutions have also been created (Bulgarian Cultural Institute and Library, Gypsy cultural centres, National Gypsy Information and Cultural Centre, Ukrainian Cultural Centre, Armenian Cultural Centre, Institute for Slovakian Culture, Slovakian Cultural and Education Centre, the *Lenau House*, German cultural centres, etc.).

The Gypsy population is a highly fragmented minority, both linguistically and culturally. The development of a written Gypsy culture is difficult because it spreads very slowly in this minority group. A further problem is presented by the fact that the Gypsy population does not have a mother country, which would be able to give professional and financial support. The existing traditional Gypsy communities are effectively the last groupings in Hungary where folk art is an integral part of everyday life. This, of course, improves the chances of preserving the Gypsy cultural heritage. On the other hand, the general view of Gypsy culture correlates with the picture of a pre-bourgeois, poverty-stricken lifestyle. The values of Gypsy culture are not sufficiently focused in the thinking of the general public, nor have they become a part of the national culture. Several initiatives have been launched recently to change this situation; the national quiz series organized by the public television channel is one example. The Gypsy Research Institute was established in 1994 with the support of the Ministry of Culture and Education, and since 1995 it operates as an institution of the national self-government of the Gypsy minority. The National Gypsy Information and Cultural Centre was established, which is responsible for collecting, processing and ensuring availability to public information, announcements involving the Gypsy population, for providing professional and methodological support for local and regional Gypsy cultural institutions, coordinating the activities of these institutions, for providing professional assistance to amateur and professional performing and other artists, artistic groups, for supporting Gypsy traditions and folk artists, and for operating a library. On the basis of the initiative of the

Minorities Office, the Gypsy Cultural and Art Council were set up in autumn 1998 with the participation of well-known Roma artists. The Art Council can initiate, put forward and discuss proposals, and its mission is to assist in preserving the traditional values of Roma culture, which form an integral part of their everyday life, and to promote Gypsy artists on the national and international scene.

Religion

The cultural life of minorities is closely related to the religious life of the communities. Since the shift to a democratic political system in 1990, the Hungarian Parliament has passed several acts to ensure the legal conditions of free religious practice and to establish the necessary legal mechanisms for ensuring the financial conditions of operation for churches, denominations, and of religious and public activities performed by religious communities.

The competent county court, or the Metropolitan Court of Budapest registers churches. Independent church organizations of national minorities in Hungary are: the Bulgarian Orthodox Church of Hungary, the Romanian Orthodox Church of Hungary, the Serbian Orthodox Diocese of Buda. The Polish, German, Slovakian, Croatian, Greek, Armenian, Ruthenian, Slovenian, Ukrainian and Gypsy minority communities in Hungary also lead an active religious life.

Relationship to the majority society

Minorities in Hungary are dispersed across the country, and in most cases they live in settlements where they are a numeric minority even on a local level. Therefore continuous dialogue between the majority and minorities is important for problem free co-existence on a local level. It is important for the general culture to help in getting to know one another, and in the mutual exchange and integration of values within the local society. The cultural and general education institutional network in Hungary ensures the appropriate framework for maintaining a dialogue. The Public Foundation for Minorities provides significant support for intercultural and multicultural programs to develop an environment of tolerance and an acceptance of diversity.

Mass media

With respect to the mass media, minorities are present mainly in various programs of the public media. These are, on the one hand, the minorities' own programs in their own native language, but with Hungarian subtitles that make it possible for Hungarian viewers as well to watch the program, and on the other hand, programs

broadcast in Hungarian aimed primarily at informing the majority population about issues related to minorities.

References

Government Resolution 2023/1999 (II. 12.) On the Report of the Republic of Hungary. Implementation of the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Report of the Republic of Hungary. Budapest, January, 1999.

Ethnic minorities in Portugal: History and present situation *(Unique topic)*

Carlos Cardoso (Portugal)

1. Basic information on Portuguese history and culture

Portugal is situated on the west coast of the Iberian Peninsula. It has an area of 92.389 square kilometres and a population of around 10.000.000. The official language is Portuguese. The largely predominant religion is Catholic.

Administratively, the territory is divided into 18 districts and two autonomous regions (the Azores Islands and the island of Madeira). Portugal is a parliamentary democracy with one legislative house. The chief of state is the president of the Republic, and the head of government is the prime minister. After a long period (48 years) of dictatorship, the democratic regime was established in 1974. A new constitution was adopted in 1976 (revised in 1982 and 1997), and civilian rule resumed. Portugal joined the European Union in 1986 and since then has enjoyed economic and social prosperity.

Before the founding of the nation, the Portuguese territory was settled by various races who left legacies that influenced the forming of the culture and the modern Portuguese language. In the first millennium B.C., the Iberian Peninsula was occupied by Celtic peoples who, in 140 B.C., were overthrown by the Romans. The latter remained until the fifth century A.D, when the Iberian Peninsula was settled by Germanic tribes. In 711 the Muslims invaded and occupied almost the entire peninsula, only finally to leave (from Granada) at the end of the fifteenth century. As the territory was gradually reconquered from the Moors, new Christian kingdoms were set up. One of these was Portugal, founded in 1143 by D. Afonso Henriques. With the reconquest, the territory was progressively extended until the mid thirteenth century, when the boundaries of modern continental Portugal were defined.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the monarchy encouraged and supported maritime exploration and the colonising of new overseas territories: in Africa, Asia (India, Indonesia, China) and South America (Brazil). Some of these colonies continued under Portuguese rule until the mid 1970s, when they won

their independence (Cape Verde Islands, St. Thomas and Prince, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique).

Portuguese culture is therefore the result of contacts and mixes between different cultures and peoples, both before the founding of the nation and over subsequent centuries, through maritime expansion, colonisation and emigration. It was a progressive process which, throughout history, has enriched Portuguese cultural unity. However, during the past ten or twenty years, this cultural frame of reference has gradually been transformed. E.U membership, and especially the establishment of foreign communities, has given rise to an increasing diversification of the cultural, ethnic and demographic make-up of the population resident in Portugal. This new situation challenges the Portuguese government and society to consolidate a participated citizenship defined by cultural diversity and equality of opportunities.

2. Stages in immigration to Portugal

The status of Portugal as an immigration country is very recent. Emigration in different forms has been a part of Portuguese history, mainly, since the 16th century. In the colonies, the emigrant-coloniser assumed a status of domination over the native population. Along the xx century, the Portuguese have emigrated heavily, especially since the Second World War, as a minority, to the developed countries of America and Europe. And Portugal itself has become an immigration destination during the last two or three decades. The African provenance of its immigrants, their geographic concentration and their social and cultural characteristics represent the primary basis for the systematic references to ethnic minorities in Portuguese society. Previously, the gypsies were considered the only ethnic minority in Portuguese society, though they were never the object of any formal policy aimed at alleviating the discrimination to which they were (and are) subjected. Their numbers, considered slight, their nomadic habits and the individuality of their culture were used as arguments both in political discourse and on the common-sense level to justify, implicitly, this shortcoming.

Portugal's status as an immigration destination dates from the middle 1960s, as a means of overcoming labour shortages resulting from the heavy emigration of the Portuguese to developed European countries undergoing economic expansion, and from mobilisation for the colonial war. The subsequent process of decolonisation and Portugal's membership of the EU intensified immigration into Portugal from Africa and, later, from Brazil and, very recently (nineties), from east European countries (Ukraine, Romania, Moldove). Other factors, too, have combined to redefine the position of Portugal in the international labour market in

the last two decades. Firstly, there are the factors related to the domestic situation of the countries of origin of the immigrants, i.e. political and social instability, economic backwardness and associated poor living conditions. Then there are a variety of geographic, historical, cultural and economic factors which have combined to make Portugal an immigration target. Close ties with the PALOP countries – African nations whose official language is Portuguese – founded on bilateral agreements, a shared language and historical links have made Portugal a prime destination for emigrants from these countries. We can identify various stage in the process of migration from the former African colonies to Portugal (CARDOSO, 1998):

- 1) The first significant influx occurred in the late sixties, with the arrival of the first generation of African immigrants from Cape Verde, at the instigation of the Portuguese government as a means of providing labour in a period when the colonial wars and mass emigration from Portugal to the countries of the EU had bled the country's workforce. At the same time, the Cape Verde archipelago was suffering a period of drought and famine.
- 2) Between 1974 and 1976, the influx of migrants from the former African colonies increased sharply. These migrants were mainly low-ranking administrators with some kind of connection to Portugal which they sought to maintain; many took Portuguese nationality.
- 3) Since 1976, as a result of post-independence unrest, the influx of African - mainly Cape Verdean - workers has intensified. These immigrants have few professional skills, little education and poor housing. A range of other factors converge to aggravate the already underprivileged position of these immigrants: they are officially classed as "foreign" and many are in the country illegally and live clandestinely. Furthermore, the building and civil construction sector, in which many such clandestine immigrants work, is in recession, causing unemployment and underemployment. Clandestinity and job scarcity force the immigrants into exploitative working conditions which many of them readily accept.
- 4) Portugal is nowadays, with its membership of the EU and the deterioration of living conditions in the countries of origin, more attractive to immigrants both as a destination and as a stopping-off point en route to other European countries. In this respect, and in the same way as Spain and Italy, Portugal is one huge gateway for African, South American and East European immigrants, most of them illegal, to enter the EU.

Since the late nineties, the influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe has outnumbered those from any other country. It is estimated that there are already over 300.000 legal and illegal residents from these countries.

The present crisis in Portugal is bound to have an impact on the influx of immigrants and on the living conditions of those already here.

3. Ethnic diversity in Portuguese society: some statistics

In quantitative terms, legal foreign residents in Portugal in 2002 numbered 388.258, thus representing about 3.9% of the total population. Between 2000 and 2002 there was an increase of approx. 86% (from 208.198 to 388.258), mainly accounted for by the Eastern European countries.

The following table shows the evolution of legal foreign residents in Portugal between 1980 and 2000.

Table 1. Legal Foreign Residents in Portugal
[Source: Immigration and Frontiers Department]

<i>YEAR</i>	<i>RESIDENTS</i>	<i>YEAR</i>	<i>RESIDENTS</i>
1980	50750	1991	113978
1981	54414	1992	123612
1982	58674	1993	136932
1983	67484	1994	157073
1984	73365	1995	168316
1985	79594	1996	172912
1986	86982	1997	175263
1987	89778	1998	178137
1988	94694	1999	191143
1989	101011	2000	208198
1990	107767	2002	388258

In 2002, excluding residents from Western European countries, the distribution of immigrants by country of origin was as follows:

African Countries whose Official Language is Portuguese (PALOPS): Cape Verde – 53.289; Angola – 25.972; Guinea-Bissau – 19.612; St Thomas – 7.199; Mozambique – 5.008). There are also migrants from other African countries: South Africa (1.871); Senegal (480); Morocco (443) [December 2000]. There are certainly twice as many clandestine African immigrants as ones in a legal situation.

African minorities are mainly concentrated in suburban areas (and schools), especially in the Greater Lisbon area.

Brazil. The influx of Brazilian immigrants has increased since the late eighties, partly because Brazilians do not require entrance visas (as tourists). They work mainly in the restaurant industry, construction and trade, and in qualified professions such as dental medicine. The number of legal Brazilians is 48.691 [February 2002], although the real number is probably in excess of 80.000.

Eastern European Countries. Since the late nineties, Portugal has been the destination of thousands of immigrants from Eastern Europe: Ukraine (50.499); Moldova (10.221); Romania (8.815) and Russia (6.015). Portugal has been an alternative destination to the developed Northern European countries, which have restricted immigrant access.

Most Eastern European immigrants have high academic qualifications. However, due to language difficulties, they work in construction, cleaning, agriculture and occasional jobs. Recently some initiatives have been taken to integrate immigrant doctors into the Portuguese health system. The number of legal and illegal Eastern European immigrants is estimated at 300.000.

Asia (China, India, Pakistan). Most of these immigrants started arriving in Portugal in the nineties. They work in the restaurant industry and in small businesses. The official statistics for Asian residents – China – 6.940 [2002]; India – 1.296; Pakistan – 860 [2000] – are misleading. The real figure, including illegal immigrants, is probably double.

Illegal immigrants. The official statistics are unreliable, especially when it comes to gauging the number of illegal immigrants. During recent years, the number has continued to rise. In 2002, there were an estimated 250.000, but the real number is unknown. A conservative estimate puts the number of legal and illegal immigrants in excess of 650.000.

Gypsies. The first documented reference to the presence of gypsies in Portugal dates back to the beginning of the sixteenth century (1510). Gypsies have always been discriminated against, although this situation has improved considerably in recent years due to the democratisation of Portuguese society, the adoption of sedentary ways of life by many Gypsy families and, consequently, their increasing inclusion in social and legal systems. Until 1991, gypsies were the only officially recognized minority in Portugal. They number approximately 50.000. The majority are involved in the itinerant trading of clothing and footwear, in streets and markets.

4. Social integration and institutional solutions

Immigration and the increasing ethnic diversity of Portuguese society are very recent phenomena. They have also occurred at a time of major changes at the heart of society itself. This has had various effects. Although the government has taken steps aimed at the integration of immigrant minorities and communities, the truth is that a cohesive policy has yet to be defined. This is the case of the immigration policy itself, which allows a large number of illegal immigrants to remain outside all support and social integration programmes, thus aggravating discrimination.

References

CARDOSO, C. (1998) The colonialist view of the African-origin 'Other' Portuguese Society and its Education System. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, Vol. 1, No 2, 1998.

Ethnic minorities in Austria – from “minority“ to the so-called “Austrian national minority“

(Unique topic)

Renate Seebauer–Martin Bolz (Austria)

This study provides a brief historical synopsis of Austrian national minorities as a backdrop for an outline of the curriculum for foreign language instruction in Austrian schools. The current situation of Slovenian as the language of a national minority and the Czech language in Vienna with its tradition spanning well over a century will also be examined more closely. Discussing the issue of “minorities“ only with reference to the use of a certain language would address the topic insufficiently: Therefore Bolz refers to various aspects of religious affiliation within the topic in order to encourage the reader to reflect on the situation in his/her home country and to set him/her thinking!

1. Historical background

1.1. From “minority“ to “Austrian national minority“

More than some 100.000 persons out of approximately 7,3 million Austrian nationals belong to an ethnic minority. There is no exact data available concerning the numerical strength of individual national minorities, as data is not collected during the official census concerning affiliation to an ethnic group. Furthermore, the Croat minority in *Burgenland*, the Slovene minority, the Hungarian minority, the Czech minority, the Slovak minority and the Roma minority are recognized as national minorities in Austria.

Pursuant to the National Minorities Act of 1976 (Federal Law of July 7th 1976 concerning the legal position of national minorities in Austria), the term “*Volksgruppe*” (national minority¹) has been adopted to replace the term “*Minderheit*” (minority).

¹ Under Section 1 para. 2 of the National Minorities Act (“*Volksgruppengesetz*”), national minorities (“*Volks-gruppen*”) are defined as “groups of Austrian nationals living and residing in parts of the federal territory whose mother tongue is not German and who have their own traditions and folklore”. It is not explicitly specified in the Act which groups fulfill these requirements and are recognized accordingly as national minorities, but that each case shall be

The preservation of national minorities and the safeguarding of their continued existence are ensured through the following instruments:

- The establishment of “National Minority Advisory Councils” to advise the Federal Government and the Federal Ministers on matters pertaining to national minorities. Through decree of the Federal Government, National Minority Advisory Councils have been established for Croats, Slovenes, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks and Roma.
- Promotion of national minorities through financial assistance and other support measures.
- Bilingual topographical signs in specific parts of regions.
- The language of a national minority may be used as an official language in the case of certain administrative offices and authorities; any person shall be entitled to use the language of the national minority when in contact with such authorities. The languages of national minorities which are spoken in Austria include: Burgenland Croatian in Burgenland, Slovene in Carinthia and Styria, Hungarian in Vienna and Burgenland, Czech in Vienna, Slovak in Vienna and Ro-many in Burgenland.

The basic rights of national minorities were enshrined in the Federal Constitution of Austria in 2.000.

1.2 Historical account of legally recognized national minorities

The Croat minority: In the early 16th century, West Hungarian and Austrian aristocrats had Croats (who had fled North due to the constant threat of the Turks) populate the regions of to-day’s *Burgenland* which had been depopulated due to wars and epidemics and also the neighboring parts of Lower Austria (such as *Marchfeld*). The Croats came from different parts of Croatia from the Dalmatian coast to Slovenia. A Croatian national identity emerged after 1848 and is still manifest today through a wide range of national costumes, songs and dialects of this national minority. Although the Croat language died out to a large extent in Lower Austria over the 19th and 20th century, in 1934, still some 40.500 persons

examined respectively. In Austria there are the following six autochthonous national minorities: the Croat minority in Burgenland, the Slovene minority, the Hungarian minority, the Czech minority, the Slovak minority and the Roma minority. (Source: <http://www.bka.gv.at/bka/volksgruppen/>)

Members of national minorities in Austria, as Austria nationals shall also enjoy the same rights, especially political and civil rights as all other Austrian nationals. In addition, Austrian legislation contains certain specific rules of law that only concern members of national minorities i.e. The Minorities School Act (*“Minderheitenschulgesetze”*)

living in *Burgenland* said they spoke the Croatian colloquial language (13% of the population of *Burgenland*). According to a census conducted in 1991, the Croatian national minority was comprised of nearly 30,000 per-sons: 3,003 out of 19.460 respondents (7,2 % of the total population of *Burgenland*) said they spoke Croatian in everyday life, while 16.457 persons said they spoke both languages; 7.000 respondents living in Vienna also reported that they spoke both languages. Croats have been represented by a National Minority Advisory Council since 1993.

Below is a summary of conclusions from scientific studies²:

- As far as the age structure is concerned, *Burgenland*-Croats are by far older than the re-maining population (8 years on the average) – which is mainly due to the fact that part of the younger generation no longer learns their native language;
- For *Burgenland*-Croats, the most important distinguishing feature of their identity, is their language;
- The younger the respondents were, the more evident was their appreciation of bilingualism and thus also of the Croatian language.
- An overwhelming majority (82%) of *Burgenland*-Croats refer to their relations with other people as being “unproblematic and harmonious”.
- 50% of those surveyed want their children to be instructed in Croatian.

Instruction in Croatian is provided at various primary schools and Hauptschulen (general secondary schools catering to children 10 to 14 years) as well as secondary academic schools; moreover there is a bilingual Gymnasium (secondary academic school) in Oberwart and a bi-lingual general secondary school in Großwarasdorf. The Regional School Board of *Burgenland* has been endowed with a separate Inspectorate of Education for the Croatian school system. In addition, Croatian has been admitted as an official language in *Burgenland* since 1989.

The Slovene minority: Around 1400 years ago, the first Slovenes settled *inter alia* in the regions of Carinthia and Styria; however, as a result of the immigration and settlement of farmers from Bavaria and Franconia, which was supported from the 9th century onwards, more and more Slovenes had to retreat to south and south-east Carinthia and to the lower part of Styria in the course of mutual assimilation processes. In the 15th century, a linguistic boundary was thereby established in Carinthia running along the line of Hermagor-Villach-

² Source: Report in accordance with article 15, para 1 of the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages, p. 5f. (Source: <http://www.bka.gv.at/bka/volkgruppen/staatenberichtcharta.pdf>).

Maria Saal-Diex-Lavamünd. The language later known as “Slovene” has remained prevalent in the southern part of Carinthia up until the 20th century. Due to the social structure of Carinthia (Slovenes worked predominantly in agriculture) and also as a result of the special role the clergy played in the national identity of Slovenes, around 1860 the phenomenon emerged whereby “German was equated with progressive” as compared to “Slovene as clericalism/ conservative”; as a result, adopting the use of German was often seen as a way of moving up the social ladder.

According to estimates, around 12,000 Slovenes voted for Austria in the plebiscite held in 1920. However the First Republic was less minority-friendly and complaints were submitted to the League of Nations. During the Nazi period, repressive measures were taken against Slovenes and many were forced to emigrate.

The issue of territorial claims to South Carinthia was first resolved through the State Treaty of 1955. The right of minorities and their protection as enshrined in Article 7 of the State Treaty has frequently been a topic on the political agenda since that time.

In October 1945, a new school ordinance was passed which resulted in obligatory instruction in both languages of the *Land* in all schools of South Carinthia. In 1957, the *Gymnasium* (a secondary academic school) was established in Klagenfurt for Slovenes. After the school strike, the School Act of 1959 restricted bilingual instruction to formally registered pupils. The “*Ge-richts-sprachengesetz*” 1959, (the Act which defined the official language in court) governed the use of Slovenian in three mixed-linguistic jurisdictions (Bleiburg/Pliberk, Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla, Ferlach/Borovlje); Since 1976, this regulation has been governed by the National Minorities Act. In nine municipalities or parts of municipality (2000) bilingual topographical signs have been provided (but have not been put up in two of them). Slovenian is the official language spoken in 14 municipalities or parts of municipalities. According to the census conducted in 1991, the number of persons who said they spoke Slovenian in everyday life totaled around 20.000 persons. On the basis of the latest survey concerning “command of Slovenian” in Carinthia’s political districts, around 59.000 persons over 15 possess a command of Slovenian. Members of the Slovene national minority also live in Styria.

The Hungarian minority: After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, the predominantly German speaking areas of West Hungary with the exception of the area around Ödenburg became a part of Austria. This resulted

in the emergence of the Hungarian minority in Burgenland which accounted for 13.979 known persons in 1923 (1991: 6.772 persons).

Hungarian was merely taught in primary school under the First Republic as general policies were opposed to preserving the continued existence of ethnic minority groups as such. Due to confessional conflicts involving *Burgenland-Hungarians*, progress in national minority politics was hampered after 1945; this situation changed in 1968 through the establishment of the *Burgenland-Hungarian Cultural Association* (Burgenlandi Magyar Kultúregyesület, BMKE). The number of Hungarians in Austria increased considerably through waves of refugees following the quelling of the Hungarian uprising of 1956 with more than 180.000 Hungarians fleeing to Austria. Through the National Minorities Act of 1976, *Burgenland-Hungarians* were recognized as a national minority, in 1992, the recognition of Hungarians was extended to the vicinity of Vienna. The National Minority Advisory of Hungarians has been in existence since 1979; it is the oldest one.

Since 1983/84, Hungarian has been taught in general secondary Hungarian schools as an optional non-compulsory subject, since 1987/88 two *Gymnasiums* (secondary academic schools) in Oberpullendorf and Oberschützen have provided Hungarian as an optional compulsory subject; a multilingual *Gymnasium* (a secondary academic school) has been operating in Oberwart since 1992/93. In recent years, Hungarians in Vienna have developed an intensive cultural life (theater, film, newspaper “Bécsi Napló”). Although there is a large ethnic group of Hungarians in Graz, only Hungarians in *Burgenland* and Vienna are legally recognized.

According to the census of 1991, around 20,000 persons use Hungarian as a means of everyday communication. According to estimates from Hungarian Organizations, around 20.000 to 30.000 Hungarians presently live in Austria.

The Czech minority: Czech traders settled in Vienna, as early as the Middle Ages. The first Czech newspaper was published in Vienna in 1761, a second one followed during the period from 1813–18. During the second half of the 18th century, many Czechs settled in the “*Wie-den*³” and “*Landstraße*⁴” districts of Vienna. So enormous were the waves of immigrants at the end of the 18th century that proclamations also had to be published in Czech in the Vienna suburbs. In 1775, Emperor Joseph II created a chair for the Czech language at the University of Vienna. During the Francisco-Josephinum era, immigrants came in large

³ Fourth district of Vienna.

⁴ Third district of Vienna.

numbers from Bo-hemia and Moravia to settle in industrial areas of Lower Austria and Vienna in particular, and were primarily comprised of workers and craftsmen (tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, lock-smiths, blacksmiths and stove-fitters). Czechs accounted for approximately two-thirds of the immigrants in this area.

Numerous associations were established: In 1862 the "*Slawische Gesangsverein*", (the Slavic Choral Society), in 1863 the theater group "Pokrok" (today the "Vlastenecká Omladina" cultural association performs plays in Czech), in 1864 the Slavic social club ("Slovanská Beseda") and in 1868 the "*Akademische Verein*" (the Academic Association). In 1868 the "*Tschechoslowakische Arbeiterverband*" (Czech Workers' Association) from which emerged the "*Komensky-Verein*" (the Comenius Association) which is still in operation today.

During the period after the turn of the century, Vienna was the second-largest Czech city, only more Czechs lived in Prague.

There were big waves of returnees after both World Wars: in 1923, there were still some 92.000 Czechs in Austria. After 1945, 10,000 Czechs and Slovaks returned to Czechoslovakia; during that period Czech schools and associations were reestablished and resumed their activities but on a smaller scale than during the period before 1938.

Waves of immigrants came to Austria after 1948, but especially after the quelling of the "Prague Spring" of 1968/69. (162.000 refugees; 12.000 of them stayed in Austria).

19.458 persons living in Austria said they spoke Czech in everyday language in 1991, with nearly half of them living in Vienna. Today, their number is estimated to be between 15,000 and 20.000. In 1994, the National Minority Advisory for the Czech minority was set up in the Federal Chancellery.

The Slovak minority: Slovaks settled in what is today Austrian territory after the Thirty Years' War, especially in the so-called *March-Thaya* area i.e. Hohenau, Rabensburg, Ringelsdorf, Waltersdorf and Sierndorf where they were the majority. The Slovak influx increased in the 19th century due to the need for agricultural workers especially for harvesting as well as factory workers (a sugar factory at Hohenau). In the 18th century, but especially in the 19th century, prominent members of the Slovak minority in Vienna played an important role for the development of a Slovak national identity. Nevertheless, the Slovak minority declined considerably as a result of pressure to assimilate around the turn of the 20th century and especially after 1938, as well as due to a wave of migration after 1918. The Slovak cultural committee which was established in Vienna in 1922 particularly focuses its attention on education; nevertheless, in 1933 there were

only 2 Slovak language schools in Vienna compared to 33 Czech language schools.

After 1945, due to the much larger Czech and Czechoslovakian Associations (Czech), it was not possible for the Slovak minority to exist independently. The Austro-Slovak Cultural Association (“Rakúsko-slovenský kultúrny spolok”) was only first established in 1983. At the census conducted in 1991, 2.120 persons throughout Austria, including 1.015 Austrian nationals said they spoke Slovak in everyday life. However, according to estimates by Slovak minority organizations, there are between 5.000 to 10.000 members of the Slovak minority in Austria.

After the separation into the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic around the beginning of 1993, Slovaks in Austria also gained their own National Minority Advisory in the Federal Chancellery in conformity with the National Minorities Act in 1993.

The Roma minority (and Sinti): Five larger groups of Roma can be distinguished in Austria today. These are in the order of their length of stay in the Central European area: Sinti, *Burgenland-Roma*, Lovara, Kalderash and Arlije.

The table below outlines their history of migration and the geographical parameters⁵:

	<i>Sinti</i>	<i>Bgld.-Roma</i>	<i>Lovara</i>	<i>Kalderash</i>	<i>Arlje</i>
<i>Country of Emigration (last country in which they stayed)</i>	South Germany, Czech Republic	Hungary	Hungary Slovak Republic	Serbia	Macedonia Kosovo
<i>Period of Immigration</i>	around 1900	from 15th century onwards	second half of 19th century: 1956	from the 1960s onwards	from the 1960s onwards
<i>Settlement area</i>	primarily cities and towns	Burgenland (cities and towns in eastern parts of Austria)	primarily Vienna area	Vienna area	Vienna area

⁵ Account according to Article 15, para. 1 of the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages, p. 13. (Source: <http://www.bka.gv.at/bka/volksgruppen/staatenberichtcharta.pdf>).

The umbrella term of “Roma und Sinti” was designated to refer to all groups of Roma living in Austria which were recognized as an Austrian national minority in December 1993; a National Minority Advisory Council for Roma has been established since 1995. The representative minority organizations include the “*Verein Roma*” (Roma Association) in Oberwart (the publisher of the “*Romani Patrin*” newspaper), the cultural Association of Austrian Roma in Vienna (publisher of the: “*Romano Kipo*” newspaper) and the “*Verein Ketani*” (Ketani Association) in Linz which is largely supported by Sinti.

According to estimates from members of national minorities, there are around 25.000 Roma living in Austria.

In the area of education, mention is made of the Roma for the first time in the Minorities School Act for *Burgenland* (“*Minderheiten-Schulgesetz für Burgenland*” [Fed. Law Gazette No. 641/1994]).

2. New minorities

2.1 Political refugees - the most important groups numerically

After World War II, around 400.000 members of the German minority immigrated between 1945 and 1950 to Austria from the East.

Following the quelling of the national uprising in Hungary in 1956, 180.000 Hungarians applied for political asylum in Austria in 1956/57.

After the Soviet army invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 putting an end to the “Prague Spring”, some 160.000 persons came to Austria. However, only 12.000 Czechs and Slovaks applied for asylum in 1968/69.

The proclamation of martial law in Poland forced about 150.000 Poles to flee to Austria: 33.000 applied for political asylum in 1981/82.

Millions of people were driven to flight through war in the former Yugoslavia. 65.000 out of 100.000 Bosnians who were accepted in 1991/1992 as *de-facto* refugees could become integrated over the long term.

According to rough estimates, around 680.000 persons have immigrated to Austria since 1945 for political reasons.

2.2 Foreign labor in Austria

The demand for labor in the more developed industrial countries at the end of the '50s triggered another important European migratory movement. This migration was motivated by the quest for higher wages and is still continuing today in the form of a movement from East to West.

“Intergovernmental initiatives in the area of the employment of foreigners began much later in Austria than was the case in West Germany, Switzerland or

Scandinavia. Austria concluded the first recruitment agreement in 1962 with Spain, a second one in 1964 with Turkey and a third one in 1966 with Yugoslavia. The employment of ‘guest-workers’ reached its first peak in 1974 with 220.000 foreign employees”.⁶ In most cases, the original intention was to grant the workforce short-term residence, the objective being maximum utilization of the workforce. The fact that these were people with emotional needs and family ties was not taken into consideration, however. The failure of the planned “rotation principle” gave rise to a series of problems that had not been foreseen in the original blueprint. The people who had come to Austria created new surroundings for themselves. Periods of economic stagnation after 1974 led to a further reduction of 10% of the foreign workforce up until 1984 when there was a considerable resurgence. In June 1992 around 284.000 foreigners were legally employed in Austria.

However, a substantial number of Austrian workers also emigrated after the 50s'. In 1992, 550.000 persons were legally employed in Austria as compared to some 430.000 Austrians abroad.⁷

The new linguistic minorities are heavily represented in schools in certain regions of Austria. 80.359 pupils whose mother tongue was not German attended general education compulsory schools in Austria in 1997/98; the rate was 4,8% in Styria as compared to Vienna where the rate was particularly high at 32.8%.

The following table shows the percentage of “pupils whose mother tongue is not German” for the 1997/98⁸ school year (data given in percentages):

<i>Type of school</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>Vienna</i>
Primary school	12,1	30,7
General secondary school (10–14 years of age)	10,6	36,4
Special school	20,9	36,7
Polytechnical school	10,7	37,7
Secondary academic school	6,2	14,6
Secondary technical and vocational school	9,4	25,8
Secondary technical and vocational college	5,2	14,6

⁶ Fassmann, Heinz/Münz, Rainer: Einwanderungsland Österreich? Gastarbeiter-Flüchtlinge-Immigranten. Vienna 1992, p. 14.

⁷ Data source, Ursula Hemetek (Ed.): Anfang war der Kolaric. Plakate gegen Rassismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Südwind Publishing House. Vienna, 2000.

⁸ Source: BMUK (1999): Information sheets on presentations for Intercultural Learning No. 2 (pupils with a mother tongue other than German).

The majority of children whose mother tongue is not German are from former Yugoslavia and Turkey, however Austrian pupils are representative of as many as 140 countries. In addition to English, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Turkish, Kurdish, Albanian, Arabic, Bulgarian, Polish, Hungarian and Romanian are also represented.

3. Religious affiliation

Assignment to majorities or minorities occurs through language – as shown in the previous chapters – and additionally through religious affiliation, but neither of the two indicators is attributable at mono-cultural or national level.

The Austrian Roman Catholic tradition and the Slovene and Croation speaking minorities in the modern Republic of Austria did not need to harbour any potential for conflicts whatsoever owing to their shared religion. However, analogous to the loss of the frame of reference of the monarchy that of the “dominant“ religion also appears to be lost now. It appears that the latter “unambiguity“ is no longer in existence as is evidenced by a look at the religious communities.

3.1. The officially recognised and officially registered religious communities

In Austria a distinction is made between officially recognised and officially registered religious communities. Those that are officially recognised are entitled to give religious instruction in schools, which is paid for by the State, whereas those that are officially registered are religious communities that are undergoing a period of observation prior to receiving official recognition with the said entitlements.

<i>Officially recognised religious communities:</i>	<i>Officially registered religious sects are:</i>
1 Old Catholic Church of Austria	1 Bahá'í – Religious Community in Austria
2 Armenian Apostolic Church in Austria	2 Association of Baptist Congregations in Austria
3 Evangelical Church Augsburg Confession and Evangelical Church Helvetic Confession	3 Association of Evangelical Congregations in Austria
4 Greek Oriental Church in Austria	4 Christian Community – Movement for Religious Renewal – in Austria
5 Israelite Religious Society (Religious Community)	5 Free Christian Congregation/Pentecostal Congregation
6 (Roman) Catholic Church	6 Church of the Seventh Day Adventists
7 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons)	7 Coptic Orthodox Church in Austria
8 Methodist Church in Austria	8 Jehova's Witnesses
9 New Apostolic Church	9 Hindu Religious Community in Austria
10 Austrian Buddhist Religious Society	10 Mennonite Free Church of Austria
11 Religious Society of the Followers of Islam (Islamic Religious Community in Austria)	11 Pentecostal Church of God in Austria
12 Syrian Orthodox Church in Austria	

If a profession of faith is not only understood in the post-Enlightenment sense as an affiliation to a private community of like-minded people and thus as a community that pursues a shared aim, but is also understood within the framework of post-modernistic interpretation as a cultural ethnic and even national attribute, the transformation of society with all its problems is then typified.

3.2. “There is nothing more practical than a good theory“

The two facts that children of different religious affiliations and children with different mother tongues attend the same class must be interconnected so that historical observations do not surreptitiously turn into ideological statements.

“The organological use of imagery in the rhetoric of culture, homeland and identity which speaks from the grassroots ... has been increasingly prone since the social upheavals of 1989 to becoming entrenched in local issues ... and of being unexpectedly re-shaped by ‘xenophobia’.” (KÖSTLIN, in: Etzersdorfer/Ley 1999, p. 133). It is about a global perspective which has repercussions in the small local sphere of education. In this respect KÖSTLIN is right when he writes (on p. 134 *ibidem*): “The discourse on globalisation appears to be a new, not to be under-estimated, justification for the aptness of the ethnographic paradigm and as thus for continuing to supply material for that balancing act between identity and friction, for that desire for equality and otherness at the same time, which tend to fuel the discussion topic of ‘xenophobia’ over and over again.” In view of the fact that it is these very attributes which change, dealing of majorities and minorities which each other turn into a virtual confrontation and make use of history to borrow politically updated slogans from such delving.

LEY (1999), for instance, considers the suppression of the uprising and ethnic cleansing in the area of France known as the Vendée in 1794 and observes: “This liquidation of an ethnic minority by the State was not a regression to medieval methods of domination but a radical move by a modern polity to enforce social homogeneity.” (LEY in: Etzersdorfer, 1999, p. 56.).

Homogeneity was postulated then as now by non-recognition as an initial measure, namely by an attempt to endanger a disregard for friction, which when all is said and done implies nothing more than the fact that social awareness of a crisis has already progressed to such a degree that regardless of the number of “foreign” people “national” resistance is on the agenda.

“The urge to exclude is simply tantamount to the cleansing of societies that have got into a crisis, as described above.” (LEY, p. 58 *ibidem*)

Non-recognition implies either compulsory assimilation or exclusion but the subsequent measure generally goes beyond verbal aggression. According to LEY

(1999): “In this context ethnic cleansing and expulsion of minorities are comparable to religious rituals of purification and atonement ... However, the victim may signify more than atonement; the victim is additionally expected to bring salvation, namely the ritual renewal of a community, or alternatively of a society.” (LEY, p. 57f. *ibidem*)

The reality in schools, however – where not only children from different religious affiliations but also children with different mother tongues are in the same class – is different!

The figures shown in the chart in section 2.2 reveal a social reality which is worthy of consideration in an era of increasing migration movements. In this respect the issue surrounding majorities/minorities accelerates to an issue concerning the conduct of teachers. If we follow this conjecture through then the disregard for friction is not only a political or possibly a psychological category, but first and foremost a religious category. As a new conjecture, religious categories prove to be an unconscious mental process for educational and political justifications of the conduct of teachers.

We have reached the deepest level of this process whose task it is to work on multi-cultural education – to educate the educationalists!

References and secondary sources

- BMUK (Ed.): Information sheets on presentations for Intercultural Learning No. 2 (1999).
- BROUSEK K. M.: Wien und seine Tschechen, 1980.
- DE CILLIA R.: Sprachen in Österreich, Österreichisches Sprachen-Kompetenz-Zentrum (Center for School Development, Area III: Foreign Language) bm:bwk. (Working paper of 5 pages, 2001).
- DRABEK A. M.: Tschechen und Deutsche in den böhmischen Ländern, in: E. Zöllner (Ed.), Volk, Land und Staat in der Geschichte Österreichs, Schriften des Instituts für Österreichkunde, 1984.
- ETZERSDORFER, I./LAY, M. (HG.): Menschenangst, Die Angst vor dem Fremden, Philo Verlag Berlin und Bodenheim/Mainz, 1999.
- FASSMANN H./MÜNZ R.: Einwanderungsland Österreich? Gastarbeiter-Flüchtlinge-Immigranten. Vienna 1992.
- FISCHER, D. ET AL.: Auf dem Weg zur interkulturellen Schule. Fallstudien zur Situation interkulturellen und interreligiösen Lernens, Münster, inter alia 1996.
- FISCHER G.: An der multilingualen Öffnung des Sprachunterrichts führt kein Weg vorbei. Lehrer und Lernen fremder Sprachen in Österreich in: Exercise book 88, Vienna, 1997.
- GEOSITS S. (ED.): Die burgenländischen Kroaten im Wandel der Zeiten, 1986.
- GETTLER M.: Die Wiener Tschechen um 1900, 1972.
- Gettler M.: BÖHMISCHES WIEN, 1985.
- HAUPTMANN F.: Die Stellung der Südslawen in der Habsburgermonarchie, in: E. Zöllner (Ed.), Volk, Land und Staat in der Geschichte Österreichs, 1984; Geschichte der Kärntner Slowenen von 1918 bis zur Gegenwart, 1988.
- HEMETEK U. (ED.): Anfang war der Kolaric. Plakate gegen Rassismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Südwind Publishing House. Vienna, 2000.

- KIRYKOVÁ S.: Schule als Raum zur Entfaltung nationaler Identität, in: Seebauer Renate (ed.): Szenen europäischer Bildungslandschaften – empirical studies in intensive ERASMUS programs and current trends in selected European countries, Mandelbaum Vienna, 2003, p. 82–99.
- NEUMANN J.: Tschechische Familiennamen in Wien, 1977.
- ÖSTERREICHISCHES VOLKSGRUPPENZENTRUM (ED.): Österreichische Volksgruppenhandbücher, Volume 3, Roma und Sinti, ²1996.
- SEEBAUER R.: Stichwort: Komenský-Schulverein, in: Czeike Felix, Historisches Lexikon der Stadt Wien, Vol.. 3, p. 561, Kremayr & Scheriau, Vienna 1994.
- SOUKUP F. A.: Česká menšina v Rakousku / Die tschechische Minderheit in Österreich, 1928.
- STANEK M.: Verfolgt, verjagt, vertrieben, 1985.
- URL's:
- <http://www.bka.gv.at/bka/volksgruppen/>
- <http://www.bka.gv.at/bka/volksgruppen/staatenberichtcharta.pdf>
- <http://www.bmbwk.gv.at/start.asp>
- http://www.parlinkom.gv.at/pd/pm/XXI/AB/texte/041/AB04134_.html
- <http://www.emsneustiftgasse.at/auswahl/ems1.htm>

Suggestions for further reading

- AKASHE-BÖHME, FARIDEH: Die islamische Frau ist anders, 1998.
- ALLEMANN-GHIONDA, CHRISTINA: Interkulturelle Bildung, Beiheft 38, ZfPäd.
- ALLPORT, G.W: Die Natur des Vorurteils. Verlag Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Köln 1971.
- APELTAUER, E. Grundlagen des Erst- und Fremdspracherwerbs., Langenscheidt Verlag Berlin 1997.
- AUERNHEIMER, GEORG: Einführung in die interkulturelle Erziehung., 2.Aufl., Darmstadt 1995.
- AUERNHEIMER, GEORG u.a.: Interkulturelle Erziehung im Schulalltag. Fallstudien zum Umgang von Schulen mit der multikulturellen Situation, Münster-New York 1996.
- BECK, ULRICH: Perspektiven der Weltgesellschaft, Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt/M 1998.
- BECK (Hrsg.): Kinder der Freiheit, (Edition Zweite Moderne) Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt/M, 2. Aufl. 1997, S. 149 ff.
- BERGHOLD, JOE: Der gesellschaftliche Fundus des Fremden ; in: Etzersdorfer/Ley (S. 169 ff).
- BOECKMANN, K.-B.: Zweisprachigkeit und Schulerfolg. Das Beispiel Burgenland. Arbeiten zur Sprachanalyse 26, Peter Lang Verlag Frankfurt/M 1997.
- BRATER, MICHAEL: Schule und Ausbildung im Zeichen der Individualisierung, in: LEY , a.a.O.
- DE CILLIA, Rudolf: Mehrsprachigkeit und Herkunftssprachenunterricht in europäischen Schulen, in: DILEK (Hrsg.): Gleichwertige Sprachen? Muttersprachlicher Unterricht für die Kinder von Einwanderern, Studienverlag Innsbruck Wien 1998.
- DE CILLIA, Rudolf: Spracherwerb in der Migration, (Informationsblätter des Referats für Interkulturelles Lernen Nr. 3, BMUK)
- DIE WIENER KINDERFREUNDE: Zutaten zu Taten, Was Sie schon immer Gegen Rechts tun wollten, Wien 1995.
- DOEDENS, FOLKERT/SCHREINER, PETER (Hg.): Interkulturelles und Interreligiöses Lernen. Beiträge zu einer notwendigen Diskussion, Münster 1996 (Materialien und Berichte des Comenius Institutes Nr.13)
- ETZERSDORFER, Irene, LEY, MICHAEL (Hrsg.): Menschenangst, Die Angst vor dem Fremden, Philo Verlag Berlin und Bodenheim/Mainz 1999.

- FASSMANN, H., MÜNZ, R., : Einwanderungsland Österreich. Wien 1995.
- FISCHER, DIETLIND u.a.: Auf dem Weg zur interkulturellen Schule. Fallstudien zur Situation interkulturellen und interreligiösen Lernens, Münster 1996.
- GÖBEL, H./MÜLLER, T./SCHNEIDER, M.: Du und Ich, Langenscheidt Verlag Berlin/München 1983.
- GSTEIGER, FREDY: Wir sind die Sprache! Wie die Jugend der Banlieues ihr eigenes Französisch erfindet, in: Kursbuch Jugendkultur, a.a.O. S. 168 ff.
- HABERMAS, JÜRGEN: Die postnationale Konstellation, Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt/M 1997.
- HEGELE, I./POMMERIN, G.: Gemeinsam Deutsch lernen, Quelle & Meyer Verlag Heidelberg 1983.
- HEITMEYER, WILHELM u.a.: Verlockender Fundamentalismus. Türkische Jugendliche in Deutschland
- HUBER, A., ÖLLINGER, R., STEINER, M., : Handbuch der Flüchtlingsberatung. Wien 1998.
- KAKAR, SUDHIR: Die Gewalt der Frommen, Zur Psychologie religiöser und ethnischer Konflikte 1997.
- KOLIANDER-BAYER, CLAUDIA: Einstellung zu Sprache und lebensweltlicher Mehrsprachigkeit, Eine empirische Erhebung zum Selbstverständnis von Kindern mit einer anderen als der deutschen Muttersprache, Studienverlag Innsbruck Wien 1998
- KÖSTLIN, KONRAD: Xenophobie aus der Sicht der Volkskunde ; IN: Etzendorfer/Ley (S.121 ff)
- KRÖLL, FRIEDHELM und andere: „Integration oder Fremdenfähigkeit, Islamischer Schulunterricht in Wien, Problempotentiale, Kulturelle Relationen, 1998,
- KRUMM, H.-J., PORTMANN_TSELIKAS, P.R. (Hrsg): Beiträge zu Deutsch als Fremdsprache, (Theorie und Praxis), Studienverlag Innsbruck, Wien 1997.
- LÄHNEMANN, JOHANNES (Hg.): Das Wiedererwachen der Religionen als pädagogische Herausforderung. Interreligiöse Erziehung im Spannungsfeld von Fundamentalismus und Säkularismus, Hamburg 1992 (Pädagogische Beiträge zur Kulturbeggnung. Bd. 10)
- LÄHNEMANN, JOHANNES (Hg.): „Das Projekt Weltethos“ in der Erziehung, Hamburg 1995 (Pädagogische Beiträge zur Kulturbeggnung. Bd.14).
- LEGGEWIE, CLAUS: Ethnische Spaltungen in demokratischen Gesellschaften, in: HEITMEYER, WILHELM (Hrsg.): Was hält die Gesellschaft zusammen? Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Auf dem Weg von der Konsens- zur Konfliktgesellschaft, Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt/M 1997, S. 233 ff.
- LENZ/RADTKE: Bildungsghettos - Institutionalisierte Diskriminierung von Migrantenkindern in der Schule. Unterrichtswissenschaft, 22, 1994.
- LEY, MICHAEL: Xenophobie als interkulturelles Phänomen; in: Etzendorfer/Ley (S. 51 ff).
- MEAD, G., : Geist, Identität und Gesellschaft. Aus der Sicht des Sozialbehaviorismus. Suhrkamp 1975.
- MIHCIYAZGAN, Ursula: „Verständigung im Dialog, Über den Umgang mit kulturellen und religiösen Differenzen (nicht nur) in der Pädagogik“ in: Gritt Maria Klinkhammer (Hrsg.): Kritik an Religionen, Marburg 1997, S. 155.
- MITULLA, C: 1997, Die Barriere im Kopf. Stereotype und Vorurteile bei Kindern gegenüber Ausländern. Leske u. Budrich Opladen 1997.
- NESTVOGEL, RENATE: Kann die Aufrechterhaltung einer unreflektierten Mehrheitskultur eine Aufgabe der öffentlichen Erziehung sein?, in: ZfPäd 39(1988) 23. Beiheft, S. 41ff.
- NIEKE, WOLFGANG: Interkulturelle Erziehung und Bildung. Wertorientierungen im Alltag, Opladen 1995.
- NOIRIEL, GÉRARD: Die Tyrannei des Nationalen, Sozialgeschichte des Asylrechts in Europa 1994;

- PRENGEL, ANNEDORE: Pädagogik der Vielfalt, Verschiedenheit und Gleichberechtigung in Interkultureller, Feministischer und Integrativer Pädagogik, Mit einem Vorwort von Otto Dann, Leske+ Budrich, 2. Auflage Opladen 1995.
- PUHAN-SCHULZ, B.: Wenn ich einsam bin, fühle ich mich wie acht Grad minus, Beltz Verlag Weinheim, Basel 1989.
- SCHEILKE, CHRISTOPH/SCHREINER, PETER (Hg.): Schule in multikultureller und interreligiöser Situation, Beiträge eines interdisziplinären Kolloquiums, Münster 1994 (Materialien und Berichte des Comenius Instituts).
- SCHRADER/NIKLES/GIESE: Die zweite Generation. Sozialisation und Akkulturation ausländischer Kinder in der Bundesrepublik. Athenäum Verlag Kronberg 1976.
- SCHUSTER, A.: Islam in Wien. Eine sozialgeographische Spurensuche, Bestandsaufnahme und Prognose, mit Gedanken zu einem österreichischen Entwicklungsleitbild. Wien 1994.
- SIGNER, DAVID: Fernsteuerung, Kulturrassismus und unbewusste Abhängigkeiten, Passagen Verlag Wien 1998.
- TERTIL, HERMANN: Rauhe Rituale, Die Beleidigungsduelle der Turkish Power Boys, in: SPoKK (Hrsg.) Kursbuch Jugendkultur, Stile, Szenen und Identitäten vor der Jahrtausendwende, Bollmann Verlag Mannheim 1997, S. 157 ff.
- ULICH, M.u.a.(Hrsg.): Der Fuchs geht um ... auch anderswo - Ein multikulturelles Spiel und Arbeitsbuch, Beltz Verlag Weinheim und Basel, 5. Aufl. 1995.
- WEIDINGER, WALTER: Die Wiener Pflichtschule. Entwicklungsperspektiven, Trends, Prognosen. Stadtschulrat f. Wien, Dezember 1998.
- WEISSE, WOLFRAM (Hg.), Interreligious and Intercultural Education. Methodologies, Conceptions and Pilot Projekts in South Africa, Namibia, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Germany, Munster 1996.
- WEISSE, WOLFRAM (Hg.), Vom Monolog zum Dialog. Ansätze einer dialogischen Religionspädagogik, Münster 1996.
- WIENER INTEGRATIONSFOND (Hg.): Report 98 (Jahresbericht). Teil I., Wien 1999
- MIGRANTINNEN IN WIEN. Daten&Fakten&Recht. Report 98, Teil II., Wien 1999.

The concept of prejudice and its role in personality development (*General Topic*)

Katalin Erdei–László Lajos Lippai (Hungary)

A surprising feature of the cognitive process is that rather deficient signals, stimuli and information-units are enough to draw far-reaching conclusions. It is a multiply underlined fact, that we create our initial judgements amazingly fast. The shortest visual wince is enough to start that complex mental process which results in a judgement referring to the age, nationality, social class and profession of an unknown person. After the collection of more information it can turn out that most of our impressions were faulty.

Researches have also revealed, that almost all judgement makers within the same culture “typify” primary stimuli similarly, even if it later proves to be faulty.

There is a characteristic difference between judgement makers however. The ones whose first impressions are rich and diverse prove to be flexible judgement makers in a later period of information acquisition and are ready to correct and supplement their judgement under subsidiary information. Those however, who see little “for the first time” will also describe poor, stereotypic impressions later, in possession of more information as well, leaving the first impression almost untouched.

Prejudices are considered by researchers to be, at least partially, false. One of the basic problems is that people do not make differences between *utterances* stated abstracted from a given group of individuals and *perceptions* referring to certain individuals. In the cognitive, judgement making process this phenomenon is called, among others, the “thrift” of thinking.

Prejudiced thinking carries many emotions. The negative emotional feature of prejudices results from overestimation. People first have to overestimate those things and values they choose and like before they can underestimate those values they reject and hate. Diaphragms are erased mainly to protect what we like. Negative prejudice is the reflex of people’s own value system (ALLPORT, 1980).

1. The concept of prejudice

The word prejudice comes from the Latin *praejudicium*, and was already known in the Middle Ages. It went under considerable changes during the development of English language. This change can be depicted in three stages:

1. In its ancient meaning it denotes making a judgement that is founded on previous experiences and decisions.
2. Later, judgement created before careful analysis and consideration of facts was denoted by the expression. Immature, hasty judgement.
3. Finally, the emotional part was added, the hasty judgement with no supporting facts was supplemented by positive or negative emotions (ALLPORT, 1977).

Every later definition of prejudice emphasises its two main components; hasty judgement and negative emotional shade. In short: "presupposition of something bad about the other, without sufficient proof" (ALLPORT, 1977).

We can talk about positive and negative prejudice, but it is important to know that ethnic prejudice is mostly of negative emotional shade. Supposing something bad about a given group means the wording of contempt, dislike, fear and dread, or their signs in behaviour. The lack of sufficient proof means the imperfect, incomplete nature of first-hand experiences. Prejudice is generally expressed in a behaviour exercised towards each member of the rejected group, with no regard to differences between group members.

It would be irrelevant to expect to have sufficient information on each member of a given group. That is why we can never draw a definite line between "sufficient" and "insufficient" proofs. So a different approach is needed to make distinction between real *prejudice* and *previous judgement* based on a mistake. If the individual is able to correct his or her faulty judgements as an effect of new data and proof, then he or she does not prejudiced towards the given topic. A characteristic of prejudice is the fact that each new proof that would be suitable for admitting a mistake is like water off a duck's back to him/her.

The flexibility, changeability of the judgement defines if it is prejudice or a previous judgement. Previous judgements become prejudice when new, carefully founded information cannot change them. The prejudiced person has stabile emotional resistance to every proof resulting in a change. According to Allport, "ethnic prejudice is a dislike based on faulty and inflexible generalisation. It can remain on the level of feelings, but can also be expressed in behaviour. It can be directed at individual groups as a whole, but can be directed at a single person as well, based on the group membership of that person" (1977).

The definition of prejudice by Csepeli is wider, more general, and covers almost everything else in addition to ethnic groups: "...in a wider understanding, it

is a logically erroneous judgement, that is not changing when subjected to experiences and proofs denying the judgement. It is a characteristic everyday cognitive phenomenon, the alternatives of which based on positive and negative bias are well known each. In a narrower understanding, it is a judgement thought to be valid for a whole group of people, that presupposes either something bad or good about others, without enough empirical proof, and it does not change as a result of these”.

2. Inter-group relationships

Inter-group behaviour is a behaviour performed by members of a group towards the members of an other group. In case of open forms of inter-group conflicts prejudice comprising of negative attitudes towards members of a group (“the other”) is more common. Several researchers explain the appearance of prejudice by the personality development, personality type of a group member.

Theories based on individual possibilities and differences have serious limitations. First of all, those who place prejudice into the dynamics of personality, disregard the socio-cultural factors. A considerable part of researches have proved, that prejudice towards different groups is more the results of communal norms characteristic to the life of those asked, than the characteristic of their personality types.

The role of the individual cannot be interpreted in the presence of homogeneity of social groups as well. Homogeneous mass prejudice is a result more of the life of the group, its adapting to social conditions and their values.

The third limitation of theory is the neglecting of historical features of prejudice. If we originate the rise of prejudice from the personality type of the individual, it is hard to explain the historical features of prejudice, and it is hard to make account of unexpected spreading and disappearance of prejudice. These barriers refer to the fact, that mutual attitudes of people belonging to different groups reflect more the objective between the groups than features brought by the individual from his or her family background (HEWSTONE-STROEBE-CODOL-STEPHENSON, 1995).

The group member who was born and raised in the group accepts the ready, standard scheme of cultural example that is transmitted by individuals of authority, ancestors and teachers. These schemes are unquestionable standards to every situation that can happen in the social world. Knowledge aligned to a cultural example carries its certitude in itself and is to be considered self-evident. This knowledge provides a reliable recipe for understanding social events and for

interactions with things and people, to be able to reach the best results in every situation, with the least efforts and with escaping the unpleasant consequences.

The function of cultural example is to change the questionable to the self-evident, with the help of ready-made manuals. Inter-group prejudices always contain the affiliation of people, this is the basis of defining unequal discriminations that can seriously disturb social coexistence. Inter-group prejudice can be an inexhaustible spring of disturbing interactional phenomena, impatience, discrimination and violence. This carries groups of people into underlying, latent or open conflicts.

Inter-group prejudices can be typified according to the categories defining the classification into groups. Such can be given, non-changeable categories like sex, colour of skin, ethnic group. In an other case, belonging to a group is defined by views, ideas and values of group-members, which can be changed, so moving from the group is possible.

Verbal resistance among groups is always much greater than the need for actual discrimination. Negative discrimination is exercised mainly in a veiled, indirect form, and not in an eye-to-eye situation. This way the conflict between law and conscience can be resolved.

Competitions and hate among groups are not new phenomena. Hostilities depend on the intensity of its emotional nature. The stronger an attitude is, the more likely it is that prejudice develops into a violent, hostile action. The process leading to violent actions begins with *verbal prejudice*. In this phase, the prejudiced person expresses his or her aversion to members of the other group openly, among friends and sometimes in parties. Most of the people never exceed this mild stage of prejudice. In the next phase, where inter-group prejudice is stronger, the individual tries to avoid meeting members of the group thought to be unpleasant. *Avoidance* is sometimes uncomfortable and causes a loss of energy, but it is harmless for both parties. In case of *negative discrimination*, the individual performs an active harmful behaviour. He or she tries to exclude all members of the target group of prejudice from a given situation, or possibility. In case of increased emotional pressure, *physical violence* can happen, when prejudice can lead to violent or similar actions. Finally, the most intensive action in inter-group prejudice, *extermination*, has also happened in the history of mankind (ALLPORT, 1977).

Though most people never changes the verbal prejudice phase to the avoidance phase, we should be aware of the fact, that activity often happening in the given phase can ease and prepare an almost spontaneous change from one phase into a higher one.

3. Theories on the origins of prejudice

None of the theories explaining the origins of prejudice offer a perfect explanation for the interpretation of all existing prejudice. Generally, each of the theories calls attention only one, extremely important factor. Several other important factors can be left out from the theory. Certain authors dealing with prejudice apply the historic, socio-cultural or contextual approach, while others apply the approaches of personality-dynamics and person-centred phenomenology.

Each approach contributed to our knowledge on prejudice with valuable theories, each has considerable truth content. These, however, could not be reduced into one, unified theory explaining human behaviour.

Historical researches considerably differ in terms of factors identified as the cause of prejudice. Some analyse the economic factors, others emphasise exploitation, but the introduction of social-structural, political actions also reveal important factors.

The analysis of *social-cultural* prerequisites in the formation of prejudice helps to understand inter-group conflicts. In this kind of research cause can be the tradition system that can result in conflicts, or the mobility of the alien group and the own group, density of population and the phenomenon of urbanisation. This theory places the basic ethnocentrism of groups into the foreground.

Context as a cause shifts the accent from the past to the present, to factors exercising an influence in the present. The atmosphere theory, and theories building on the employment state, the type of inter-group interactions and the study of group density belong to here, among others.

Differences in human nature and personality types can be listed under *personality-dynamics* factors. An important theory here is the frustration-aggression theory, or the theory that is based on personality structure.

During the analysis of *phenomenological* factors, people are at the focus. The behaviour of the individual is dependent on his or her picture of that context, which is in continuous interaction with him or her. The person's reaction to the World condenses his or her world concept. The world concept includes historical and cultural factors, the whole personality structure of the individual. According to authors in phenomenology, every factor meets at a final, common focus point. The phenomenological level is the factor that influences behaviour the most directly (ALLPORT, 1997).

Two research directions are emphasised during analysing the origins of prejudice. The one searches the development of personality types for answer, the other analysis the educational process of the individual integrated into the society.

The question is the following: is prejudice inborn, or does it develop as a effect of the surrounding society?

Adorno at. al., in their famous and controversial work, put the emphasis on the analysis of personality type characteristics. They start from the basic conception, that human behaviour, defined by socio – economic relations, can be reliably revealed only if we map that system of needs, which can come to the surface in a given society. This system of needs is formed in the life history of the individual and in the process of socialisation, as an effect of social institutional system.

4. The development of prejudice

The acceptance and development of prejudice happens during a long socialisation phase. Insistence on prejudice cannot solely be explained by “convenience” of the cognitive process, the “economy” of thinking, conformity. An unappealable, only psychologically explainable emotion or belief is needed, that makes it an organic part of life history. This can be explained by the emotional intensity of the earliest attachment, the intensity of identification with the parent.

Family influence is consequently the primary cause in the development of prejudice. Identification is in the centre during childhood learning. Childhood and the kindergarten period is a rather sensitive and important phase in the development of every social attitude. Resulting from the characteristics of development, there is no control, selection, decision or judgement making working before the age of schooling.

According to studies by Piaget, a decisive change in moral development happens in pre-puberty, when decentration ability develops. The child becomes capable of taking up the role of the other, and learns cooperation based on love and trust. Earlier this was done out of obedience. With the development of decentration, the child makes more distance from his or her ego- and ethnocentrism and becomes capable of differentiating judgements.

The young schoolchild is rather sensitive to information concerning the groups. This information help the development of their own identity consciousness. Their inter-group attitudes develop at their early school-childhood. By the end of early school-childhood they acquire cognitive elements for the justification and explanation of group similarities and differences. They decide on the acceptance or rejection of prejudice in their surroundings in puberty, at the same time with the development of their identity.

The *acceptance* and the *development of prejudice* are different concepts. The child accepting prejudice takes the stereotypes and attitudes of the parents over. There is an effect, when the family does not directly transmit its attitudes

and ideas to the child, but creates an atmosphere where finally the child develops his or her own prejudices. The parents raise their child in a way, that he or she is not able to overcome his or her own suspicions, fears and dreads. The source of these feelings are often simply in early parent threats or in verbal stereotypes (e.g. “the Gypsies will take you away”, etc.). This emotional – instinctual, sometimes even not worded aversion elicited this way will fall on the “other”, on members of a minority group, this way knowledge and belief will be organised accordingly.

The style of child education defines the development of prejudice in children considerably. The parent who considers obedience the most important and whose main method is discipline, will direct his or her child towards prejudice more likely. Power is in the hands of the parent, provision or denial of essential love is up to him or her, that is why will the child always stay on guard, as he or she has to carefully monitor him- or herself, and every small feature of the education and requirements by the parent. The child will above all learn, that relationships are defined by power and authority, and not by trust and patience. His or her suspicion, dissatisfaction will be directed from the self to the environment, his or her hostile attitude will increase, that will prepare the ground for prejudiced thinking and behaviour.

With parents applying the other educational style, the child can feel him- or herself in an affectionate and safe environment, and is not afraid of losing love. Equity, trust and love become basic values, and there is no reason for fear and suspicion.

The linguistic factors also exercise a considerable effect on the development of prejudice. Emotion and aversion is attached to the word rather than information and content. The child learns the meaning of the word after the development of aversion (ALLPORT, 1977).

Let us examine the stages of learning prejudice. The first stage is called the stage immediately preceding generalisation. The following developmental phases develop at this stage:

1. The child identifies with the mother; the custom of obedience develops.
2. Fear towards strangers has not yet developed in the child, but he or she has already learnt how to be careful. "Mom, who are those children I am not allowed to play with?"
3. The child already knows that there are group- and inter-group differences, and he or she is characterised by curiosity, interest. He or she learns to identify the different groups.
4. Emotional meaning has already developed in the child, but it is still not firmly established whom these can be applied to. This is the phase of verbal learning. It strives at the matching of emotions and contents.

This phase is essential in terms of development of cognition; the *verbal* labels develop here. These prepare prejudices.

The second stage is the *period of total rejection*. The child of pre-puberty age learns rejecting and avoiding behaviour at this stage, and there will be no more trace of open, curious, interested and friendly behaviour. Ethnocentrism develops and reaches its peak. The tendency of rejection and over-generalisation usually weakens in puberty.

The *period of differentiation* takes over the period of rejection in the third stage. The adolescent tries to make his or her attitudes reasonable and more acceptable for him- or herself, and reduce his or her prejudice with certain excuses (e.g. “one of my best friends is Jewish”).

For the coherence of thinking, more polished coexistence and democracy, prejudices have to be situated and rationalised in adulthood. The continuous process of integration and organisation enables the adult to live together with his or her prejudices (ALLPORT, 1977).

The most dangerous manifestation of prejudice is when it becomes officially acceptable in a society. That is why can legal regulation and the possibility of legal action be considered to be a self-defence reflex of the society. Legal means in themselves alone cannot put a stop to prejudice, but can be an important obstacle in its moderation.

The most effective means of fighting against prejudice is the mass media; its most effective settings are the groups and frameworks provided by the contact between school and life-style. Prevention is more important, through the influence of socialisation preventing the development of prejudice.

References

- ALLPORT, G. W. (1997): *Az előítélet*. (Prejudice) Gondolat. Budapest.
- ALLPORT, G. W. (1980): *A személyiség alakulása*. (Development of the personality) Gondolat, Budapest
- 3 BARCZY-DIÓS-RUDAS (1996): *Vélemények a másságról-előítéletek a fiatalok körében*. (Opinions on being different – prejudices among young people). Animula Egyesület, Budapest
- CSEPELI GYÖRGY (1993A): *Bevezetés a szociálpszichológiába*. (Introduction to social psychology). Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest
- CSEPELI GYÖRGY (1993B): *A meghatározatlan állat*. (The defined animal). Ego School, Budapest
- CSEPELI GYÖRGY (1997): *A szociálpszichológia vázlata*. (The sketch of social psychology). József Műhely Kiadó, Budapest
- HALÁSZ-HUNYADI-MARTON (1979, SZERK.): *Az attitűd pszichológiai kutatásának kérdései*. (Questions of the psychological research of attitude). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- HEWSTONE-STROEBE-CODOL-STEPHENSON (1995, SZERK.): *Szociálpszichológia*. (Social psychology). Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó, Budapest
- PATAKI (1997): *Előítélet*. (Prejudice) In. *Kisebbség-szociológia. Szöveggyűjtemény*. Kisebbség-szociológia Tanszék
- SECORD-BACKHAM (1972): *Szociálpszichológia*. (Social Psychology). Kossuth Könyvkiadó, Budapest

Linguistic discrimination, linguistic human rights

(General topic)

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

1. Rights, law, human rights, linguistic rights

Linguistic rights are a kind of human rights. The rights require commitments, generally from the state. The *state* legislates laws on the language use of public life, education, legal system and the polity. At present there are *interstate level* efforts going on towards codifying linguistic rights on global or regional level, with universal scope or referring to groups requiring special support (e.g. children, immigrant workers, native groups).

The recognition of linguistic rights on an *individual level* means, that

1. everybody has the right to identify positively with his or her one or more mother tongues, and to make others respect this identity as well, independent from the fact whether his or her mother tongue is a minority or a majority language.
2. It means a right to learn the mother tongue(s), including a right to have at least elementary education provided on the mother tongue and a right to use this language in different (official) situations.
3. It means a right to learn at least one of the official languages of the country.

Restrictions concerning these rights are to be considered as unfair, the violation of linguistic human rights.

On a *community level* linguistic rights mean the followings:

1. the minority group has the right to exist (or to be different);
2. the minorities have the right to develop their language, to maintain schools and other vocational and educational institutions, where they compile the schedule and education is held on their mother tongue;
3. their participation in state policy and their autonomy in issues concerning the group (at least in culture, education, religion, media and social issues) are ensured with the help of liquid assets coming from taxes and subsidy.

Restrictions concerning these rights are also considered to be linguistic unfairness and the violation of linguistic human rights.

Deprivation from human rights leads to conflicts. If the minorities' rights are respected, the threat of conflicts is less likely. There is no causal relationship between linguistic diversity and conflicts, though language is of course an important mobilizing factor in those situations, where an ethnic group is under threat.

2. Languages

The linguistic map of the World has greatly changed in the past 50 years. According to an American linguist, if something does not intervene, the number of living languages of the World will be around 600 in 2100, that is, 85–90% of present languages will die out by that time. 20–25% of the World's oral languages are already not learnt by the children, so if the generations speaking these languages die, the languages themselves will also die.

Many people think, that the linguistic diversity of the World is valuable, as language itself is also a value; consequently the linguistic diversity of the World is also to be preserved, similar to the biological diversity of the World. According to others (mainly economists) linguistic shift, or when the languages gain or loose ground is a *natural process* we should not interfere into. There are linguists who think, the spreading or the death of languages is not a natural process, but depends rather on the *economic, military, and political power relations*, and in certain cases it is the result of colonial past, and the conscious language politics, the so called "*linguistic imperialism*". It is a widely spread view, that the destruction or spreading of languages is the concomitant of globalisation.

Law exercises a great effect on the state of languages. Legislation covers languages as well, so in the law and order of states and in international law there are legal norms referring to the use of languages. These legal norms naturally do not only express the state of certain languages, but form and shape it, and influence the prestige and future of languages.

2.1. National and international linguistic rights

In practice each modern state has one or more *official languages* and/or state languages and/or national languages. Besides, the state generally:

1. recognises certain minority linguistic rights or protects certain regional languages,
2. puts down in writing the linguistic prerequisites of gaining citizenship,
3. defines the language or languages of instruction,
4. orders (in some states) the language and way of name usage,

5. creates norms referring to the language and sometimes to the way geographical names, public domain inscriptions, street names, public institutes (sometimes private institutions) are written.,
6. considers certain questions concerning the language usage by public media and to a smaller extent by commercial radios and televisions,
7. decides about the language of certain domains of economic life, for example about the language of labelling and documentation of goods or about language use in the workplace;
8. issues decree about language exams;
9. creates unique linguistic regulations referring to new immigrants,
10. at the same time they acknowledge – especially in criminal procedures – the right to use the mother tongue or another language if the defendant, or if the case is not a criminal one, the client does not or only weakly understands/speaks the language of the court, etc.

In fact the unique law material created this way can be called as *the linguistic rights of a given state*.

There are *international linguistic rights* also, containing two norm groups:

1. principles, norms, prescriptions, suggestions that serve as a directive to the creation of state linguistic rights,
2. those regulations that settle the language usage of international organisations.

The language is not a branch of law, but a group of unequally interrelated legal rights, the final object of which is after all the same: the use of languages. The question of languages is a minority question in the first place.

2.2. The legal status of languages and the state of languages

It often happens in multilingual countries that the language of the *majority linguistic community* is the official language, and the language of the *minority linguistic community/ies* is not an official language. The different legal status of the majority language and the minority language(s) originates probably from the different status of these languages. In those multilingual countries, where the language of the majority community is the official language and the language of the minority community/ies is not an official language, minority languages suffer double disadvantages:

1. do not enjoy the status of the official language, and
2. their linguistic community is smaller than the linguistic community of the official language.

The possibilities to use minority language(s) is the function of varying linguistic policy considerations of governments or the varying linguistic tolerance of national and local political culture. The different legal status of the majority language and the minority language(s) exercises a constant, continuous and strong effect on the actual *language usage*. The actual state of languages influences the legal status of languages, and vice versa, the legal status of languages strongly influences the actual state of languages.

2.3. The institution of the official language

In international linguistic rights there is a wide-spread solution, the institution of the official language (the state language, the national language). It is the constitutional right of each person belonging to the majority community to use his or her mother tongue, his or her own language as the official language of the state. Concerning that this linguistic right is not stated in the constitution but by defining an official language this right is acknowledged, the linguistic right in question is not an explicit but an *implicit linguistic right*.

This implicit right is the due of the bigger community and individuals belonging to this community, but is not a due of the smaller community or individuals belonging to it. It is obviously an *inequality before the law*. It is also obvious, that the minority community or its members are *negatively discriminated*, and this is in contradiction with the ban of *linguistic discrimination*. Finally, if we consider the law in question a collective law, the acknowledgement of this linguistic group-right (*can*) *contradict the idea of individual rights*.

The linguistic – ethnic composition of states are generally more complicated, so making the languages of all communities official does not seem to be feasible. The aggrieved parties of the lack of linguistic equality before the law and linguistic discrimination are generally the minority linguistic communities and individuals belonging to these. *Minority linguistic rights* and the special minority protection legal institutions compensate only to a minor extent for the extra rights and privileges of the linguistic majority and individuals belonging to the linguistic majority.

3. The universal declaration of linguistic rights and the question of languages

In today's international law, the norms of linguistic law-making are within the international system of human rights protection or are strongly connected to this system. The keystone, the fundamental document of this system is the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948)*. The Universal Declaration prohibits linguistic discrimination in respect to all law acknowledged by it, and at the same

time it does not acknowledge any linguistic rights. To phrase it differently, the Declaration prohibits linguistic discrimination in terms of non-linguistic rights, but it does not prohibit linguistic discrimination in terms of linguistic rights.

4. Contradictions in the development of international linguistic rights

One of the most important human rights documents of the UN is the *International Agreement of Civil and Political Rights* (the Agreement from further on). One of the articles of the Agreement acknowledges three minority rights: the right to own culture, the right to believe in and practice an own religion and the right to use an own language. Compared to the Declaration, the Agreement exceeds the negative approach to the question of languages, exceeds the declaration of prohibiting linguistic discrimination, so the Agreement has a positive word to say about the question of languages, and this positive attitude appears as the acknowledgement of certain linguistic rights. Linguistic rights acknowledged by the Agreement are partly secondary, derivative rights (linguistic rights of individuals accused of committing a crime), and are partly primary, original rights (minority linguistic rights). The mere existence of the positive attitude, that is the acknowledgement of certain linguistic rights, is leap forward. The fact that this law acknowledgement covers the derivative and original linguistic rights as well is also a leap forward.

4.1 National and international linguistic rights, implicit and explicit linguistic rights

From the perspectives of equality before the law and the ban of discrimination the national and the international linguistic rights are equally problematic: the national linguistic rights are problematic, because it is only the majority individuals who are entitled to use their own language as the official language of the country; the international linguistic rights are problematic, because their norms ensure the right of using own language only for individuals belonging to a linguistic minority. If we add these two kinds of rights up: everybody has the right to use his or her language. As the result of summing we get a universal linguistic right that is a due of everybody.

4.2. Protection of rights and languages, a legal and linguistic protection perspective

Linguistic rights were at first restricted to the acknowledgement of a negative-type norm, the ban of linguistic discrimination. The acknowledgement of positive ideas started in the form of acknowledging certain minority linguistic rights. This process however made little progress; thanks maybe to this a new idea for solving the minority language question was developed and formed – the idea of *language protection*.

Minority and regional languages are suffering a disadvantage, or a double disadvantage compared to the majority languages: their linguistic community is from the outset smaller than the majority linguistic community, their legal status is generally weaker – minority languages, compared to majority languages, do not enjoy the status of official language. In this double disadvantaged position the legal status of minority or regional languages can be strengthened not only by acknowledging minority linguistic rights (individual or collective rights, with or without an autonomous status), but also by protecting the minority or the regional languages. So language protection is a legal protection as well, nevertheless this language protection perspective has its importance and value. The first and (until now) only important document that is based on the idea of language protection is the *European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages*.

The idea of language protection is not restricted to the regional or minority languages; these are applied more and more times to the protection of majority or official languages as well. As a consequence of international contact official languages loose grounds in several countries. The most well-known example for it is maybe the protection of French language (mainly against English influences). The final basis of the language protection perspective is the idea, that language is a value, so the linguistic diversity of the World is a value too, that is why it must be preserved.

4.3. Language use of international organisations and the linguistic rights of the European Union

The international linguistic rights contain an other, very characteristic group of norms. This group of norms regulates the language usage of international organisations. The UN has 5 official languages, the General Conference of UNESCO has 8, the Council of Europe has 2, the more important international organisations – the European Communities do not count here – received 18 official languages altogether till the mid-sixties. The United Nations has 6 official languages at the moment, English, French, Russian, Chinese, Spanish and Arabic, the Council of Europe has two official languages, English and French.

The European Union has now 11 official languages and 11 working languages: English, Danish, Finish, French, Greek, Dutch, German, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish. Decrees and other general documents has to be worded in each official languages, the official newspaper has to be issued in each official languages, the member states and individuals belonging under their jurisdiction can word documents they send to different institutes in each official language (and in Irish as well, corresponding to the Treaty of Amsterdam), and

they should receive the answer on the same language; those documents however that are sent by the institutes to the member states or to individuals belonging to their jurisdiction should be written in the language of the given state. This linguistic right that was here presented only partly has proved to be successful and working.

The linguistic rights of the European Union deserve attention. Though about 60 languages are spoken in the present member states, and the Union has “only” 11 official languages from these, the linguistic rights of the European Union seem to approach the equality of linguistic rights and the elimination of linguistic discrimination the most successfully. Through this Europe seems to become again the shaper of political ideas and the unique ground of their institutionalisation.

4.4. Less used languages

Those linguistic communities, the language of which is an official language in the EU can use their own languages as official languages of the EU. Those more than 40 linguistic communities the language of which is not an official one in the EU do not enjoy this possibility. This of course does not mean that the institution of official languages leads to the acknowledgement of implicit linguistic rights and as an effect linguistic inequality and discrimination on the level of the EU as well.

This inequality of rights and discrimination is compensated by the fact, that the EU supports the protection of less used languages. In 1982 the support was 100 000 ECU; this amount has gradually increased and reached 4 000 000 ECU or Euro.

5. Educational linguistic rights

Educational linguistic rights are not only of vital importance, but at the same time these are the most important linguistic human rights. If the children are not granted the possibility to acquire their parents’ language fully and (at least) on the level their parents speak it, the language won’t survive.

Normally, *parents* transmit their language to their children. This partly happens through,

- using the language themselves when talking to the child,
- choosing education on the mother tongue (this is becoming more and more important), and they also try to achieve in other ways that their children fully acquire the given language at school.

Today, when more and more children take part in official education, the vast majority of organised language learning, formerly the task of the community, is done at the *school*. Where the school does not support parents in transmitting

their languages to their children, it will be the conscious and voluntary decision of one or both parents, if they are aware of the long-term consequences of interrupting mother tongue continuity, of consequences affecting the child, the child-parent relationship and sometimes the future of the language.

Linguistic genocide is defined (UN) as prohibiting the use of an own language of a group in everyday communication or at school, or prohibiting publications or selling publications in the language of the group. Linguistic genocide as defined by the UN is a worldwide practice. A native or minority language can be banned openly and directly through law, prison, torture, murder or terrifying (as it is done in Turkey against the Kurds, according to the reports by human rights organisations). When linguistic diversity ceases to exist as a result of *linguistic genocide* (that is when the languages are exterminated and annihilated and they disappear unnaturally), their speakers assimilate to the world of other languages.

The use of a small language can be prohibited impliedly, indirectly, through the means of ideology and organisations as well. In the West mainly - but to an increasing extent in other places as well, where literacy and official education plays an important part in the socialisation of children – the education systems themselves are the immediate executors of this destruction. There are always kindergartens and schools where there are no bilingual teachers at the disposal of native or minority children who could officially use children's language as a means of everyday education and kindergarten communication. This is the same as if the use of minority languages were prohibited "during everyday communication or at school". This state is characteristic to the children of most immigrant and refugee communities in all countries of Western-Europe, in the United States, in Canada and in Australia, like in most of the new nation states earlier and in many cases even today.

Apart from education and other type immediate means there are *structural frames* too that define the alternatives existing in the education system and in other market settings, where languages are accompanied with certain values, entirely and partly not entirely economic type market values.

The market is the place where the languages are competing and where the linguistic hierarchy develops. *Linguicism* can be defined as "ideologies, structures and practices that legitimate, fulfil and reproduce the unequal distribution of power and (financial and other) resources among the groups defined according to languages" (SKUTNABB-KANGAS, 1988). Linguicism is one of the most important factors in deciding whether the speakers of certain languages are entitled to the linguistic rights or not. The lack of these rights (for example if the language is not inserted into the school timetable) makes the minority language invisible. The

minority language is at the same time considered to be a shortcoming; hence it hinders its speaker in acquiring the source of value (the majority language). So they argue that minority children should get rid of their mother tongue for their own good. In reality though by tying the school system up many minority members (children mainly) are inhibited from acquiring majority resources perfectly, the language mainly: education is provided on the majority language, with the help of methods that are inconsistent with the most scientific reasons. European and Europeanised countries commit a linguistic massacre against minority children practically every day when (using the definition of the UN) “they forbid the use of minority language in everyday interactions or at schools”.

Linguistic imperialism can be considered as a subtype of linguisticism, where speakers of one language have control over the speakers of other languages, violating their linguistic rights. English is the most dominant language in our age. The domination of English language is expressed and sustained by the development and continuous reproduction of structural and cultural inequalities.

Educational systems in their present form also contribute to the committing of linguistic and cultural genocide. *Education* is very important in terms of preserving and deepening the identity of national minority members. Youngsters of the fourth generation do not learn those languages that are not taught at school (and some languages perish even sooner). The language that serves as the basic communicational channel in minority education is defining in terms of the future of the World’s languages. The majority of those who decide about minority education throughout the World are speakers of world languages (monolinguals, born to speak that language).

6. Universal declaration of linguistic rights

The World Conference on Linguistic Rights held in Barcelona has accepted the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights on the 6th of June, 1996. The decree is the first attempt to word a document dedicated entirely to *linguistic rights*. The decree grants rights to three different entities: *individuals* (= “everybody”), *linguistic communities* and *linguistic groups*. If the beneficiary is unconditionally “everybody”, then the rights are individual (“inalienable personal rights”, Article 3.1). If the beneficiary is a linguistic group or a linguistic community, the rights are collective. Finally, if the beneficiary is the member of a linguistic group or community, his or her rights are mostly individual, under some conditions. Even this declaration does not consider educational linguistic rights inalienable, compared to cultural rights clearly reflected in Article 3.1 already. This declaration considers the following inalienable personal rights to be practiced in any situation:

- the right of an individual to use his or her own language in the private sphere and publicly;
- the right to preserve and develop his or her own culture.

Its content:

Introductory concepts (Articles 1– 6.)

I. General principles (Articles 7 – 14.)

II. Overall linguistic system (Article 15 – 22.)

Public administration and official bodies

II. Passage - Education (Article 23– 30.)

III. Passage – Proper names (Articles 31– 34.)

IV. Passage – Mass media instruments and new technologies (Articles 35– 40.)

V. Passage – Culture (Articles 41– 46.)

VI. Passage – The social-economic sphere (Articles 47– 52.)

Further provisions

Final provisions

7. Language as a means of discrimination

From a linguistic aspect, standard language is as correct as any other versions of the language and it causes much harm that standard language has a prioritised importance. Some people suffer disadvantages, because they do not speak this version, others benefit from it, as they were born into it. People's educational rights are violated if the school insists on offering cultural goods on the standard language only. That child for whom it is a strange language version can have comprehension problems, and can be subjected to insults and indignity.

Children who perform badly at school just because of speaking a version of language other from the teachers' one are labelled as mentally defect, someone with speech disorders, unable for logical thinking by educators and psychologists. These judgements are based on linguistically totally faulty ideas.

Linguistic discrimination comes from the key participants of education, that is, the educators, who narrow the concept of proper language use to the version they speak. The job of sociolinguists is to show all concerned: teachers, psychologists, politicians and everybody that they involuntarily highlight and codify the version of language they use and create a tool of discrimination out of it.

References

- TOVE SKUNTABB-KANGAS (1997): *Nyelv, oktatás és kisebbségek* (Language, education and minorities), Teleki László Alapítvány, Budapest, 1997, Szerk.: Bárdi Nándor–Dippold Péter, 63–67.
- SZIGETI PÉTER: *Az emberi jogok természetének megalapozása: egységesség - világnézettípusok és politikum*; (Foundations of the nature of Human rights: unity – perspectives and politics)
- A *Nyelv, Mint A Diszkrimináció Eszköze*. (Language as the means of discrimination) Kontra Miklóssal Beszélget Pogány Ira

Internet addresses

- <http://www.meh.hu/nekh/Magyar/8/ensz/dec-h.htm>, EGYESÜLT NEMZETEK SZERVEZETE (UN); Nyilatkozat a nemzeti vagy etnikai, vallási és nyelvi kisebbségekhez tartozó személyek jogairól (1992); A Közgyűlés 47/135. sz. Határozata
- http://www.mnyknt.hu/nyelvi_jogok_nyilatkozata.htm, A Nyelvi Jogok Egyetemes Nyilatkozata; (UN Declaration of Human Rights)
- <http://www.lib.jgytf.u-szeged.hu/alknyelv/aktualis/ToveSkuntabb-Kangas.htm>, Mik a nyelvi emberi jogok? (What are the linguistic human rights?) Tove Skuntabb - Kangas
- <http://eszmelet.tripod.com/40/szigeti40.html>, *Szigeti Péter*: Az emberi jogok természetének megalapozása: egységesség - világnézettípusok és politikum; (Founding the nature of Human Rights – types of perspectives and politics).
- <http://www.amarodrom.hu/archivum/2002/09/41.html>, *Majtényi Balázs*: A roma kisebbség és a nemzetközi jog (The Romany minority and international law)
- http://www.kkapcsolat.hu/el_konyv/legalabb/kiseb.htm#tortenelmielozmenyek, Nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségek Magyarországon (National and ethnic minorities in Hungary)
- <http://www.lib.jgytf.u-szeged.hu/alknyelv/aktualis/KontraMiklos.htm>, A *Nyelv, Mint A Diszkrimináció Eszköze* (language as the means of discrimination) Kontra Miklóssal Beszélget Pogány Ira
- <http://www.jak.ppke.hu/forum/irodalom/nyjezr.htm>, Andrassy György egyetemi tanár, Pécsi Tudományegyetem (Pécs); *Nyelvek És Nyelvi Jog Az Ezredfordulón* (Languages and linguistic rights at the turn of the century)

Gender roles in the society; the state of women

(General Topic)

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

In the society that is divided by gender roles (as well) women are not a minority in numbers, but they are the object of one of the most persistent discriminations of history, that is why it is important to name gender issues in equal opportunities policy, and articulate its unique experiences and challenges.

For the discussion of gender roles we will overview those basic concepts and theories that establish gender differences and consequent practices resulting in social stereotypes and inequality. The review is based on the work of Giddens (2003).

Sex refers to the biological and anatomical differences between men and women. Gender is the generic term for psychological, social and cultural differences between the two sexes.

According to certain theories gender-related behaviours are defined by inherent differences that have different forms but are still present in every culture. The proof of it is seen in the universal existence of male aggression. Data from animal life study the differences in the hormone system of mammals and make the testosterone responsible for predisposition to aggression. Data from people are based on the study of inherent abnormalities. In case of the testicularis feminisatio the newborn has a male set of chromosomes, hormones and has testicles, though from the outside it seems he has female genitals. In case of the adrenogenital syndrome the embryo has a female set of chromosomes, but produces too much male hormone and as an effect male genitals develop. Researches have found that in the development of these children's sexual identity social learning, socialisation played a decisive role. Socialisation agents in the acquisition of gender roles are the family, peer relations, the school, the media, the workplace and every group or social position in general that people spend most of their time in. The socialisation agents generally transmit the gender-related traditional attitudes.

We do not know about any society where women have greater power than men. The traditional task of women is to bring up children and to support the home, while politics and military activities are the privileges of men. In the

industrial societies the division of labour is less harsh, but still men are in greater numbers in positions with power and influence. Patriarchy became an institution. Gender is one of the most fundamental forms of stratification. The fortune of men is higher, they are characterised by higher status and influence. The financial state of women more or less reflect the position of the father or the husband, so researchers often classify women to the same class as their husband or father belong to. This classification principle is debated however, as often the income of the woman is higher and she defines the class relations of the family, or there are many mixed-marriages in terms of class relations.

Before the spread of birth-control women were at the mercy of their biological makings. In the pre-industrial societies the economic, productive activity and the household activity were not separate. The development of modern industry has resulted in the split of home and workplace. Family as a business unit has ceased, and employers employed individuals instead. In spite of this the employment level of women is still low in every social stratum in the XX. century: mainly young, single women had a job who after getting married, retired. The participation of women in paid jobs has gradually increased, thanks mainly to the lack of working force during the 1st World War. In most of Western-European countries the 35–60% of 16–60 year-old women work for wages outside her home, but this proportion is still lower than it is in case of men.

Thanks to changes in work organisation and to gender-related stereotypes women are still overrepresented in jobs that are badly paid, need routine work and in part-time jobs. Their professional career is set back mainly by the deeply rooted opinion of men that women are exquisitely responsible for the children.

In England an Act was issued in 1970 on equality of chances (Equal Opportunity Act), according to which it is against the law to define different payment rates for men and women working in the same job. This Act was easy to circumvent by changing the name of a job. The European Community has issued the Equal Pay Act in 1975 that says, equal payment should be given for work of equal value. In spite of this, the mean salary of women is still lower than men's and a considerable part of women live in poverty, mainly single mothers with small children.

The nature of housework has also changed; it became invisible compared to paid production. It has however a huge importance in economic terms, as it provides 25–40% of GDP. In spite of newer and newer household appliances time spent by women on housework has not decreased considerably, its content and structure has changed though.

Apart from maintaining inequalities in the labour market there are several other ways men can capitalize upon their higher social and physical power against women. Like violence at home, sexual harassment and rape.

Voting rights were in the centre of early women movements. Contrarily, the change in social differences has exercised an effect on the political activity of women, and not vice versa. As power and status differences decrease between women and men, the participation rate of women in elections rises. Voting rights for women however did not bring considerable changes in the nature of political life. Feminist movements have brought several other questions affecting women to the political level, other questions than voting rights. Such questions are workplace equality, freedom of abortion, change in family and divorce law, the rights of lesbians, protection of victims of violence, nursery schools, kindergartens, etc. Change is slow on the political stage as well; women participate here as well in small numbers.

In the following section we present two theories listing those factors that maintain hierarchy between men and women, regardless of social position:

Kate Millett – Sexual Politics (1990)

The supports of patriarchy:

1. *Ideological consensus* which the two genders share. Male and female roles are sharply distinct. Social and private functions. Woman is the intimacy sphere, the director of the family; the man is the breadwinner who keeps contact with to World.
2. The *family* itself maintains the male-female asymmetry. Family roles are prototypic, divided on a gender basis.
3. *Maintaining the economic dependency* of women. Female workforce is under-paid. It is easy to escape unemployment by taking up female roles. It does not mean losing prestige, as this is supported ideologically. They are at the bottom of the hierarchy in prestige jobs. If there are only a few men in a school, the director will presumably be a man.
4. *Violence*. Violence in the family was so far a hidden problem.
5. *Religious-cultural myths*. These maintain female otherness/difference. E.g. The sin of Eve, Pandora's box, the menstruating woman can not enter the sanctuary, etc.

These affect the psychology of both genders, infiltrate behaviour and conserves dependency.

Iris Marion Young – Justice and the politics of Difference (1990)

There are groups of people defined by their identity, like gender groups, minorities, the physically handicapped, etc. – DIFFERENT people. Policy making happens on the basis of identity. Five defining features exist:

1. *Exploitation*. Systematic and not reciprocal takeover of power; exclusion from privileged activities. Care, transmission of sexual energy. Higher prestige works are in the hands of men.
2. *Marginalisation*. Unemployed, single mothers, etc. They are let live but they can not take part in useful social operations. Dependency on institutes. Its result is the feeling of being useless, boredom, depression, the lack of self-evaluation.
3. *Lack of power*. The Hierarchy of profession types. Service, care, jobs with no power. A large part of minorities work here. Prestige-works are the due of white, upper-middle class men.
4. *Cultural imperialism*. The culture of the dominant group is considered to be the norm, and universal. Everything beyond that is a rarity. It stereotypes others' culture or makes it invisible. Depriving of individuality. In case of many women the feeling of being inferior is interiorised.
5. *Violence*. Groups marked by their bodies are exposed to violence- E.g. pogroms, sexual violence, violence against homosexuals, avoidance.

1. Equality of chances between men and women in the European Union

For the sake of promoting the preparations of social partners for the European Union was created the webpage by the OFA Kht in which Nagy Ildikó summarises the question of equal opportunities between men and women in the European Union.

We have to distinguish between equal treatment and the policy of equal opportunities. Ensuring equal treatment for men and women means the ban of discrimination. As opposed to equal treatment, equal opportunities policy requires steps from the member states towards making women actually equal on the various domains of life – education, health care, labour market, social security, etc.

The EU policy bans not only discrimination against women but the discrimination between the genders. So the male citizens of the European Union are equally entitled to these rights as women. Though, in practice, men suffer less discrimination than women. Unfortunately, in spite of the efforts of the European Union and the member states, equality of chances between the two genders is still not realised in the member states.

Eight principles consists the compulsory community law referring to equal treatment:

1.1. Equal payment for equal work

No matter of the member state the employer is working in, he or she is entitled to equal payment for equal work, regardless of gender. In spite of law-making and public opinion forming activities of the past four decades there are still serious differences between men and women doing an equal work. Differences between wages are varying strongly in the members states of the EU by sectors and countries. This wage-difference is about 20% in average in the member states, but in certain member states it can be as high as 30%.

Figure 1. Women's wages by the hour in the percentage of men's wages by the hour in some member states of the European Union

[Source: Eurostat, Women's earnings in the EU]

	B	DK	D	E	F	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Altogether	83,2	88,1	76,9	74	76,6	76,5	83,9	70,5	73,6	71,7	81,6	87	73,7
Economy sector	73	74,9	68,7	70,2	67,6	73,8	67,3	62	67,1	74,9	81,4	78,5	67,6
Legislatives, top-managers	82	86,5	80,4	78,4	79,1	83,7	83,6	74	79,9	88,9	84	87,8	83,7
Qualified managers	85,5	80,1	73,2	82,8	85,6	82	87,7	72	72,9	84,7	78,2	86,5	73,3
Technicians and secondary education	74,6	72,3	66,9	65	63,3	69	72,8	63,1	63,6	69,8	72,6	78,4	64,4
Employees	83,9	84,9	79,7	77,1	91,4	78,8	83,5	75,3	80,2	83,7	93,7	96,1	92,7
Office jobs	79,5	84,6	69,1	78	87,7	81,8	81	71,1	77,7	83,1	86	95,1	82,2
Shop assistants, service personnel	81,3	85,5	74,4	72	79,7	76,2	67,3	70,6	69	68,3	79,9	90,6	70,1
Hand workers	83,4	90,9	75,7	70,7	80	76,7	78,9	74,9	69	62,9	81,3	91,3	62,1
Craftsmen	78,8	88,5	78,8	73,3	79,7	74,9	68,2	68,1	72,5	72,6	81,7	95,1	76,4
Other	84	83,9	81,4	82,5	86,5	83,9	76	76	76,2	83	82,7	88,5	81

1.2. Equal treatment on the labour market

The member states are obliged to ban discrimination between the genders in all questions concerning employment.

1.2.1. Right for equal career, training/education and work conditions

The employer should promote workers of different genders on the basis of the same principles, and no distinction should be made between men and women when he or she has to decide on access to education. Besides the same work conditions should be provided for women and men. Differences coming from the nature of the job can be reasonable. So of course it does not count as discrimination if a man is hired in the circus for the job of a professional strong man or a woman is hired for the job of a model exhibiting female clothes.

1.2.2. Possibility of positive discrimination

The European Union allows the below presented forms of positive discrimination if the aim of it is solely a compensation for the effects of a past discrimination. Positive discrimination is only a possibility the EU does not oblige its member states to do. Positive discrimination is used the most often in promoting success on the labour market and participation in public life.

1.3. Rights of pregnant, in confinement or nursing mothers

Women can not be discriminated during pregnancy and during the immediate period after because of childbirth.

1.3.1. Right for safe and healthy working conditions

After the employee has notified the employer about her pregnancy, it should be measured: what health damaging effects the pregnant woman is exposed to and the employer should be informed about the result of it and these negative effects should be reduced. The number of working hours and the working conditions should be adjusted to the changed situation. If it is not possible, an other work should be found for the pregnant employee. If it is also not possible, the employee should be sent for a paid leave.

1.3.2. Ban of night work

It is forbidden to make women work nightshifts during pregnancy and during a certain period following childbirth. The pregnant woman should be assigned to dayshifts or should be sent for a leave.

1.3.3. Right for maternity leave

Every woman is entitled to a minimum 14 weeks long maternity leave. Two weeks from this 14 should be given before the planned date of birth. It is not compulsory to give a full salary for the woman who is on a maternity leave, but it is important that she should also be granted any raise happening during this period.

1.3.4. Right to examinations before pregnancy

In case certain before-pregnancy examinations can be performed during the working hours only, the employee should be provided with the possibility to take part in these without a loss in the wages.

1.3.5. Ban of dismissal

The employee can not be dismissed because of pregnancy, from the beginning of the pregnancy till the end of maternity leave.

1.4. Equal treatment in social security

The principle of equal treatment requires the lack of any discrimination on the basis of gender, especially by referring to marital and family status with regard to the following:

- Prerequisites of access to social security systems,
- The obligation of paying contributions,
- The calculation of allowances.

1.5. Right for parental leave

These rights are important because they help employees to harmonize their family and workplace constraints. The EU finds it very important for women to have a free choice whether they want to stay at home to raise children or they would rather go back to work. For the sake of this every employee who raises a child is entitled to have three months of parental leave. The father and the mother are equally entitled for this leave. The employee is also entitled to care for his or her family members in case they had an accident or become ill.

1.6. Ban of indirect, hidden discrimination

In spite of the explanatory work of the European Court there was a considerable uncertainty surrounding the exact meaning of indirect discrimination. This principle then requires member states to ban indirect, hidden discrimination in accordance with the directions of the principle. According to this a discrimination is hidden, if the same regulations apply for men and women, but it carries disadvantages for women only, for example it means less wages and worse working conditions.

1.7. Public roles of women

It is an alarming phenomenon everywhere in the World that the presence of women in public life, in every, national and local level of political decision-making as well, is very low. The situation is the same in the member states of the EU and in the union's institutes as well. Several member states use positive discrimination as the means of increasing the participation of women in public life.

Figure 2. Presence of women in the European Parliament 1994–1998
[Source: Une Europe pour les femmes]

<i>Number of women</i>		<i>In the European Parliament</i>
	1994	146
	1998	167
<i>Percentage</i>		
	1994	25,7%
	1998	26,7%

Figure 3. The proportion of women in the parliaments of the member states of the European Union and in Hungary*, 1999

[Source: Gyulavári Tamás–Kiss Róbert–Lévai Katalin: Vegyesváltó, Pillanatképek nőkről, férfiokról. Egyenlő Esélyek Alapítvány, 1999, pp. 78.]

<i>Place</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>%</i>
1.	Sweden	42,7
2.	Denmark	37,4
4.	Holland	36,0
5.	Finland	33,5
6.	Germany	30,9
10.	<i>Austria</i>	26,2
13.	Spain	24,7
22.	Luxemburg	20,0
24.	United Kingdom	18,4
42.	<i>Portugal</i>	13,0
43.	Belgium	12,7
47.	Ireland	12,0
50.	Italy	11,1
51.	France	10,9
65.	<i>Hungary</i>	8,5
79.	Greece	6,3

1.8. Institutes serving the equality of chances

Overcoming the disadvantaged state of women is unimaginable without the active participation of member states. This task however can not be only and exclusively the responsibility of the government, hence there is also a need for democratic institutions that control the governmental work. In several countries separate ministries are dealing with the rights of women. Besides in almost each EU-member state institutes were formed and most often named as Equal Opportunities Committee. These committees deal with grievances related to women, inquire into discrimination issues, perform a conciliatory procedure among the parties, word recommendations, and can bring an action on behalf the woman who suffered grievances.

2. What can an EU citizen do if she or he was discriminated?

The Amsterdam Treaty acknowledged equality between the genders as one of the most important basic principles of the European Union. Its prevalence should be aided by the authorities of the member states and the institutes of the union as well.

* Hungary joined the European Union in 1st of May, 2004.

Can turn to the *National Court*. If the union citizen was discriminated first she or he should make use of legal remedies ensured by the member states. This primarily means the judicial way, that is litigation.

The employee can turn to the *European Commission* with her or his complaint, and the Council can demand an explanation from the authorities of the member states. It can call upon the member states to stop the infringement of lawful rights. If this is not done, the Commission can bring an action against the given member state before the European Court. The organisational unit dealing with equal opportunities is working within the “Social issues and employment” Directorate of the Commission, and its task is the forming of the Union’s equal opportunities policy. The “Women Information Centre” is working also under the supervision of the Commission and it is obliged to inform women about the policies of the Union and promote consultation in women-related issues. The “Consultative Committee of Equal Opportunities” gathers the representatives of member state organisations and social partners, and it has a counselling function in the question of equal opportunities.

One can appeal to the *European Parliament* with a petition (complaint), or one can turn to the competent, elected “euro-representative” who can question the Commission and the Council concerning the issues. The *Committee of Women’s Rights* is working in the European Parliament and plays an important role in influencing Union policies.

The employees of union institutes can also turn with their complaints to the *European Ombudsman*.

The *European Women’s Lobby* representing 2.700 organisations and working with support by the European Union mediates among women’s organisations and European institutes. The lobby has not yet got a Hungarian member organisation.

3. Useful addresses in the European Union

Commission des droits de la femme

European Parliament

Kirchberg, L-2929 Luxembourg

Fax: (352) 4300-27708 (Luxembourg)

(322) 284 4945 (Brussels)

(33) 388 179069 (Strasbourg)

e-mail: DG2-femm@europarl.int

Equal Opportunities Unit
European Commission
Rue de la Loi 200
B-1049 Brussels
Fax: (322) 296 3562
e-mail: eqop@bxl.dg5.cec.be

Secteur Information des femmes
European Commission
Rue de la Loi 200
B-1049 Brussels
Fax: (322) 299 3891
e-mail: infofemmes@cec.eu.int

European Women's Lobby (EWL)
18 Rue Hydraulique
B-1210 Brussels
Telephone: (322) 217 9020
Fax: (322) 219 8451
<http://www.womenlobby.org/>
e-mail: ewl@womenlobby.org

References

- Eurostat. <http://epp.eurostat.cec.eu.int>
- GIDDENS, A. (2003): Szociológia. (Sociology) Osiris Kiadó, Budapest
- GYULAVÁRI TAMÁS, KISS RÓBERT AND LÉVAI KATALIN (1999): *Vegyesváltó, Pillanatképek nőkről, férfiakról.* (Mixed relay. Still pictures about women and men) Egyenlő Esélyek Alapítvány.
- MILLET, K. (1990): Sexual Politics. Touchstone Book, New York
- NAGY ILDIKÓ: *Nők és férfiak közötti esélyegyenlőség az Európai Unióban és Magyarországon.* (Equal Opportunities between women and men in the European Union and in Hungary)
<http://www.ofakht.hu/dokument/eselyegy/eselyegyenloseg.html>
- Une Europe pour les femmes
- YOUNG, I. M. (1990): Justice and the politics of Difference. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey

Gender roles in the society; the state of women in Hungary *(Unique Topic)*

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

1. Summarising report on the state of women in Hungary

In accordance with Hungarian researches related to social stratification education and qualification defines the place of the individual on the labour market, the skill to enforce interests, his or her lifestyle, that is his or her social status (HRUBOS, 1994).

Before the Change of Regime (1990) the participation of women on the labour market was very high, after the Change of Regime the decrease in employment accelerated. First it was visible in case of men, then after a while the participation of women has also decreased (Frey in LÉVAI and TÓTH, 1997). 63,5% of men has a job in Hungary while this proportion is 73,5% in the European Union, so the lag of our country compared to the European Union is higher in case of men. The difference between the employment of men and women is 12,5%, while in the EU it is 17,5%. The female unemployment rate is 5,6%, while it is 6,1% in case of men.

Career patterns of men and women still differ considerably. Men work in greater numbers in physical jobs than women, their composition is also different within the physical and the white-collar jobs. The rate of skilled-workers is higher in case of men, and in case of women semi-skilled workers appear in greater numbers. In case of white-collar works almost half of men are in a management position and only a few subordinate office workers can be found among them. In case of women only a low proportion of white-collar workers is in management position, most of them are subordinate administrators or subordinate office workers. The career opportunities of women are restricted. This is primarily the result of differences in education level and qualification, but not only of this. If we compare the proportions of women and men on the same education level it turns out, that women are usually in a more disadvantaged position. Professions occupied mostly by women tend to have less income and lower social prestige than characteristically male occupations. There is a 13–14% difference between women and men in the comparable jobs, and it is for the disadvantage of women.

For the sake of reducing differences in the wages a large step forward was that a considerable raise was performed in 2002 in the public sphere in those sectors where women are in majority. In spite of this further measures should be taken for the reduction of wage differences. Men have greater chances to work at institutes with high prestige and high wages, than women have. A change in the social-professional situation of women could be brought by the appraisal of professions dealing with the physical and mental health and good social general feeling of people (HRUBOS, 1994).

In the eyes of the community a spectacular and important form of work career is the career in politics. Women are still underrepresented in the Hungarian political sphere (Nagy in LÉVAI and TÓTH, 1997). The proportion of women is alarmingly low in the Parliament and in the Local Governments as well. Altogether 8,5%, that is 33 members out of the 387 members of the Parliament are women. Apart from the sub-committee dealing with women's rights, which committee consists of women only, there are only a few woman members in the committees of the Parliament.

Figure 1. The number and proportion of women in the Hungarian Parliament.
1990–1998

[Source: Pongrácz and Tóth, 1999. pp. 43.]

<i>Political Parties</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>FIDESZ-MPP</i>	2	9,0	1	5,0	10	6,7
<i>FKGP</i>	3	6,8	2	7,7	4	8,3
<i>KDNP</i>	1	4,7	1	4,5	—	—
<i>MDF</i>	7	4,2	6	15,8	1	5,9
<i>MIÉP</i>	—	—	—	—	1	7,7
<i>MSZP</i>	5	15,1	22	10,5	14	10,5
<i>SZDSZ</i>	8	8,6	11	16,0	3	12,5
<i>Altogether</i>	26	7,0	43	11,1	33	8,5

The health-awareness of women is better than men's (Józan in LÉVAI and TÓTH, 1997). This means, women are more dissatisfied with their health state than men. Women live a healthier lifestyle than men, they live in a more organised and moderate way, the frequency of risk-factors is lower than in the male population. The life-chances of women are larger than men's. Mainly social and not biological reasons lie behind the considerable differences between the life chances of men and women. This difference is measured by the differing expected life span, which is nine years in case of Hungary (according data from 1998 the

expected average life span of men at birth is 66,1 years, of women it is 75,2 years).

According to research results by SPÉDER in (LÉVAI and TÓTH, 1997) there are no considerable differences in the poverty rates of men and women in present Hungary. But we can point out two family types in which women are extremely endangered: aged widows who live alone and single mothers.

It turns out from the summary by FEHÉR (in LÉVAI and TÓTH, 1997) that the rate of female crime is considerably lower than the rate of male crime. Female crime has increased only in smaller extent than male crime in the past years. But women appeared in higher proportions among the victims.

ELEKES (in LÉVAI and TÓTH, 1997) provides data on the fact that the suicide inclination of women is lower but more stable in time than it is in case of men. In case of alcohol consumption we have to point out the rising alcohol consumption of young, white-collar women. The rate of neurotics and the depressed is higher among women and they turn to medical therapies more often as a solution of their problems.

2. Equal opportunities of men and women in Hungary

For the sake of promoting the preparations of social partners for the European Union was created the webpage by the OFA Kht in which NAGY ILDIKÓ summarises the question of equal opportunities between men and women in Hungary.

Equal payment for equal work

Hungarian law states the principle of equal payment for equal work. According to paragraph 70./B. § (2) of the Constitution: „everybody is entitled to equal payment for equal work, without any discrimination”. Through the amendment of the Labour Code of law (LC) in 2001 the principle of equal payment for equal work got into the labour law regulations as well. The new paragraph 142/A § of the LC does not only state this principle but also defines, in accordance with communal law, the concept of work and wages of equal value. There is a wage- and promotion system referring to civil servants and state employees that in principle precludes the different wage-system of men and women. In the market sphere that has a free wage-bargain the parties are free in defining the wages, but the above prohibitions apply to them as well. In spite of all these, the wage differences are about the same in the public sphere as well – about 15% - as they are in the market sphere.

Figure 2. Monthly net average income of women and men working in full-time jobs, 1997 (Ft/person)

[Source: Foglalkoztatottság és kereseti arányok 1997–1998, KSH]

<i>Economy sector</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
Mining	40 132	50 118
Manufacturing industry	32 517	44 117
Electric-power, gas-, heat- and water supply	40 272	50 801
Industry altogether	33 120	45 259
Construction industry	37 007	33 927
Trade	33 913	42 927
Catering industry	28 057	36 188
Transport, storing, post and telecommunication	39 340	42 944
Financial activities	59 054	93 301
Estate deals	40 159	43 297
Public administration	40 050	43 293
Education	32 558	40 181
Health care	30 252	37 539
Other	34 454	38 859
<i>Altogether</i>	<i>34 760</i>	<i>42 395</i>

Equal treatment in the Hungarian labour market

Paragraph 66. § (1) of the Constitution contains the general ban of negative discrimination between men and women: The Hungarian Republic ensures equal opportunities between men and women with respect to all civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights. Paragraph 5. § (1) of LC precisely states the prohibition of applying negative discrimination regarding the genders, in questions referring to employment.

Protection of pregnant women in Hungary

Hungarian law completely harmonises with the EU principles in this domain. The relevant regulations are written down in the Labour Code of law and in the No. 33/1998. (VI. 24.) ministerial order by the Minister of Welfare. Paragraph (1) of article 138. of the LC states, that the pregnant or the child delivering woman is entitled to have 24 weeks of leave. This should be given in a way that four weeks should be taken before the expected date of giving birth. According to the regulations referring to the transfer of pregnant women or their employment under different circumstances the steps are taken according to the initiative of the pregnant woman. The consent of the pregnant woman is required for the temporary change in the conditions of employment, that is for the choice of a new

workplace or duty. The wages of the transferred woman can not be reduced (Paragraph 86.§ (1) and (2) of the LC).

Social rights

Article 70/E of the Hungarian Constitution ensures the so called social rights to every Hungarian citizen. In legal regulations of recent years law-makers visibly strive at creating regulations on equal opportunities that correspond to the above principles. As a result there are hardly any incorrect regulations to be found.

Parental leave in the Hungarian law

Regulations of principles concerning parental leave are also not new in the Hungarian law. Paragraph 138. § (1) of the LC contains regulations concerning maternity leave which is 24 weeks and social insurance should provide pregnancy-maternity grant for that period. Article 138.§ (4) of the LC contains orders on the leave for raising children (parental leave). According to this the employer is obliged to grant the employee an unpaid leave at the request of the employee:

- After the end of maternity leave the child needs care or the child is permanently ill;
- In case of a seriously disabled child until his or her 10th birthday;
- In case the child is ill, and needs home attendance, until the 12th birthday of the child, for the period of the illness.

Both parents are entitled for this leave according to their choice. Even, if the mother dies and the father takes care of the child, the father is entitled to have the remaining part of maternity leave.

The employee on leave has an interest in the stabilisation of her or his employment as return to the employment is possible only if the employment itself remains. According to paragraph 90. § (1) of LC the employer can not end employment by an ordinary notice during the following periods and during 30 days following these:

- Being on a paid sick-leave for the care of a sick child;
- Unpaid leave for the home attendance or care of a close relative;
- Pregnancy, three months after giving birth, maternity leave;
- Unpaid leave for the attendance or care of the child.

Ban of hidden discrimination in the Hungarian law

With the amendment of the Labour Code of law in 2001 the concept and ban of indirect discrimination was inserted into Hungarian law as well. According

to regulations in Hungarian labour law, negative discrimination happens when a seemingly neutral order, condition or practice is disproportionately unfavourable for one gender than the other. In practice this means that the employer formally does not make distinctions between men and women, yet his or her steps disadvantageous for women only. The employer can escape responsibility only if he or she can prove that his or her measures were justified and reasonable.

3. About the Hungarian institutes

For the sake of the European integration of our country was created in 1995 by the government the governmental institute dealing with women's rights. This institute was working then since 1998 as the *Women's Representative Secretariat* of the Ministry of Social and Family Affairs. At present it works as part of the Ministry of Health, Social and Family Affairs.

The task of the *Women's Representative Council* created in 1999 is to accelerate law-making that ensures the equal opportunities for women and to involve the representatives of civil organisations and sciences protecting women's rights into governmental work. The tasks of the Women's Representative Council is:

- Expressing an opinion on plans of legal regulations and governmental action programmes referring to equal opportunities of women, initiating new programmes and amendments to legal regulation;
- Contribution to the development of national and international programmes aiming at the improvement of equal opportunities for women, and also contributes to the creation of application terms;
- Expressing an opinion on reports and informational materials regarding equal opportunities for women.

On the 1st of January, 2004. the Government has created the *Equal Opportunities Government Office* by Governmental Order 222/2003. (XII. 12.). The main tasks of the Office are:

- Promotion of the equal opportunities of disadvantaged and excluded groups;
- Reducing the exclusion of those living in a disadvantaged position;
- Working out comprehensive strategic plans after exploring the reasons;
- Participation in solving developed conflict-situations;
- Enforcement of social solidarity;
- Keeping contact with the civil society.

4. Some useful addresses in Hungary

Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner of Citizens'

1054 Budapest, Tüköri u. 3.

Telephone: 00 36 269-3500

Constitutional Court

1051 Budapest, Donáti u. 35–45.

Telephone: 00 36 212-1160

Women's Representative Secretariat

Ministry of Health, Social and Family Affairs

Postal address: 1051 Budapest,

Roosevelt square 7-8.

Telephone: (00 36 1) 3122008

Fax: (00 36-1) 3125260

Free legal counselling:

10-15: 00-36 80-630020

15-20: 00-36 80-630070

Women for Women against Violence (NaNe)

1088 Budapest, Gutenberg square 3. III/3

Postal Address: 1147, Bp., Pf. 502

Telephone: (00- 36 1) 337-2865

Free help-line: 00-36- 80-505-101

Programme office of the Ombudswoman

1088, Budapest, Múzeum körút 4/c.

Telephone: 266-9833

5. Useful Internet addresses

<http://www.eszcsm.hu>

Homepage of the Ministry of Health, Social and Family Affairs

<http://www.unesco.org/most/r15.htm>

English language studies on the state of women.

<http://www.gender.elte.hu/nit/>

Encyclopaedia of women's studies: documents and information services.

<http://www.wave-network.org/>

Webpage of the European Network of Women's Organisations, in the topic of violence against women and children.

<http://jupiter.tarki.hu/nok/>

Women's encyclopaedia/data on the webpage of TÁRKI: databases and research documents for women-related social sciences researches.

<http://www.europa.eu.int/>

Address of the Europe Server, where more information on the topic can be found on the pages of the Commission and the Parliament, on 11 official languages of the Union.

<http://www.womenlobby.org/>

Webpage of the European Women's Lobby

References

- HRUBOS ILDIKÓ (1994): A férfiak és a nők iskolai végzettsége és szakképzettsége. (Education and qualification of men and women) In: Férfiuralom, Replika Könyvek, 196–209.
- LÉVAI KATALIN–TÓTH ISTVÁN GYÖRGY (1997, SZERK.): Szerepváltozások, Jelentés a nők és férfiak helyzetéről 1997. (Changing roles. Report on the state of women and men.), MűM – TÁRKI, Budapest.
- NAGY ILDIKÓ: *Nők és férfiak közötti esélyegyenlőség az Európai Unióban és Magyarországon.* (Equal Opportunities between women and men in the European Union and in Hungary)
- PONGRÁCZ TIBORNÉ–TÓTH ISTVÁN GYÖRGY (1999, SZERK.): Szerepváltozások, Jelentés a nők helyzetéről 1999. (Changing roles. Report on the state of women and men), TÁRKI-SZCSM, Budapest

Gender roles in society – the status of women in Portugal *(Unique topic)*

Teresa Pinto (Portugal)

1. The progressive assertion of legal equality

The process of democratisation of Portuguese society, initiated with 25th April 1974, brought with it the gradual assertion of the rights of women and of equality between men and women, especially at the level of legislation, information and research. Dating from 1974, three laws give women access to the Bar, the diplomatic service and all positions in local government. In 1976, the new Constitution ensures equality between men and women in all spheres, and Constitutional Law n° 1/97 of 20th September, which put forward the fourth revision of the Constitution, includes the promotion of equality between men and women as a fundamental task of the State (Article 9, para. H). It also enshrines the principle of non-discrimination between the sexes in the access to political posts (Article 109). The husband's right to open his wife's correspondence was abolished in 1976, and in 1977 the coming into force of the revised Civil Code introduced the principle of non-discrimination in Family Law, thus granting the same legal rights to both husband and wife. Legal equality was namely reflected in the abolition of the power of the husband and of the concept of "head of the family", as well as the right granted to either spouse to take up any profession or activity without the other's consent. In 1979 a law was passed to ensure equality between men and women with regard to opportunities of treatment in work and employment, a legal system that would be extended in 1988 to the Civil Service and further improved. The new Penal Code of 1982 completed the revision of the most important codes in various areas and introduced important innovations, namely regarding abuse of spouses and of minors and inadequate material support for the family. From the mid-eighties to the present, the legal system with regard to health and reproductive rights, violence against women and protection of maternity and paternity has been steadily improved.

2. Social Practices and the Persistence of Inequality

Legal equality in force in Portuguese society is, however, not adequately reflected in social practices. Although, in 2000, 44,9% of women were working, accounting for 45,6% of the workforce, thus placing Portugal high on the list of European countries in terms of female representation in the labour market, “the high proportion of working women, including mothers (over 70%), in a country with poor social infrastructures to care for the family, and the longest working week (over 40 hours) in the European Union, is not the result of men shouldering more of the family responsibilities (...)” (FERREIRA, 2000, p.187). Indeed, women still play a major role in running the home and caring for children and the elderly. The conclusions of a survey conducted in 1990 in 10 European countries show that in Portugal: “62% of the respondents agree that ‘having a job is all very well, but what women really want is a home and family’ (...) with another 50% of the opinion that ‘being a housewife is as fulfilling as having a paid job’” (ALMEIDA-WALL, 1995, p. 48). In reality, women devote on average three hours a day more than men to family life, being responsible for 89,4% of the feeding and daily hygiene of the children and 79% of school-related support. The average time devoted by girls to household chores (2h. 24 mins) is also higher than for boys (1h. 00 mins).

With regard to women’s professional activity, there are certain striking features: more women in lower levels of qualification; greater difficulty of access to management or leadership positions (only 32,1% in the upper echelons of the Civil Service and directorships and senior posts in companies); concentration in certain areas of activity with high rates of female participation, such as education (76,7%), health and social assistance (79,4%) and personal services (97,9%) (CIDM, 2002, p.20). The proportion of women employed in the tertiary sector (63%) is also greater than that of men in the same sector (44%) (CIDM,2001, p.75). Although emphasis should be placed on the steady increase in the number of women in professions with which they are not traditionally associated, as for example diplomacy and the Bar, where in 2000 they accounted for 22,5% and 41,9% respectively (CIDM, 2001, p. 79), it must be noted that the opposite did not happen. Indeed, in female-dominated careers, men continue to be significantly under-represented, for example 0,6% in pre-school education and 18% in nursing (CIDM,2002, p.24). Two further gender-related aspects of the Portuguese labour market should be mentioned: “... there continues to be a considerable salary/pay differential between men and women, even for ‘work of equal value’; (...) women at the same qualification and remuneration level as men are frequently holders of higher academic qualifications” (CHAGAS LOPES, 2000, p.111). In 1998 the

monthly salary received by women was, on average, 76,7% of that received by men, with an even greater differentiation at the higher levels of achievement, such as management, where it fell to 72,6% (CIDM, 2002, p.45-47). It is also clear that “for the same academic qualifications, as well as for the same level of qualification, women’s average earnings are always lower. When it comes to university degrees, the gap is even wider” (INDICADORES ESTATÍSTICOS, 1999, p. 103). These inequalities extend to unemployment, where rates are higher for women than for men (5,0% as against 3,2%). This discrepancy is even greater in the 15-24 age-bracket (11,6% as against 6,2%) and holders of university degrees (3,5% as against 1,7%) (CIDM, 2002, p.20).

In the area of power and decision-making, women continue to be clearly under-represented and, according to a study carried out in 2001 (IED, 2001), if evolution continues at the rate recorded since 1974, equality in politics will only be achieved in 2185. By way of illustration, since April 1974 there has been only one woman Prime Minister, in 1979, while in the present government, which came to power in April 2002, there are two women Ministers and five Secretaries of State, out of a total of 52 members. The percentual evolution of women elected as parliamentarians for the Assembly of the Republic (Parliament) has likewise been slow and erratic: 8,0% in 1975; 4,9% in 1976; 12,5% in 1995; 17,4% in 1999; 21,3% in 2001 and 19,6% in March 2002 (CIDM, 2002, p.55-56).

3. Gender Equality Developments in Science and Education

The under-representation of women in top positions and posts of responsibility also applies to science and technology, even though in 1999 Portugal there was a higher percentage of women in university research (43%) and public research departments (53%) than the Community average. In scientific research, however, only about one-third of the women are in charge of a research team, while in the academic field women account for 42% of the teachers in Higher Polytechnic education and 36,1% of those in University education. Of Ph.D. holders, 53,4% of the women are University Lecturers (36,7% in the case of men) while only 6,7% are University Professors (24,4% in the case of men) (CIDM, 2002, p.17). A study focusing on the University of Coimbra found that “in percentual terms the number of women with responsibilities such as President of the Managerial, Scientific and Pedagogic Boards and of the Assembly of Representatives, during the years 1985-1986 and 1998-1999 was relatively low: 19,4% and 23,1% respectively” (VAQUINHAS, 2002, p.340).

In Portugal, as in other countries of the European Union, statistics have revealed a higher school achievement rate for girls than for boys, at all levels of

education. As an illustration of this, in 1996/97 girls accounted for 57,1% of enrolments in higher education and 63,8% of graduates. In 2002, the female proportion of the Portuguese population aged 25 and over with higher education qualifications (polytechnic and university) was 57,2% (CIDM, 2002, pp.13–15). This means that there are currently more academically qualified women than men, although this is not reflected in social and professional opportunities. A wide-scale study, promoted in 2000 by the Observatory of Employment and Professional Training allows us to come to the conclusion that “although age and formal schooling level at labour market entry have a significant positive impact on the achievement of an *upgrading* trajectory for both sexes, as predicted by Human Capital Theories, they are more important for women than for men. This confirms our idea that women have to incur extra ‘costs’ (namely, in the form of a stronger investment in initial schooling which is associated with a later labour market entry) relative to men to achieve an *upgrading* trajectory” (LEÃO FERNANDES–CHAGAS LOPES, 2002). The course options made by pupils of both sexes at the secondary level determine distinct professional trajectories which are rated differently for men and for women. In secondary education the majority of girls opt for courses of a general nature, boys for technology areas and professional schools. It is in these professional areas that the discrepancy in gender-based choices is more marked, with a gap in technological courses between Natural Sciences (82,9% of boys) and Humanities (67,3% of girls), as well as professional courses, where most girls are to be found in the areas of Personal and Social Intervention (84,7%), Textiles, Clothing and Footwear (84,0%), Administration, Trade and Services (60,7%), boys studying mainly Electricity and Electronics (97,6%), Metallurgy (94,1%) and Civil Construction (77%) (CIDM, 2002, p.17). These choices are strongly influenced by the stereotyped concepts of femininity and masculinity instilled in children and young people throughout the process of socialization. The asymmetry in gender roles is visible from an early age, associated, for example, to the distinction between toys for girls and toys for boys. This distinction is clearly acknowledged in superstore catalogues, which define: “two distinct profiles: one sets children on the road to motherhood, housework and looking good; the other points the way to technology, including some elements of violence, or at least conflict” (ANDRÉ, 1999, p. 99).

Awareness of the vital role played by the school, starting with nursery education, in the process of constructing the identities of boys and girls, has led to a steady, albeit gradual, integration of the issue of gender equality into the various levels of the educational system. The scarce legislation in Portugal on the subject, the subordination of education in the demands of the Portuguese feminist

movement (MAGALHÃES, 1998) and the emphasis placed on school achievement of girls have hampered attempts to implement a nationwide policy to promote gender equality in education. We should, however, stress the persistence with which the Commission for the Equality Women's Rights has, since the late seventies, promoted studies and projects in the field of Education and Gender, the most recent of which is the *Coeducation* project (<http://www.cidm.pt>). By establishing “a network of specialists from four European countries and linking research with teacher training, as well as gender studies with education, it has shown the potential of multidisciplinary and transnationality, regarding questioning accepted knowledge, methodological reflection and the shaping of strategies for intervention within the educational system” (PINTO–ALVAREZ, 2002, pp. 324–325). Since 1985, however, there has been a positive development in the implementation of these issues, by virtue of the fact that “there has been a systematic and progressive series of transformations, such as the increase in output on Gender/Education, the diverse nature of the studies, of their respective subject matters and of their promoters, as well as the integration of research into action taken in the field of Coeducation” (HENRIQUES–PINTO, 2002, p. 33). From the mid-nineties to the end of 2002, we have witnessed an assertion of these subjects at academic level, with direct and indirect repercussions on the sphere of education: introduction of specialist subjects on B.A. and M.A. curricula (Universities: Beira Interior, Oporto, Coimbra, Lusófona; Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa.); introduction of M.A. and Ph.D. degree course in “Women’s Studies” (Open University – Lisboa), M.A. degree course in “Education, Gender and Citizenship” (University of Oporto) and post-graduate diploma course in “Gender, Power and Violence” (Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada); establishment of Centres and/or Lines of Research (Universities: Open, Coimbra, Évora, Fernando Pessoa, Nova de Lisboa, Lusófona, Oporto); and the introduction of optional courses (University of Açores) (SOUSA, 2001). Mention should also be made of an integrated approach to gender issues in initial teacher training (Schools of Education: Beja, Faro, Lisboa, Santarém, Setúbal, S. João de Deus; Universities: Oporto, Évora, Minho.) and the holding of specific in-service teacher training sessions on Coeducation and Equal Opportunities (University of Oporto and Open University – Lisboa; Santarém School of Education; Teacher's Training Centres). Added to these are occasional projects designed to raise awareness of gender issues, promoted in recent years by departments of the Ministry of Education and aimed at teachers, technical staff, experts from the Psychology and Orientation Department, and Publishers’ Associations.

These initiatives, which have hitherto been largely local and sporadic, need to be transformed into broad and continuous policies and practices for the furthering of gender equality in education which, based on research and the training of those involved, can in turn introduce changes into such vital sectors as pedagogic and interpersonal relations, curriculum and syllabus design, the production of teaching materials and school and professional guidance.

References

- ALMEIDA, ANA NUNES DE & WALL, KARIN (1995). A Família In AAVV, *Portugal Hoje* (pp. 31–53). Lisboa: INA.
- ANDRÉ, ISABEL MARGARIDA (1999). Igualdade de Oportunidades: um longo percurso até chegar ao mercado de trabalho. *Sociedade e Trabalho*, nº6, Ministério do Trabalho e da Solidariedade, pp.89–99.
- CHAGAS LOPES, MARGARIDA (2000). Trabalho de valor igual e desigualdade salarial. *ex æquo*, nº2/3, pp. 107–116.
- CIDM (2001). *Portugal Situação das Mulheres. 2001*. Lisboa: CIDM.
- CIDM (2002). *Igualdade de Género. Portugal 2002*. Lisboa: CIDM.
- FERREIRA, VIRGINIA (2000). Sexualizando Portugal: Mudança Social, Políticas Estatais e Mobilização Social das Mulheres. In PINTO, António Costa (org.), *Portugal Contemporâneo* (pp. 180–212). Madrid: Ed. Sequitur.
- HENRIQUES, FERNANDA & PINTO, TERESA (2002). Educação e Género: dos anos 70 ao final do século XX. Subsídios para a compreensão da situação. *ex æquo*, nº6, pp.11–54.
- IED (2001). *Género e Comportamento Eleitoral. O Eleitorado Português e a Actividade Política das Mulheres*. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento.
- “INDICADORES ESTATÍSTICOS” (1999). *Sociedade e Trabalho*, nº6, Ministério do Trabalho e da Solidariedade, pp. 100–103.
- INE (2000). *Inquérito à Ocupação do Tempo*. Lisboa: INE.
- INE (2000). *Inquérito ao Emprego*. Lisboa: INE.
- LEÃO FERNANDES, GRAÇA & CHAGAS LOPES, MARGARIDA (2002). Gender, life cycle trajectories, and their determinants in the Portuguese labour market. *Kiel Seminar 2002. Gender – from Costs to Benefits*. Kiel (fotocopiado).
- MAGALHÃES, MARIA JOSÉ (1998). *Movimento Feminista e Educação. Portugal, décadas de 70 e 80*. Oeiras: Celta Ed.
- PINTO, TERESA & ALVAREZ, TERESA (2002). Coeducação: do princípio ao desenvolvimento de uma prática. In AMARO, Gertrudes (coord.), *Educação para os Direitos Humanos. Actas do Encontro Internacional* (pp. 317–325). Lisboa: IIE.
- SOUSA, MARIA REYNOLDS DE (2001). Estudos sobre as Mulheres em Portugal. In PINTO, Teresa (coord.), *A Profissão Docente e os Desafios da Coeducação. Perspectivas teóricas para práticas inovadoras* (pp.21–28). Lisboa: CIDM.
- VAQUINHAS, IRENE (2002). Breve reflexão a propósito da igualdade de oportunidades na Universidade de Coimbra depois do 25 de Abril de 1974. In ALVIM, Maria Helena Vilas-Boas, COVA, Anne & MEA, Elvira Cunha de Azevedo (org.), *Em torno da História das Mulheres* (pp.337–344). Lisboa: Universidade Aberta.

Gender issues in Austria - Optimisation of opportunities through the “gender mainstreaming” movement.

(Unique topic)

Renate Seebauer (Austria)

The following text will show that women and men meet up with different situations in life and have different chances in society; that women/girls develop different interests and needs to men/boys as a result of gender specific socialisation, and that girls/women are affected in a different way to boys/men by social processes and their consequences – more or less independently of political developments in the last 50 years – as illustrated using the example of Austria. Particular hopes are placed in the “Gender Mainstreaming approach“, in the wake of which changes should begin to grasp in all areas of politics at the beginning of the third millennium.

1. Women in the world of work

1.1. Women and employment in Europe – a list of facts

- Generally, women in Europe are more likely to become unemployed than men. In 1997, the unemployment rate was 3% higher among women than among men (12,5% compared to 9,3%).
- The gender specific drop in wages differs from one country to the next: In Denmark, the country with the lowest drop, women employees in the nineties earned 84% of the amount earned by their males colleagues. The greatest wage differences between male and female labourers occurred in Great Britain, where women only earned 67% of the corresponding men’s wages.
- Women are overproportionally represented in the group of low wage earners – these earn less than 66% of the average income of all employees in a country.
- The rate of low wage earners among women in the early nineties was 82% in Germany, 51% in France, and 63% in Great Britain.
- Part time work is still a women’s domain. The proportion of part time work varies greatly in the individual countries. It is particularly high in Denmark, Great Britain and the Netherlands.

- During the early nineties, 55% of all women employees in the Netherlands were working part time, while in countries such as Portugal, with a larger number of female employees, 90% of female employees work full time. A high proportion of part time work can be observed in Scandinavian countries, for instance in Denmark and Sweden, but not in Finland.
- Low labour costs and limited employment protection, which characterises this type of work in countries such as Great Britain, makes it particularly attractive for employers. In countries such as France on the other hand, where part time labour is subject to more stringent rules, it is less popular among employers.
- The demand for part time work is closely linked to the level of education – less highly qualified women show a greater preference for part time work and breaks in their career – not only for the period of child raising.
- The amount of part time work is therefore closely linked to a series of institutionally conveyed influences in the individual European countries, whereby these also influence the demand for this type of work both among employers and among employees.
- An overproportionally large number of women are unemployed: Unemployment among women has increased massively EU wide not only absolutely, but also compared to men. In 1997, the unemployment rate among women was 3% higher than among men (12,5% compared to 9,3%). The problem here is that unemployed men remain unemployed, while unemployed women quickly become “non earning” when they fade away into the family.
- They have less access to training: EU wide, young women are often better in school than young men. Women have also succeeded in “penetrating” into university; their chances are still worse however when it comes to access to qualified training.
- Women earn less in all countries of the European Union than their male colleagues: Although article 119 of the EEC founding Treaties set down equal pay for men and women, and EU guidelines were passed in 1976 which demanded equal pay for equal work, this has not been achieved to date in any state of the European Union.
- At the beginning of the nineties, women were earning approximately 70–85% of the amount that men were earning if they were industrial workers. In the service sector, women were earning approximately 65–70%, in the insurance sector 70–75%, and in banking 75–80% of their male colleagues’

earnings. A reversal of this trend and therefore a closing of the gap in earning between the sexes is nowhere in sight.

- They work in „unprotected labour conditions“: many women EU wide work in small to medium size businesses. Strategies of flexibilisation are becoming increasingly significant here in view of increasing competition. “Unprotected labour” however also exists in the service sector, in gastronomy, in agriculture and in other branches of the economy. The consequence of unemployment, part time work, lower wages and unprotected labour is that between 75 and 92% of all women living in the EU cannot earn their living independently of another person (in most cases the husband) or the state.

(See also http://erikamann.com/europe/frauen_grundlagenge.html)

1.2. Women and politics – the example of the Salzburg “Mayoress Study”

„There were 13 women candidates for the post of mayor in a total of 119 communities in the 1999 local elections in Salzburg, among these one woman in the capital Salzburg itself. 18 women had still been applying for the post of mayor in 1994. No woman had succeeded against her male competitors, neither in 1994 nor in 1999. The province of Salzburg is therefore still the only one – with the exception of Vienna – which does not have a female mayor, political representation of women at community level is generally still very low...” – reason enough for the Office for Women’s Affairs for Salzburg to initiate a study on “the situation of female politicians in Salzburg”. (ROTSCHOPF, [Hg.] 1999, pg. 5; Office for Women’s Affairs and Equal Opportunities for Salzburg)

The report bases on qualitative interviews with the main candidates for local elections 1999 (lasting between half an hour and two hours), as well as telephone interviews (random test sample n= 401), in order to investigate the perception of women as local councillors. The topic was whether the population would be prepared to give a woman who is applying for a top political function at a local level, their vote.

All in all, the following problem areas were discernible (see also ROTSCHOPF, [Hg.] 1999, pg. 98ff.):

- *Women – family – career*: This concerns the ability of women, who still remain almost solely responsible for their families, of combining this with their political commitment. This structural problem is doubled by the predominating view among the population, where traditional role models and the gender specific division of work which is associated herewith, is still firmly entrenched. Women politicians not only meet with the problem

of combining career or political commitment with their family in their own lives, but are also additionally confronted with it by the voters. The questionnaire among the population revealed, that a main reason for not accepting women in politics is the responsibility they are attributed with for their family and housework.

- *Women-political parties*: Women assess the traditional forms of politics and therefore also the established political parties more critically than men, and tend to prefer more unconventional forms of cooperation. In spite of this, the majority of local political functions are occupied by the traditional parties and not by small fractions. Action is therefore called for among the established parties. Both the data from the questionnaire and the interviews with women politicians show that the parties are judged very critically. Women politicians see measures for the promotion of women as „half hearted“, female voters are also very sceptical as far as the parties’ friendliness towards women is concerned.
- *“Anchor in society”*: Female politicians assess the firm basis in community clubs as a central feature. At the same time it is precisely this form of “social anchor” which poses a greater hindrance for women than for men, as many clubs are male in character, and intense commitment in a club can hardly be combined with women’s time structures. The results of the questionnaire show that great parts of the population attribute little or no significance to club activities by female politicians. It was furthermore evident, that clubs are significant above all in traditionally orientated groups, and no longer play a dominant role outside these spheres.
- *Attribution of competence*: Women politicians all emphasised that they experience professional acknowledgement as a tough fight. The questionnaire revealed that professional competence is associated diffusely as a male characteristic and is frequently denied female politicians. A ranking of the most important desirable characteristics in female politicians revealed that four of the top six characteristics are perceived as “female”: a sense of responsibility, sense of justice, readiness for cooperation and readiness to deal with other people – characteristics which are attributed to women. Female characteristics therefore exist in the eyes of the population; as soon as female politicians are mentioned however, the discussion focuses on female deficits. This is only possible as long as male political practise remains as the defined standard.

1.3. Women and poverty factors in Austria

The Central Austrian Office of Statistics describes all those as poor, whose incomes amount to less than 50% of the national average income. The consumer expenditure limit for employees is ATS 6440. – per head. This means that 700 000 persons (calculated according to income) or 1,5 million people (calculated according to expenditure) are only able to spend one quarter or one fifth of the sum which is spent on average in Austria for living, furnishing, education and mobility. (E. TALOS, Vienna, 1997)

Poverty is by no means limited to “fringe groups”:

- 46% of unemployed;
- 25% of unskilled labourers;
- 14% of skilled labourers;
- 8% of employees;

are also already threatened by poverty (E. TALOS, Vienna, 1997).

Among the main factors are:

- *A lack of training:* More than four fifths of the weakest social groups in Austria only manage to complete compulsory school (H. Steiner, BMAS, 1995). It is clear for many young people at the age of fifteen already, particularly girls, that they will remain among the socially weakest for the rest of their lives, and will at best have access to badly paid, insecure jobs in the course of their working lives.
- *Unequal opportunities in life:* Opportunities in life are distributed primarily via the employment system – analogous to the character of the Austrian system of social security. This phenomenon is reinforced by the fact that the system of social security is geared to the standard working contract; unemployment and low income are the consequences, these become essential factors for poverty. This applies above all to women.
 - They are placed on a lower level in the professional hierarchy and work on the level of “poverty wages”.
 - In reality they are still solely responsible for childcare. They are increasingly single.
 - Because of the lack of adequate regulatory conditions for combining career with a family, mothers are often forced into insecure part time employment or minimal or unprotected employment.
- *Poverty in spite of employment:* The proportion of people “working in poverty” in Austria („the working poor“), is high. These people are employed, often even work full time, their wages are however too low to be

able to live above the poverty limit. Working poverty is above all women's poverty.

- 20% of all employees in Austria earn less than ATS 12 000.- (€ 872,--) per month (according to the income tax statistics 1996 [not standardised according to working hours]).
- 10% of all employees earn a gross salary of less than ATS 12.000-(€ 872,--), the majority of these are women (according to a microcensus 1995 [standardised according to working hours]).
- For a full time job, there are still 226 000 people earning a gross salary of less than ATS 12.000,-- (€ 872,--) for their work (these are two thirds women, women dominate here also).
- While only every fourth man working as unskilled labourer in agriculture and forestry earns a gross income of less than ATS 10 000.- (€726,--), this amount is earned by
 - Every third skilled labourer
 - 2/5 of unskilled labourers,
 - every fourth unskilled employee
 - every fifth skilled employee among women.
- *Unprotected working conditions:* „Family duties“ and the lack of framework conditions for the combination of career and family force a large proportion of women to remain in that sector of the market which only offers badly paid and badly protected jobs legally and socially.
 - Minimal employment: 70% of those minimally employed in Austria are women.
 - Part time work is women's work: men only make up a meagre 1,5% , (1.600 male employees) of all part time jobs in Austria. The income available to a part time employee is ATS 6.000.- on average (€ 436,--) (including child benefit), for a labourer it even drops as low as ATS 4.500,-- (€ 327,--). An independent way of life becomes impossible with this “pocket money”.
- *Single mothers:* Households with single mothers are represented over-proportionally in the group of those threatened by poverty. Every fifth child in Austria is poor (National Institute for Family Research, Vienna, 1997). Of all single mother households (14.642 mothers in 1998), 23,4% of employees and 37,5% of labourers live in poverty, and that with one child only (microcensus 1993 and statistics for the province of Salzburg 1996).
- *Unemployment:* If there is no possibility of access to the job market for at least 6 months or a year, there is a great danger of poverty. Older female

employees are particularly threatened here. More than half of all households with long term unemployment have a per head income which is below poverty level.

- *Older women*: There are over one million women in Austria aged over 60; one third of these receive the minimum pension; they merely receive a sum equivalent to ATS 8.312,-- (€ 604,--) per month for the year 2000. 4 out of 10 women have a pension below ATS 8 000.- (€ 581,--). They are therefore living below the minimum subsistence level.

(Data from: LIANE PLUNTZ, women's advisor AK-Salzburg; Salzburg Network against Women's poverty Poverty among women in Salzburg – Figures, data, experience as a basis for working; Poverty among women in Salzburg figures, data, experiences – 2000).

2. Equal opportunities for men and women as a fundamental democratic principle and innate to human rights – On the current state of affairs of European initiatives

The principle “equal pay for equal work” was already set down in the 1957 EEC Treaty. Guidelines to reinforce the position of women were passed in the years that followed: a right to equal pay, equal opportunities in access to employment and to vocational training, as well as equal treatment in the area of social security; There are EU guidelines on part time work and protection of pregnant women and young mothers at the work place. Article 119 of the Amsterdam Treaty, and article 6 of the Agreement on Social Security contain the most recent legal guidelines on the equalisation of men and women at the workplace: equal payment for equal or equally valuable work, and simplifications for working for the underrepresented gender, whereby the measures of the member states serve first and foremost to improve the situation of women in the world of employment. (see also http://erika.mann.com/europe/frauen_grundlagenge.html)

Women's rights are of course „an integral part of general human rights... they are basic rights, which include the right to full participation – as an equal partner – in all areas of life. Respect for these rights is the foundation for equalisation between men and women and an essential precondition for the strengthening of women's role in society.”

(http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment/social/equ_opp/news/gender/equ/de.htm)

Current trends in European social policy can be found in the „White book – European Social Policy: a trend setter for the European Union (see also: <http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/de/cha/c10112.htm>).

The following table sums up the Commission's essential measures:

	<i>The Commission will:</i>
Abolition of gender specific splitting of the job market and upgrading of women's work	<p>Adopt a practical code of procedure for equal pay for equal work (following on from the memorandum accepted in June 1994) on training and vertical gender splitting.</p> <p>Work out measures in order to promote vocational training and women's professional qualifications, including measures which should enable women to found their own enterprises;</p> <p>Make suggestions to eliminate discriminating practise in the area of revenue and social security, as well as to the individualisation of rights.</p>
Compatibility of career with household/family	<p>To pursue the realisation of the recommendations on childcare, by assessing the implementation of the recommendation, by determining fundamental data for child care infrastructure and services, and by seeking ways of dealing with gender role stereotypes in society.</p> <p>To undertake an economic assessment of the potential of infrastructure and services for childcare and nursing care, which includes an assessment of the given guidelines for quantitative and qualitative aims for the improvement of childcare, as well as the potential use of revenue and financial instruments for the improvement of this infrastructure and service. The Commission will offer suggestions on the basis of this assessment.</p>
Increase the inclusion of women in decision finding processes	A continuation of the expansion of research, information- and vocational training activities as well as suggestions for concrete measures in connection with the increased inclusion of women in decision finding processes both in the public and in the private sector.

The Commission will furthermore investigate the possibilities for the introduction of a procedure to supervise equality of opportunities between men and women in all areas of Union politics, and to assert equal opportunities as a criterion for assessment.“ (see also: <http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/de/cha/c10112.htm>)

3. Women and girls in school and education

3.1. Historical excursion with special regard to Austria

In the Austrian historical women's movements of the 19th century, the “liberal women's movement” was the first to oppose women's lack of civil rights – long before the Catholics and the social democrats. It's supporters came from the upper middle classes and upper classes, they therefore had the necessary education which enabled them to recognise the importance of free spiritual development and particularly the importance of education for girls regarding a working life later on,

and the economic independence which accompanied this. The most important mouthpieces of this liberal women's movement were the „Dokumente der Frauen“, „Neues Frauenleben“ and „Der Bund“ ... CHRISTA BITTERMANN-BITTERMANN-WILLE and HELGA HOFMANN-WEINBERGER emphasise the difficult ideological separation of the liberal women's movement which is demonstrated in these journals.“ (<http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/pubhistz.htm>)

The authors indicate that “the teachers’ papers were the first among the periodicals which supported women’s professional interests” and were therefore “path breaking”.

The „Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Lehrerinnen“ (issued by F. M. Wendt together with Helene Lintemer, appeared first in 1869), saw itself as the voice for the general interests of girls’ schools and nurseries. It was followed by ‚Die Mädchen-schule‘, a mouthpiece for the overall interests of girls’ schools which appeared between 1876 and 1883. The “Lehrerinnen-Wart” was founded in 1889 and appeared until 1901 with various changes of name (Neuzeit, Frauenleben). The “Österreichische Lehrerinnen-Zeitung”, at once the mouthpiece of the Association of Women Teachers and Tutors in Austria, appeared from 1893 to 1901 and devoted itself to the struggle for equal rights with male colleagues and reforms in the area of school, particularly girls’ education. (<http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/pubhistz.htm>)

Curricular orientation in the up and coming girls schools corresponded to the dominant image of middle class women: „Their concept of education was totally orientated at the ‘female destiny’, great priority was therefore given to handicrafts. This took up almost half of the total lesson time and was supposed to encourage ‚useful activity, diligence in the home, female humility and modesty, love of order, cleanliness, propriety, and simple but good taste’. The remaining lessons consisted of german, french, occasionally also English, history, natural science, singing and of course religious education.” (Lieth vor der 1989, pg. 13; see also auch BREHMER, 1987a, 1987b).

Gender specific orientation of the curriculum becomes especially apparent later on in physical education classes during the German fascist period: “The body was more important than the intellect for the race, the people and the Führer, which led to an incredible upgrading of physical education, with the intention of preparing the gender specific functionalisation of the body. Boys should be trained to be fighters, girls to be mothers“. (PFISTER, 1985a, pg. 28).

The origins of vocational training in schools for women in Austria dates back to the sixties of the 19th century: The “School for servants” [*sic!*] of the “Vienna Association of Housewives” (1883 in the Heiligenkreuzerhof) and

housekeeping courses in Vienna which count among the oldest vocational schools for women, deserve a particular mention here. (see also SEEBAUER, Hist. Lex. Der Stadt Wien, vol. 2. pg. 379)

Higher education for girls began at the Lyceum; girls were not permitted access to school leaving examinations at grammar schools and to philosophical studies at universities until 1878. They were at first denied the clause „mature for university attendance“. Lyceums consisting of six classes continued to exist, as did “higher schools for girls”, they did not merge into the grammar school system until 1900. (see also Seebauer, Hist. Lex. der Stadt Wien, Bd. 4 pg. 121; Bd. 2, pg. 648f.) After a grammar school for girls had already been established in Prague in 1890, the first grammar school for girls was established in Vienna in 1892. The development of school education for girls therefore did not intend equality in education in the sense of gender equality – this was also true for the earlier middle class women’s movement - , but the maintenance of “the female difference”, which was to be nurtured and kept alive (THIES, 1987, pg. 22).

A mere six of the 28 educational institutions for girls survived the First World War, the Lyceums were turned into grammar schools for general education by 1927. Girls were hardly permitted in boys’ schools from 1933/34 onwards; celibacy was reintroduced for female teachers.

In the school year 1555/56 women for the first time made up the majority of compulsory school teachers. Compulsory school was extended to nine years in 1962. The development of coeducation was largely completed, the elimination of role specific educational offers taken on. By 1983/84, 51% of candidates for the school leaving exams were girls; only ¼ of these women however completed an apprenticeship – as opposed to half of the men. (see also HAHN, Hist. Lex. Der Stadt Wien, Bd. 2 pg. 381f.)

PRENGEL (1989) suitably characterises the educational position of middle class society: „Universally formulated standards on informative education, above all education towards independent thinking and acting, were directed at boys only, girls were to receive a restrictive education, of which the ability for self denial formed the central feature. Girls’ destinies are determined externally” (Prenzel, 1989, pg. 132f.). „’Special education for girls’, which led on from the special anthropology of women, taught girls the ability for self denial according to plan, so that the purported theory could be continued in practical life.“ (PRENGEL, 1989 pg. 133).

This historically developed hierarchical gender relationship has remained effective to this day (see 1.2.). In spite of equality of women being fundamentally

anchored in politics, economics, culture and private life on a national level as well as on EU level, the gender relationship remains hierarchically structured.

3.2. Coeducation – for and against

General access to all public schools has been set down since the 5th amendment to school organisation from 1975, homogenous boys' or girls' classes can however be introduced for organisational or curricular reasons.

The realisation of gender equalisation through equal opportunities in education and the end of work division in the private and public sector was expected from equal opportunities in education. The standard of education among girls and women has improved rapidly since the seventies: Institutions for higher education are attended to 52% by girls in Germany and Austria today, German universities have a quota of approximately 40% women (1990). In Austria, the percentage of women among first term students has by now exceeded the 50% mark. The distribution of the sexes in individual subjects is however similarly uneven in both countries. Women dominate in humanistic and social science subjects, they are far underrepresented in technical and scientific subjects. (e.g. autumn term 1994/95: Vienna university 55% women; Technical University Vienna: 14,5% women; University for cultivation: 27,4%) (Data according to Simon, 1996, CD-ROM der Pädagogik; Frauen in Wien, Zahlenspiegel; Hg. Magistrat der Stadt Wien, MA 57).

Several issues from a summary of the most common arguments in the discussion on coeducation according to BREHMER (1987) will provocatively form the beginning:

Have you yourself experienced that

- Girls are placed as a “buffer” between “naughty” boys?
- Girls perform a great amount of invisible work, while boys are able to present themselves externally, e.g. in projects?
- Girls are more concerned about the social atmosphere in the class than boys?
- Girls/women are “also” meant in male vocabulary (e.g. pupil, teacher, director ...)?
- Much more time is given in the course of conferences for dealing with behaviourally disturbed boys than girls?
- School books and curricula treat women as a “special subject”, the “male” image is still regarded as the standard (e.g. “women in the middle ages”)?
- ...

	<i>For coeducation</i>	<i>Against coeducation</i>
Subject matter	Both sexes learn the same subject matter (no 'women's work' subjects, no 'domestic science graduation').	Subject matter is orientated mainly at male interests and only offers slight possibilities for identification for girls.
Interaction	Boys and girls learn to maintain friendly relations with each other, and to deal with each other on an equal level. This is important both for family- and working life later on.	Boys are given more attention, more praise, rebuke. Girls only receive little attention and suffer under the boys' domination (disciplinary problems)
Sexuality	Sexual tensions, as for instance during puberty, are normalised. Exaggerated sexual fantasies, also regarding enthusiasm for male or female teachers, are avoided.	Girls in particular are subjected to increased sexual and social pressure to achieve and for recognition – especially from the boys, but also from girls. Sexual liberation and the general availability of contraceptives (especially the pill) encourage sexual intercourse.
Teacher	Orientation after female and male teachers offers diverse experiences and possibilities for identification for both sexes	Male and female teachers judge and assess according to common gender specific stereotypes (interesting, intelligent boy; diligent, well-adapted girl) and confirm these stereotypes in the school hierarchy through behaviour, their comments and their attitudes (women mainly on the lower levels).
Consequences/effects	Girls achieve better marks and better school leaving certificates. Girls and boys learn to be more competitive and also more independent when dealing with each other.	Boys work off their feelings of inferiority through increased aggressive remarks towards girls and teachers. Girls are better able to deal with their lower level of aspirations and their more limited vocational desires (women's careers) in gender homogenous groups, as well as develop their interests and a healthy self confidence without disturbance.

For and against coeducation (BREHMER, 1987, pg. 103f.)

Following on from FAULSTICH–WIELAND (1991, pg. 43ff.), SIMON (1996) refers to certain German investigations on the ratio of the sexes in coeducative schools, which produced a great diversity of results. Studies on interaction in everyday school life began to appear in the USA and in Germany at the end of the seventies, between teachers and pupils and between boys and girls, as well as on gender specific stereotypes in pupils, and the connection between success in

school, self confidence and gender with very critical results (german studies as for instance Enders-Dragässer/Fuchs 1989 and english studies such as Spender 1985). Particularly more recent empirical studies show a tendency towards negative effects of coeducation for girls.

The study on interaction from Hessen for instance (see also Enders-Dragässer/Fuchs 1989) showed girls' special disadvantaging through tuition orientated at boys in certain subjects. A differentiated analysis regarding individual school subjects showed that disadvantaging of girls is barely discernible at first as their marks are on the whole better, but that a marked distance to mathematical, scientific and technical subjects becomes apparent later on the choice of school type after compulsory school, in the choice of courses, university subjects and the progress of university studies (higher drop out rate) (see also SEEBAUER, 2000, pg. 44ff.).

Metaanalysis of a number of studies revealed that the results are by no means uniform, and the methods frequently controversial. Integrative approaches for the explanation of gender specific differences of interests today also take into account interdisciplinary theories (see also BEERMANN–HELLER–MENACHER, 1992). Investigations in social science emphasise the great influence of socialisation in the family and in school, the consequences of which contribute towards maintenance of gender role stereotypes, and therefore the gender specific orientation and division of work. An Austrian study was also of interest here (BMUK), which surprisingly proved a link between attendance at a girl's school and the choice later on of a scientific-technical subject. The qualities of these "girls' school reservations", having lacked attention hitherto, but apparently able to encourage development and interest in pupils in 'male' areas besides the traditional female image, gave new impetus to the discussion on coeducation, and led beyond "deficit thinking" regarding girls. (SIMON, 1996, CD-ROM der Pädagogik)

4. Gender Mainstreaming as a strategy for optimisation of opportunities for women and girls

As could be shown in the previous sections,

- Women and men come upon different conditions for living and opportunities in society;
- Women/girls and men/boys develop different interests and needs because of fundamentally different gender specific socialisation;
- Girls and boys/women and men are affected in different ways by processes in society and their consequences.

To be able to put an end to gender inequalities, it would first be necessary to recognise these inequalities, to show them up and to anchor matters of “gender equalisation” in all areas of politics. The “mainstream measures” have already been mentioned in section 2.2., which, basing on an expert report from the European Council, have been taken up into the European Union’s “Community programme for gender equalisation (2001–2005)”.

The guide by the Office for Women’s Affairs, “Gender Mainstreaming“, issued by the Vienna Authorities, reads as follows on this topic: „Decision makers must be convinced to become aware of GM as a chance for change, from which they would benefit”...GM does not “see gender equalisation as a separate subject...but as a fundamental principle, which must be taken to heart in everyday work and applied. A broadening and deepening of existing equalisation policy is at the heart of gender mainstreaming.” (Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Hg. 2000, pg. 9)

A comparison between the tasks of „specific equalisation policy“, policy of “promotion of women“ and “gender mainstreaming“ makes clear the differing approaches, and indicates future tasks for development:

Cooperation between promotion of women and gender mainstreaming (according to: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Hg. 2000, pg. 12f.).

<i>Specific policy of equalisation ...</i>	<i>Gender Mainstreaming</i>
Aims directly at existing inequalities;	Aims at general conditions and structures which produce inequalities;
Works out short term measures to counteract these;	Long term work and less directly as specific policy of equalisation;
Works out political strategies on questions which are not covered by other areas of politics	Works out strategies for all areas of politics

If women at present are unable to accept a job offer because of child care commitments, ...

<i>Policy of women’s promotion will aim at, ...</i>	<i>Gender Mainstreaming Will aim at, ...</i>
Extending offers for flexible working hours and part time work;	More men making use of these offers and a change in the unequal distribution of child care duties between men and women.
Making available flexible child care institutions (opening hours);	

It becomes evident from these examples that the gender mainstreaming approach is not directed primarily at girls/women. It must be made clear first of all to boys/men that their perspective, which is regarded as “normal”, is a gender specific perspective.

Since gender mainstreaming is neither a content nor an aim, but a strategy, a process, a means of achieving the goal of equal opportunities, there will be considerable resistance from all those who have so far benefited from the established structures of inequality!

References and further reading

- BEERMANN LILLY–HELLER KURT A.–MENACHER PAULINE: Mathe, nichts für Mädchen? Begabung und Geschlecht am Beispiel von Mathematik, Naturwissenschaft und Technik. Bern/Göttingen/Toronto/Seattle (Huber) 1992.
- BIRMLIN ELISABETH–DABLINDER DANIELA–ROSENBICHLER URSULA–VOLLMANN MANUELA (HG.): Die Schule ist männlich? Zur Situation von Schülerinnen und Lehrerinnen. Wien (Gesellschaftskritik) 1991.
- BITTERMANN-BITTERMANN-WILLE CHRISTA–HOFMANN-WEINBERGER HELGA, contribution for the project KolloquiA – Forschungs- und Lehrmaterialien zur frauenrelevanten und feministischen Dokumentations- und Informationsarbeit in Österreich, project leader: Helga Klösch-Melliwa, supported by the Jubilee Funds of the Austrian National Bank (Nr. 6816), by the National Ministry for Science and Traffic, and by the National Ministry for Employment, Health and Social (Online Dokument: <http://www.onb.ac.at/ariadne/publicistz.htm>).
- BREHMER ILSE (HG.): Sexismus in der Schule. Der heimliche Lehrplan der Frauendiskriminierung. Weinheim/Basel (Beltz) 1982.
- BREHMER ILSE: Koedukation in der Schule: Benachteiligte Mädchen. In: Faulstich-Wieland 1987, 80–111.
- BREHMER ILSE: Schule im Patriarchat, Schulung fürs Patriarchat. Weinheim/Basel (Beltz) 1991.
- CZEIKE FELIX: Historisches Lexikon Wien, 5 Bände, Wien (Kremayr und Scheriau) 1992–1997.
- ENDERS-DRAGÄSSER UTA (HG.): Frauensache Schule. Aus dem deutschen Schulalltag. Erfahrungen, Analysen, Alternativen. Frankfurt/M. (Fischer) 1990.
- ENDERS-DRAGÄSSER UTA–FUCHS CLAUDIA: Interaktionen der Geschlechter. Sexismusstrukturen in der Schule. Weinheim (Juventa) 1989.
- ENDERS-DRAGÄSSER UTA–FUCHS CLAUDIA–SCHMIDT, PETRA: "Weiblichkeit" und "Männlichkeit" in den Interaktionen des Unterrichts. Der Deutschunterricht 38, 1986, H.3, 7–15.
- FAULSTICH-WIELAND HANNELORE (HG.): Abschied von der Koedukation? Materialien zur Sozialarbeit und Sozialpolitik, Bd. 18. Frankfurt/M. (Fachhochschule) 1987.
- FAULSTICH-WIELAND HANNELORE: Koedukation. Enttäuschte Hoffnungen? Darmstadt (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft) 1991.
- Fischer-Kowalski Marina/Seidl Peter u. a.: Von den Tugenden der Weiblichkeit. Mädchen und Frauen im österreichischen Bildungssystem. Wien (Gesellschaftskritik) 1986.
- HORSTKEMPER MARIANNE: "Jungenfächer" und weibliche Sozialisation – Lernprozesse im koedukativen Unterricht. Die Deutsche Schule, Beiheft 1, 1990, 97–109.
- JUNGWIRT HELGA: Mädchen und Buben im Mathematikunterricht. Eine Studie über geschlechtsspezifische Modifikationen der Interaktionsstrukturen. Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Sport. Wien 1990.
- KINDERMANN, GISELA–MAUERSBERGER, BARBARA–PILWOUSEK, INGELORE (HRSG.): Frauen verändern Schule. Dokumentation des 5. Fachkongresses der AG Frauen und Schule. Berlin: Frauen und Schule 1987.

- KREIENBAUM MARIA ANNA (HG.): Frauen bilden Macht. Dokumentation des 7. Fachkongresses Frauen und Schule. Dortmund: Weissbach 1989.
- Lieth Elisabeth von der: Mädchenbildung im Wandel. In: Kreienbaum 1989, 10-22 .
- Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Frauenbüro (Hg.): Leitfaden "Gender Mainstreaming", Wien 2000.
- Metz-Göckel Sigrid: Licht und Schatten der Koedukation. Eine alten Debatte neu gewendet. In: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, H. 33, 1987, pg. 455-474.
- Mühlen-Achs, Gitta: Eine feministische Kritik der Koedukation. In: Kindermann, Mauersberger & Pilwousek 1987, 64-78.
- PFISTER, GERTRUD: Zur Ausgrenzung von Weiblichkeit. Entwicklungen und Verhinderungen des koedukativen Unterrichts. In: Kröner & Pfister 1985, 11-36.
- PRENGEL, ANNE DORE: Erziehung zur Gleichberechtigung. Eine vernachlässigte Aufgabe der Allgemeinen und der Politischen Bildung. Die Deutsche Schule 78, 1986, 417-425.
- PRENGEL ANNE DORE: Verschiedenheit und Gleichberechtigung in der Bildung. Eine Studie zur Bedeutung der Interkulturellen Pädagogik, der Feministischen Pädagogik und der Integrationspädagogik für eine Pädagogik der Vielfalt. Marburg/Lahn: Unveröff. Habil. 1989.
- SCHNACK, DIETER-NEUTZLING, RAINER: Kleine Helden in Not. Jungen auf der Suche nach Männlichkeit. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt 1990.
- SEEBAUER RENATE: Vom Sachunterricht zum Fachunterricht, Teil 1, Eine kritische Annäherung zu ausgewählten Fragestellungen der naturwissenschaftlich-technischen Grundbildung, Wien (Mandelbaum) 2000.
- SIMON GERTRUD: Hintertreppen zum Elfenbeinturm. Höhere Mädchenbildung in Österreich. Anfänge und Entwicklungen. Wien (Frauenverlag) 1993.
- SPENDER DALE: Frauen kommen nicht vor. Sexismus im Bildungswesen. Frankfurt/M. (Fischer) 1985.
- THIES WILTRUD: Ausstieg aus der Koedukation? Demokratische Erziehung 13, 1987, H.10, 22-25.
- TRÖMEL-PLÖTZ, SENTA: Sexismus in der Sprache. In: Feminin - Maskulin 1989, 72-75.
- WAGNER, ANGELIKA C.-BARZ, MONIKA-MAIER-STRÖMER, SUSANNE-UTTENDORFER-MAREK, INGRID-WEIDLE, RENATE: Bewußtseinskonflikte im Schulalltag. Denk-Knoten bei Lehrern und Schülern erkennen und lösen. Weinheim: Beltz 1984.
- WODAK RUTH-FEISTRITZER GERT-MOOSMÜLLER SYLVIA/DOLESCHAL URSULA: Sprachliche Gleichbehandlung von Mann und Frau, Klagenfurt 1987.

Sexual minorities *(General topic)*

László Lajos Lippai (Hungary)

1. History of homosexuality

The phenomenon of homosexuality, as one of the manifestations of human sexual behaviour, is a well known fact from history and from the arts. According to written sources, homosexual behaviour has appeared in every culture in some – totally or less tolerated – form. Its judgement has been and is changing concerning the different societies, ages and religions. In some places it was considered to be a natural attraction, while in other places it was viewed as a disease or sin, and different sanctions were applied to reduce or make it disappear (PÁNDY, 1997).

It was obvious for the ancient Greeks that Eros the autocratic provides all love desires according to his sheer freak, and this results in strange and sometimes unfortunate relationships. According to the Greek mythology, Eros automatically refused to explain or validate his influence or cruel jokes. Basically, everybody could be the object of love for everybody, if the divine autocracy preferred so.

The Christian Middle-Ages, which thought of love between the same sexes to be a sin, considered anybody capable to commit this sin, as well as every sin. People were “sinners” to a great extent, the devil was present everywhere and tempted everyone for evil. According to the Christian ideas, only sexuality targeted at the conception of child is pleasing God (FERNANDEZ, 1994).

By the 18th century the belief, that men and women “normally” are attracted erotically to the other sex, was strengthened. Every extension or a sheer attraction to the same sex appeared to be unhealthy or even abnormal. The words homosexuality, heterosexuality, bisexuality and the word sexuality itself are the products of the 18th century. There were several lawyers in the 19th century, who as homosexuals were fighting against the legal punishment of this sexual orientation. This was the time, when homosexuality was classed from being a criminal offence to being a mental illness (PÁNDY, 1997).

The word “bisexuality” as it is used nowadays, meaning an “erotic response readiness”, entered language use when the words homosexuality, and its

counterpart, heterosexuality appeared. “Bisexuality” then became some kind of a knot between the two, a transition or combination, a logical third possibility (PÁNDY, 1997).

According to the Freudian theory, the inborn sexual drive does not have a direction, these are developed during the socialisation process, in accordance with the gender roles. On the 15th of December, 1973, the American Psychiatric Society has declared, that homosexuality can not be regarded as an illness. The same society gave the following statement in January, 1993: “Homosexuality is one of the extreme but not pathological phenomena of natural human sex” (TRINGER, 1999).

2. Statistics

According to present research, homosexuality is a behaviour and orientation affecting about 10% of men and 2–3 % of women. About 4% of men and 1% of women are absolutely homosexual, that is, their activities are directed solely to partners of the same sex. A further 5–6 % of men, and 1–2 % of women are bisexual, meaning they have a more or less permanent, emotionally and sexually pleasing relationship with not only members of the same sex. According to various studies, for example the Kinsey Report, about 37% of men and 15–20% of women acquire a homoerotic sexual experience during their life. Homosexual behaviour is under “institutionalisation” in some cultures, and forms ritual part of sexual liberalisation in some cases (PÁNDY, 1997).

3. Concept and possible dysfunctions of psychosexuality

The complex entirety of biological and social drives and behaviours are called *psychosexuality*. The concept of psychosexuality contains biological sexuality, sexual identity, sexual direction and sexual behaviour as well.

It is clear from the above definition, that psychosexuality is a complex phenomenon that –as a consequence – can perform dysfunctions in several cases. The most comprehensive description of psychosexual disorders is provided by Psychopathology. In the case, for example, when sexual desire is directed not at the original biological target, but at other persons or objects, psychiatry generally talks about the qualitative dysfunction of sexual drive. This, in many cases offends public morality, or is a criminal offence. Homosexuality was for a long time enlisted among the above pathography characterised as *parfilia* (TRINGER, 1999). Though conceptions of *parfilia* are changing by ages and cultures. In 1973, the American Psychiatric Society has erased homosexuality from the list of psychiatric diagnosis. Since then, homosexuals are considered to be a minority in

accordance, and are empowered with rights minorities are entitled to (TRINGER, 1999).

The concept of homosexuality and the concept of pathographies like transexualism and transvestitism characterised as a psychosexual identity disorder by the Psychiatry, are often still mixed in the public opinion.

In case of *transsexualism*, a psychosexual identity opposite to the biological sex develops within the individual. That is, the one who is biologically a man feels himself as a woman, and vice versa. The opposite identification can already manifest at the age of 4–5, while in other cases it will manifest only around adolescence. *Transsexualism* sometimes manifests itself in following the behavioural patterns of the other sex in certain life situations. In some cases it can manifest itself in a demand for an operation to change sex (TRINGER, 1999). In case of *transvestitism*, the individual tries to take the role of the opposite sex up, for example in terms of clothing, profession, sport, without a strive at changing the sex in question. It characterises mostly men (TRINGER, 1999).

4. Homosexual orientation, behaviour and identity

On the basis of psychosexuality-related research of the past decades it seems, that it is worth distinguishing between homosexual orientation, homosexual behaviour and homosexual identity.

Homosexual orientation characterises the person, who's sexual or erotic feelings, thoughts, fantasies and behaviours towards the same sex are predominant. Researchers understand sexual contact between persons of the same sex as *homosexual behaviour*. According to Savin-Williams, *homosexual identity* is a permanent, coherent meaning the person in question conceptualises in terms of his or her sexual orientation and behaviour. This division is important, because according to several studies, the rate of those with a homosexual orientation, behaviour and identity can be considerably different within a given population (COLE AND COLE, 1998).

Many researchers think that the development of homosexual identity goes through some considerably well definable stages. Following Troiden, the stages of the process are as follows:

The first stage is the *period of sensitisation*. Retrospective reports of homosexuals reveal that in this period, coincident with school age, they had social experiences that raised feelings like they were different from the other children. The experiencing of this "otherness" made the acceptance of homosexual identity easier for them later, though in this period they thought of themselves as heterosexuals.

The second stage is characterised with the *realisation of homosexuality* and the accompanying identity crisis. In adolescence, when the sexual maturing of these children also begins, they realise they are attracted to their peers of the same sex. This is the period when they begin to label these feelings as homosexual. This realisation causes a huge crisis: they can not consider themselves as of heterosexual identity any more, and at the same time they are aware of the fact, that homosexuals are condemned. Many homosexual adults remember this period as the period of loneliness and exclusion. The surrounding tension results in denial, leading to attempts to express their different sexual orientations in a socially accepted form.

The third stage is the period of identity undertake. Many young people who has homosexual experiences and has realised that he or she is attracted to the same sex, does not choose according to his or her desire. Others make their homosexual identity public and undertake it in this period, though many times only in front of other homosexuals. Though the undertake of identity has already happened, this does not mean, that homosexual identity was totally accepted, and also does not mean, that everybody's orientations are the same. There are people who try to avoid homosexual relationships to avoid the consequent condemnation. Others identify with the stereotypes and prejudice of the wider society about homosexuality and perform these even more to the extremes. And there are of course people, who start to accommodate to the norms of homosexual communities.

The last stage in terms of identity development is the *period of commitment*, when integration of identity takes place. It happens in case of those, who can accept homosexuality as a possible form of living. Integration of identity is indicated by the linking of sexuality to emotional attachment, content with the lifestyle and public undertake of homosexual identity (TROIDEN, 1988).

5. Genetics and hormonal effects

The question, whether genetics or acquired experiences play bigger part in the development of homosexual orientation, formed the basis of several research studies. One of the well-known, comprehensive studies (San Francisco study), called attention for example to the role of childhood sexual nonconformity. Based on retrospective reports of homosexual men and women, it can be revealed that they enjoyed activities characteristic to their sex less than heterosexuals did during their childhood, and loved activities considered being typical to the opposite gender more. As compared to heterosexuals, homosexual men considered themselves to be less masculine, and homosexual women viewed themselves as less feminine in childhood. Furthermore, they had more friends from the

opposite sex than their heterosexual peers had (ATKINSON, 1999). In spite of all our knowledge we still have only a little knowledge to be able to predict homosexual orientation and behaviour reliably on the basis of childhood characteristics.

The San Francisco study has denied several misconceptions, although these still exist in public thinking (BELL, WEINBERG and HAMMERSMITH, 1981). It is a very important statement that the sexual orientation of a person settles by adolescence the latest, even if no sexual life has started yet. This study has also called attention to the fact, that homosexual orientation is not a question of choice or decision. This called attention to research into the biological backgrounds of homosexuality, meaning primarily the research of hormonal and genetic backgrounds.

Research into the hormonal backgrounds of homosexuality is rather hard and disputed. Several hypothesis and research were put forward for the validation of the role hormones play in the prenatal period; however the verification of these hypotheses is rather hard (ATKINSON, 1999).

Theories are based on the biological observation, that the human body, similar to the body of all other mammals, is female. Masculine body develops only in the presence of certain hormones acting at the right time. So, if a genetically male body does not get the proper amount of androgen hormones at a critical point of development, a female phenotype individual will develop. The same happens in the opposite situation as well, so if we subject a genetically female body to the effect of testosterone at the same period, a male phenotype body will develop (CARVER and SCHEIER, 1998).

As a result of hormonal effects, the male and the female brain slightly differs in terms of synaptic connections or certain brain structures too. It can be shown for example, that the two halves of the cortex have richer connections in case of women than in case of men. Interestingly, the brain structure of homosexual men bears more resemblance to the brain structure of women, than with the brain structure of heterosexual men (In. CARVER and SCHEIER, 1998).

The validation of the genetic background is on more stable grounds. Several twin-researches underlie, that if one of the monozygotic twins is homosexual, then there is a significantly greater chance of the other twin being also homosexual, then in case of two-zygotic twins (HAMER and COPELAND, 1994).

Research into the wider family of homosexual men has revealed, that there are more homosexual male relatives on the mother's side of the family (among uncles and the sons of aunts), than on the father's side. This raises the possibility, that the gene responsible for homosexuality is located on the X chromosome (In. CARVER and SCHEIER, 1998). Though these results are remarkable, every researcher notes, that there is a need for more thorough researches and for the validation of results.

6. Message transmitting strategies of homosexual communities

Defining and characteristic feature of European type, modern social development is the articulation and separation of different groups of social phenomena. The separation of public- and private matters' sphere is important in terms of homosexuality. The operation of public sphere is under social regulations, while private sphere is out of immediate social regulations and monitoring, and its protection is ensured by human rights for freedom. Civil social development articulates and separates as discrete social phenomena newer and newer domains of human life. This way public sphere is getting narrower compared to the completeness of life. The issue of homosexuality belongs under this too: It is referred to under the competence of private matters, though there are some attempts sometimes to label it a public matter (TÓTH, 1994).

It can be generally stated about homosexual communities, that they try to form the phenomenon of homosexuality into a social – political question in all parts of the World. TAKÁCS JUDIT distinguishes between three different perspectives concerning the above statement:

1. The issue of homosexuality is already in the agenda on a political level. In Holland the society does not approach homosexuality as a problem to be solved. This way they are concentrating on more specific questions and their solutions, instead of looking for one general solution.
2. In the next case the entrance of homosexuality into the political agenda is more problematic, but not at all impossible. It can happen, that the main need for the acceptance of homosexuality is supplemented by questions referring to different specific situations that will fall back upon some kind of public legitimating as well.
3. The last case is provided by the social situation when entrance of homosexuality into the political agenda can not be anticipated in the near future. The possible background of this situation could be that there are several and various interests fighting on the political arena, and only some of them have a chance to raise attention. Raising attention needs a certain extent organisational background, aptitude and money too. This case the main problem will be whether homosexuals, as members of a minority group have a right to take part in the political life of the society. That is, whether there is a possibility for them to operate as a minority interest protection group. In this case the main aim is to achieve this kind of operational permission (TÓTH, 1994).

The attitude of a society towards questions of sexuality shows rather sensitively its relationship to European borderline and human concept of freedom. The problem scope of sexuality erases the problem of human rights for freedom: the question of social acceptance of sexual freedom, the most directly.

References

- ATKINSON, R. L. ET AL. (1999): *Pszichológia*. (Psychology) Budapest. Osiris Kiadó.
- BELL, A. P., WEINBERG, M. S.–HAMMERSMITH, S. K. (1981): *Sexual Preference: Its Development in Men and Women*. Bloomington. Indiana University Press.
- CARVER, C.–SCHEIER, M. (1998): *Személyiségpszichológia*. (Personality psychology) Budapest. Osiris Kiadó.
- COLE, M.–COLE, S. (1998): *Fejlődéslélektan*. (Developmental Psychology) Budapest. Osiris Kiadó.
- FERNANDEZ, D. (1994): *Ganümedész elrablása*, (Stealing of Ganümedes). Budapest. Európa.
- HAMER, D.–COPELAND, P (1994): *The Science of Desire: The Search for the Gay Gene and the Biology of Behavior*. New York. Simon & Schuster.
- Háttér. Társaság a Melegekért. (Society for the homosexuals). In.: <http://www.hatter.hu/template.php?page=jogtud>
- PÁNDY MÁRIA (1997): *A homoszexualitásról...* (About homosexuality). In.: AISZED hírlevél I. évf. 2. szám
- TÓTH LÁSZLÓ (ED.) (1994): *A homoszexualitásról*, (About homosexuality). Budapest. T–Twins.
- TRINGER LÁSZLÓ (1999): *A pszichiátria tankönyve*. (The course-book of psychiatry). Budapest. Semmelweis Kiadó.
- TROIDEN, R. R. (1988): *Gay and lesbian identity: a sociological analysis*. Dix Hills, New York, General Hall Inc.

Social acceptance of otherness. The disabled *(General topic)*

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Hungary)

Development of a society can be described by many indices, data, but it can also be measured by examining its practices in handling its outcasts.

So many ways men were called during the never-ending history of ideas! And maybe men are all these and many more, more versatile – some this and some that to a more extent. Hence man was an economic – farming being – homo oeconomicus, a moral being – homo moralis and a man of politics – homo politicus, a working and a playing being – homo faber, homo ludens, and also a believer: homo religiosus. But there is something else that is only rarely mentioned, though it is of cardinal importance: those in needs - homo adjuvantis. As everybody is playing, is present in the economy, talking politics, they also in need in some ways: sometimes to a more, sometimes to a lesser extent. Whose help they need?

Humans depend on others. This can be God if we speak from the theological point of view. If we understand it horizontally, humans depend on their fellow-beings, fellow-men.

If we look for those who are in need more than others first we find old people, children and the disabled. Societies, cultures and communities are expressively characterised by their attitudes to their history (the elderly), to their present (the seriously ill and those living their whole life disabled) and to their future (the children).

In Europe there are more than 37 million people living with some disability, as a consequence of which they are compelled to suffer serious discrimination and separation.

1. Who is disabled?

Someone, who has some disabilities, that is, his or her perfection is “stained”. Some people miss a body part, an organ or ability, or maybe he or she is mentally retarded.

The idea that to some extent we are all disabled is not at all new, and it is unpleasant only for the “superman”. Hence men are not imperfect, crippled or

half-witted, but they are of many kinds: there are whites and there are coloured, women, and there are the disabled. The task is – however hard it is sometimes – to bear, and if it can not be changed, accept who and what we are. Even: as after all it is the sense of rehabilitation: accept what we might become.

(Theoretical and practical ideas referring to disabilities are shown in the Unique part referring to Hungary – 7.1.)

2. What is disability?

There are two approaches to define the concept of disability: the social and the medical. The medical one is the more prevailing from the two ones. The starting approach of the World Health Organisation (WHO) in 1980 in the first issue of *International classification of impairments, disabilities and disadvantages* was a medical one. According to this definition, disability is the impairment of some physical or mental abilities, abilities that others possess to the extent of an accepted norm. When defining disabilities the starting point of this kind of definition is the individual.

The social approach, on the other hand understands disability in the framework of a given setting and it focuses at those ways in which the external factors compel people to step on the road of becoming disabled. According to the social approach, the damage of an ability is not a disability in itself. It becomes a deficiency when the society treats this fact in a way that is disadvantageous for the impaired person. That is to say, no immediate social disadvantages are resulting from a physical or mental impairment. Social disadvantage is a result of the attitude of the impaired person's social environment towards him or her, how he or she is treated.

Debates surrounding the definition of disability are concerning not only the meaning of words. Principles concerning the rights of the disabled are present in these debates. If we choose as our starting point the idea that the disabled are people who are simply in lack of something, this makes it hard to admit that the community of human is responsible for the regular disadvantages the disabled meet. If we complete the medical approach with the social one it helps us realise this responsibility.

The World Health Organisation has recently revised its earlier definition of disabilities. In the newly published *International Classification* it considers disability as an overall concept and combines the medical definition with the social one. It starts from the impairment, but also acknowledges the role the social environment plays in restricting the activities of impaired people. The socially relevant status of the disabled person can be defined as follows: a human being,

about whom the social environment is unconcerned, surrounds with prejudices and exercises negative discriminations towards.

3. What should the state do for its disabled citizens?

Disabled people are segregated, physical obstacles make their entrance into different institutes more difficult, they are negatively discriminated in the job market and usually they do not have the possibility to live independently and be in command of their own lives. The state should strive at changing the status of the disabled by:

- Providing personal support within the society they live in instead of separating them in health care institutes;
- Making it possible for them to enjoy every civil rights and utilize all kinds of social institutes;
- Providing them with equal possibilities with other members of the society to employment; and
- Enabling them to have as large a command over their own existence as is possible, including independence from their families as well if they themselves wish it.

Above all we have to revise ideas formulated about how the proper life for an impaired person looks like. Earlier in Western societies the model of informal help prevailed. In this model the disabled person depended on the help of his or her family, friends and neighbours. This model was later replaced by the medical approach. In terms of the medical model, health care attendants provide help for the disabled and they live under the charge of doctors and nurses. A new model, the model of the so called consumer centred personal help has appeared recently. While in the medical model the disabled person is compelled to take up the role of a “patient”, in the consumer centred personal help model the disabled person is a consumer who utilizes services on the basis of his or her own decision.

4. Rights of the disabled

Most people agree that the restoration of the equal status of disabled citizens can be successful only if they are granted equal rights. There are three general methods at our disposal for ensuring the equality of rights: the ban of discrimination, ensuring equal rights, and positive discrimination. None of the three methods in themselves, alone, can reach a real and sustainable equality. The three methods are to be applied in harmony, together and the governments should ensure their enforcement.

The ban of discrimination

The anti-discrimination approach represents the formal or legal equality. Discrimination has two recognised forms: active and passive discrimination. Active discrimination is the case when someone denies somebody a service or a product because he or she is disabled. We can talk about an active discrimination for example when a person, who is suitable for a job in every respects, is not employed only because he or she is disabled (regardless of the fact whether his or her impairment hinders him or her in fulfilling those tasks the given job requires). On the contrary, passive discrimination we call when the social environment does not do anything for getting rid of barriers in front of the disabled. It is a passive discrimination when a disabled person can not access to a service or a product as obstacles in front of him or her are not eliminated (for example there are no ramps on the right places that would make entrance to a public building for those in wheel-chairs easier)

Equal chances

The approach in the spirit of equal chances realises that real equality is possible only if, apart from possessing equal rights, people have an equal starting points when entering the job market. The aim is to promote a society, where people with disabilities enjoy equal chances in employment, access to institutes and services and in taking part in cultural and social events.

Positive discrimination

Providing advantages concentrates on the results. This kind of positive discrimination needs justification. It is justified if

- The positively discriminated group suffers serious social disadvantages that are apt to reproduce themselves;
- The aim of positive discrimination is to break the vicious cycle of the reproduction of social disadvantages;
- The policy of positive discrimination is effective, that is there is a chance it becomes successful;
- It has no effective alternatives that would produce the same result without using positive discrimination, and finally;
- It consists of temporary measures that after a while would supersede the application of the same measures.

Positive discrimination was widely applied in the Scandinavian countries and in the United States for forcing inequality from gender and racial discrimination.

mination back. Positive discrimination strives at making up for disproportionateness coming from discrimination by providing advantages on certain domains (for example employment, education, etc.) for the victims of past discriminations. Similar to measures ensuring equal chances, positive discrimination also needs a strong state presence for the fulfilment, and in given cases for the enforcement of these measures. The introduction of employment quotas is the most wide-spread example for the positive discrimination of the disabled. Such system operates in France, Hungary and Germany as well.

5. Which are the international standards?

The major international human rights documents, like *the International Convention of Civil and Political Rights* and *the International Convention of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* do not contain provisions directly related to the disabled. Though we can successfully refer to these documents in protection of the impaired people. Even if the expressions “disability” or “the disabled” are not present in their texts, their anti-discrimination provisions can be understood as referring to the disabled as well.

The UN however issued in 1993 a document called Standard regulations for providing equal chances for disabled people.

A further important document of the policy of providing equal chances is the Number R (92) 6 (1992) Recommendation of the Council of Europe. This document provides member states with recommendations referring to those harmonised and consistent principles that should be followed in their behaviour towards disabled people. The aims are as follows: To ensure independent life style, access to supporting services according to individual needs, access to all social institutes, the whole scope of citizens’ rights, financial independence and personal self-determination.

Several international documents contain orders that bans the discrimination of the disabled or that asks for positive discrimination. We have to mention on the first place Article 13 of the Amsterdam Treaty (1999) and Record 12 of the European Declaration of Human Rights (2000) because these count in Europe as the most important anti-discrimination orders. The Treaty of Amsterdam (which is the reformulation of the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992) is the most important legal document of the European Union. Article 13 of the Amsterdam Treaty, the anti-discrimination order of the treaty, names the disabled. So Article 13 refers for example to employment, but it does not refer to the questions of education or residence.

Article 14 of the European Declaration of Human Rights and Fundamental liberties deals with discrimination. In 2000 a decision was made on strengthening

the guarantees of the Declaration referring to equality and discrimination, and the decision was ratified. Supplementary Record 12 accepted on the above basis orders “*that the rights defined by the law should be ensured without any discrimination*”.

The third important document protecting the disabled from discrimination within the European Union is the 2000/78/EK, 27th of November directive of the Council on *creating a general framework for the guarantee of equal treatment in employment*.

What has happened so far?

In the last two decades own organisations of disabled people has done a lot for the ensuring of equal chances.

A movement in the United States for including the rights of disabled people in acts.

In the United States an exemplary civil rights act protects disabled people, the 1990 *Act of Disabled Americans (TAF)*. Initiatives for the creation of the act came from the disabled community.

European Disability Forum

There are several organisations in Europe the aim of which is to extend the rights of the disabled. The European Disability Forum founded in 1997 strives at enrolling non-governmental organisations to be able to deploy a strong and unitary front line in Europe. It consists of the National Council of disabled people from sixty-six European non-governmental organisation and sixteen member states. The *EDF* played a key role in the fact that the disabled people were included in the above quoted 13th Article of the Amsterdam Treaty.

It monitors how the rights of disabled people prevail in the work of committees of the European Union, in the different European Union treaties and it makes steps to promote these rights.

References

- ILLYÉS SÁNDOR (2001): Az eszmény, a törvény, a tradíció és a feltételek a közoktatás megújulásában (The idea, the law, the tradition and the conditions in the renewal of public education). Új Pedagógiai Szemle, July–August
- RITOÓK PÁLNÉ (2001): A felsőoktatási tanácsadás lehetőségei az esélyegyenlőség megteremtésében (The possibilities of higher education counselling in providing equal chances), Magyar Felsőoktatás, No. 5–6.
- Társaság a Szabadságjogokért (Committee for Human Rights) 2001 November. Homepage: www.c3.hu/~hclu

Social acceptance of otherness. The disabled in Hungary (*Unique topic*)

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Hungary)

In 1999 Hungary was awarded the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Prize as an acknowledgement of its comprehensive law-making promoting the issue of the disabled. The prize was awarded to the country because of the creation of the Equal Chances Act (Act XXVI., 1998. on *the rights of disabled people and on ensuring equal chances for them*).

„The disabled people have considerable difficulties in utilizing rights and possibilities that everybody is entitled to. ... For the sake of establishing their equal chances and for the sake of changing the perspectives of the society ... the special needs of disabled people should be highlighted during the planning and decision-making processes and it should be considered that possibilities that all people are entitled to can be utilized by disabled people only if special provisions are made.” (quote from §1 of the Act).

According to the Act in question the main target domains of achieving equal chances are: health-care, education, employment, residence and culture. The Act issued an order on the creation of the *National Committee of the Disabled*, the members of which are mostly governmental officials and representatives of the organisations of disabled people.

The Act assigned the Parliament to define a programme on provisions to be issued in the above mentioned target-domains, provisions that are required for creating equal chances. The *National Programme for the Disabled* should reveal and present the actual state of the disabled and actions needed for a positive change in the social perspective.

The Programme, accepted by the Parliament on the 10th of December, 1999, set definite deadlines for realizing provisions for equal chances on the given domains. The programme finds the application of positive discrimination indispensable for the sake of being able to provide disabled people with equal chances.

The *Article 70/A of the Constitution* contains an anti-discrimination provision.

Development of the support system for equal chances of disabled has already started several decades ago in the Western-European countries. In the so

called welfare countries the forms, and scenes of support, the “unique solutions” and the quality of attained services are incomparably more differentiated and of higher standard.

Let’s summarise the main facts!

The number of disabled people was surveyed in the population census of 1990. According to this census their number was 368 000, which is 3,5% of the population. This survey – according to the opinion of the Central Statistical Office (KSH) as well – underestimates the number of the disabled, so their estimated numbers are about 400 – 500.000. The highest proportion among the disabled are the physically disabled and handicapped: 40%; the proportion of mentally retarded is 19%, the proportion of the blind and visually impaired is 18%, and about 20% has other disabilities, like being hearing-impaired, or with a speech disorder.

1. Institutes

To this day 18.000 disabled people are living permanently in institutes and only 2000 of them live in their own homes and get a personal support. Mainly family members look after those disabled people who are not living in institutes, and following from the above presented fact, most of the families can ask only the hospitals for help.

Half of permanent institutes is on such a low level that were given only temporary licence for work.

This is the starting situation from which we have to reach the target the *National Programme for the disabled* set: Big institutes for the disabled should be replaced by smaller permanent homes until 2010.

2. Education

The *National Programme for the Disabled* specifies that the disabled – to the extent it is possible – should be entitled to mainstreaming. The *National Committee of the Disabled* maintains an information centre for disabled students studying in higher education institutes. In spite of all this there were only 320 disabled students among the 250.000 ones entering higher education in 2000. That is, the rate of disabled and healthy students is 1:800. At the same time, about 500 000 people live with some kind of disability from the 10.000 000 inhabitants of Hungary. This rate is about 20:1. The difference between the rate of the disabled among the population and in higher education is huge.

On the level of higher education the system of higher education counselling that has a modern perspective is also working for the establishment of equal chances. Its activity is characterised primarily by rehabilitation. Rehabilitation we

consider to be: a process realised in health care, mental health promoting, education, training, re-training, employment and social systems, the aim of which is the skills development of disabled people, keeping the level of their social participation, and strengthening their self-supporting life conduct. It is visible from this definition that rehabilitation is not a profession. This is primarily a complex approach that will gain a practical meaning only in case of the realized cooperation of different professional fields and professionals. Medical rehabilitation creates primarily the conditions for a full life conduct, while psycho-social rehabilitation supports the realisation of a full life conduct. The main principles and targets of rehabilitation services should equally prevail in case of every disabled person.

Presence: disabled people should be present, work and spend their free time where other members of the society live, work and have fun. They should take part in the everyday life of the society according to their age characteristics, and services for it should be ensured as close to their homes as possible.

Choice and autonomy: The services should develop the chance for choice, should promote the abilities and conscious decisions of the disabled person: all information should be ensured for this for the disabled person and for his or her relatives, to be able to make their proper shorter- or longer-term decisions accordingly.

Competency: Services should continuously assist the development of new skills in people and the taking up of newer and newer responsibilities in the light of this, as only the development of proper competencies would lead to the necessary autonomy that is at the same time the prerequisite of taking responsibility.

Social status: disabled people are often stigmatized; services should strive at strengthening their positive appreciation in the society.

An other example for the gap between measures and set targets is related to primary education. In 1997 the Government established a public foundation for the support of the catching up of disabled pupils. Still 30% of disabled children do not finish their primary school education.

The Public Education Act of 1993 writes down those conditions that make mainstreaming possible in public education. The realisation requires a new perspective from the special educators who fulfilled their professional activities in the old-type segregated special education; from the educators, who have not acquired any knowledge on special education during their training and who have not met disabled people in the society; and from the maintainer of the institute whose support is essential as only a half-solution can be reached without the

painful change in the educational practice. And we have not yet talked about the parents of the pupils who fear for the school career of their children (the writer of these lines led an Integrated kindergarten model project between 1997 and 2000, the experiences of which will be published in September, 2004. in the journal Új Pedagógiai Szemle, as the opening study of the journal.)

3. Employment

According to the population census in 1990, 43,6% of the Hungarian population was economically active, while in case of the disabled this proportion was only 16,6%. The total activity rate has decreased with about 10% since then, the activity of the disabled has decreased with more than 10%. The gap was wide in the time of transition from communism to democracy, and it has further widened during the new governmental system.

4. Accessible physical environment

The Governmental Commissioner of Human Rights has recently issued a report based on a wide-scale survey concerning disabled people. The report has analysed the present state of accessible physical environment in Hungary. The report revealed that in 2000 disabled people were still complaining about serious obstacles they meet in their everyday life. According to the Equal Chances Act the built physical environment should be clear of obstacles by 2005.

5. Poverty

Disabled people are still overrepresented among those living under the poverty threshold. The Parliament has recently made the decision that the amount of allowances to the disabled must be raised from the 50% of the minimal wages to the 65% of it. The reason behind this decision was the fact that the previous amount was lower than the financial aid families get after a child. The raise is of course a step to the right direction. At the same time, the arguments for it show that political decision-makers consider them still as dependent family members and treat them on the same level with children and not as citizens who has to be provided with the conditions of independent life. Even if the disabled person is capable of living independently with some personal help, his or her economic situation would press him or her to remain a dependent member of the family.

The Committee of Human Rights (CHR) is convinced that the Hungarian state should survey the problems of those living with a disability, should put aside the approaches that are based on prejudice and show itself ready for initiatives coming from the disabled. The Hungarian state should follow the path opened by

the Equal Chances Act. Act XXVI. Of 1998 was born to “ensure equal chances, independent life-conduct and active participation in the society for disabled people.”

The *CHR* considers the following points important concerning the support of disabled people’s rights:

- *Creation of an accessible social environment.* Accessibility is an important step towards the establishment of equal chances. It promotes their independence and freedom to move. Getting rid of obstacles on vehicles and in the built environment is the first step in the process which sets the social activation of the disabled as target.
- *Equality in Education.* Providing each citizen with equal education is the responsibility of the state. It is the right of the parents to decide on the most proper type of education for their children. The *CHR*’s policy is the following: the parents and family counsellors of the disabled children should be entitled to decide on issues related to the most proper educational environment. Mainstreaming ensures the equality of education. Most of the disabled children are able to go to the same school as their sound peers and this is the most useful solution for them, as it is true in case of the sound children too. The cultural and social norms of a society are transmitted by the education system. The *CHR* insists on its standpoint that the government should remain committed to the aims of mainstreaming and ensure equal chances in education through this means.
- *Ensuring a fair residence.* The central government and the local communities should provide the disabled with fair residence possibilities. Until the disabled are denied an independent flat – either because of the prejudiced behaviour of the owner or because of physical obstacles while approaching the flat – these fellow citizens won’t enjoy equal rights and freedom with other members of the community. The responsibility of the Government then is to provide a proper and accessible flat for those disabled citizens who want and are able to live an independent life.
- *Promoting the disabled to leave the institutes.* The Act of Equal Chances outlined that the present institutes should be reformed by 2010. The act also insists on transferring those disabled who are capable of self-supporting life into inner city homes. In this respect however, progress is slow and the financial resources are reduced. The government should stand by its commitment to ideas presented in the Act and should create an environment in which disabled people can have an access to the prerequisites of self-dependent life conduct. In case the disabled people can not live an independent life, the government should help by powerful measures to make

existing institutes more humane, to make them suitable for providing an environment which promotes rehabilitation.

- *Equal chances in employment.* Ensuring equal chances for disabled people in finding a job is highly important to be able to live an equal social life to the life of other people. Instead of developing the system of more and more extended financial support, these financial resources should be spent on making workplaces physically accessible. This would effectively assist the process of disabled people's workplace integration and would at the same time make most of the social provision forms needless.

References

- ILLYÉS SÁNDOR (2001): Az eszmény, a törvény, a tradíció és a feltételek a közoktatás megújulásában (The idea, the law, the tradition and the conditions in the renewal of public education). Új Pedagógiai Szemle, July–August
- RITOÓK PÁLNÉ (2001): A felsőoktatási tanácsadás lehetőségei az esélyegyenlőség megteremtésében (The possibilities of higher education counselling in providing equal chances), Magyar Felsőoktatás, No. 5–6.
- Társaság a Szabadságjogokért (Committee for Human Rights) 2001 November. Homepage: www.c3.hu/~hclu

Social acceptance of otherness. The disabled in Portugal *(General topic)*

Isabel Madureira (Portugal)

Education in Portugal for Children and Young People with Special Educational Needs

1. Brief historical overview

Until the seventies, the teaching of children and young people with special educational needs was the responsibility of special teaching establishments, and was thus essentially segregated. But in Portugal at this time, a movement began which aimed at mainstreaming children with special needs. Early experiments in selected schools led to the spread of integration throughout the seventies, under the aegis of the Department for Special Education of the Ministry of Education. Although there was as yet no legal backing, Special Education Teams - comprised of peripatetic teachers - were set up with the aim of following through the process of mainstreaming pupils with a variety of disabilities.

However, it was not until the nineties that there was a definition, in terms of educational policy, principles and processes, whereby the mainstreaming of pupils with special needs could be ensured. Indeed, it was only the publication of the Basic Education System Law (1986) and of certain decrees (1990 and 1991) that finally guaranteed the right to integration in the regular education system of pupils with special educational needs.

These documents assign to the State the responsibility for ensuring effective equality of opportunity for all pupils in terms of access and achievement, as well as for guaranteeing that children with special needs have the appropriate facilities for them to apply and develop their abilities. It is established that the nine years' compulsory schooling applies to all citizens (including, therefore, children with special educational needs); the school is responsible for the education of all pupils; and it is stipulated that special education will be provided essentially by means of various models/forms of integration into the mainstream, with specialized institutions to be called upon only in the case of severe disability. In a word, it is urged that education be provided in as normal an environment as possible, using methods aimed at facilitating integration into both school and society.

In terms of pedagogic procedures, the legislation provides that pupils should attend a school close to their homes; that assessment of their needs should focus on educational aspects, and that it is essential that individual plans and programmes be drawn up in such a way as to ensure effective equality in terms of access and achievement in the learning process. In this respect there is a specific set of measures for access to the curriculum, among which should be mentioned special conditions for attendance and assessment, adaptation of the curriculum, and the drafting of special curricula.

Thus in the nineties, Portugal closely followed the recommendations of the European Union, wherein it is established that all member states should promote the mainstreaming of children and young people with special needs, and ensure that additional specialized support systems are provided where necessary.

When Portugal subscribed to the principles put forward in the Salamanca Declaration (1994), the so-called *regular* schools took on a more decisive role in the combat against discriminatory attitudes and in the creation of an inclusive education and an inclusive society. In this respect, the publication of a new despatch in 1997 (law 105/97) ushered in significant changes in the organisation of special education and, as a result, in the catering for pupils with special educational needs (S.E.N.).

The new law led to the emergence of the Educational Support teacher, whose duties go beyond those of the traditional Special Education teacher (direct support for the pupil with S.E.N.) in that they now emphasise the role of *school resource* for the optimising of the learning process and the socialisation of all pupils (stressing in particular collaboration with form teachers and participation in the running of the school).

In this way, the Educational Support teacher is regarded as one of the school's human resources and an integral part of its pedagogic team. The permanent presence of the educational support teacher in a particular school constitutes an innovation in terms of the service provided, in that previously the special education teacher would have to travel between different schools to lend support to pupils with problems related to his specific specialist area. On the one hand, this type of back-up ensured that pupils were supported by teachers with specialized knowledge of their particular needs; but on the other hand, support was centred on the pupil's needs, with little attention to the broader implications for the context of pedagogy and the school.

Meanwhile, the practical implementation of these measures produced confusion, abuse and contradictions that were to have an adverse effect on the support of pupils with S.E.N. and on the school organisation.

Indeed, the intention to create an inclusive school implied an increase in the number of educational support teachers (13,2% between 1997 and 2000); recruitment of teachers was done rapidly and with no criteria for the placement of a particular teacher in the role of educational counsellor.

The counselling of pupils with S.E.N. passed into the hands either of teachers specialized in Special Education or of inexperienced teachers with no specific training. In this way, provision for the educational needs of particular pupils was in some cases non-existent, which, paradoxically, runs counter to the assumptions and educational principles underlying the whole idea of the inclusive school.

This situation in turn accentuated the difficulties of teachers and schools in terms of the identification of pupils with special educational needs. In practical terms, there was a significant increase in the number of pupils recommended for educational support (18,5% in the school year 1988/99), and in many cases this was based not on serious learning difficulties but rather on factors of a pedagogic or socio-cultural nature.

In the face of this situation, it became essential to define with greater accuracy those cases that constituted real special educational needs requiring educational support. This was resolved in 2001, with the introduction of a new law.

Present Situation

In its continued support, in terms of educational policy, of the principles underlying the creation of the inclusive school, Portugal has moved forward in the sense of considering different educational solutions for pupils with special educational needs.

In this way, educational support is provided for children and young people with difficulties in the learning process and in participation in the school/education context. These difficulties are defined as follows:

- Special educational needs of a permanent nature – serious difficulties in the learning process arising from a combination of various environmental factors (physical, social, behavioural) and marked limitations in one or more of the following areas: sensory (auditory, visual), motor, cognitive, speech, language and communication, emotional, personality and physical health;
- Special educational needs of a temporary nature – difficulties in the learning process arising from a combination of various environmental factors (physical, social, behavioural) and limitations in the above areas; these difficulties manifest themselves at a particular stage in the school career of the child/young person and take the form of minor problems with reading,

writing or calculus, or minor motor, perceptive, linguistic, socio-emotional or health problems.

In various regions of the country there are presently Coordination Teams for Educational Support (CTES) responsible for liaison between the different departments involved in providing for special educational needs – identification and assessment of these needs and organisation of the support – which aim on the one hand to ensure appropriate educational solutions and on the other to promote improvement in pedagogic practices.

These teams have implemented a variety of projects involving cooperation between the local regional services (social services, health, labour, education and special education institutions) with a view to securing a more efficient educational response both in terms of the inclusiveness of regular schools and of early learning and the transition to working life.

In this way, the inclusion of pupils with special educational needs is organised by the schools in collaboration with the local Coordination Team for Educational Support.

During the school year 2002/2003 educational support was granted for a total of 61.552 children and young people with special educational needs, the majority of whom (62,4%) were of a permanent nature while a lower percentage (37.6) were of a temporary nature. The total number of pupils with educational support represents 5% of the nursery, primary and secondary school population. Of the total number of children and young people with educational support nationwide, the majority are in compulsory schooling. Support is mainly at the primary level of education (50,1%), with 34,6% at the secondary and tertiary levels. Lower rates are recorded for pre-school (10,1%), secondary (2,7%) and early intervention (2,5%). Although support at the early age (0-6 years) is rare, current indicators suggest an upward trend at this level.

In 2002/2003 educational support was provided by 7.211 teachers working predominantly (92.4%) in regular education schools.

Despite being generally well accepted by teachers in regular schools, the process of mainstreaming is sometimes difficult, due to lack of human and material resources in schools, including specialised staff and architectural obstacles.

Austria: Inclusive education against the backdrop of the concept of dignity

(Unique topic)

Martin Bolz and Renate Seebauer (Austria)

The paper in hand unfolds the indispensable philosophical background to inclusive education in general. In order to understand “integration/inclusion” it is therefore necessary to acquire the basics of the pedagogic heritage of the age of enlightenment. A shift in thinking can’t be brought about as long as “normality” governs thinking. The theoretical introduction is followed by a description of the current development of mainstreaming - with special regard to Vienna.

1. Approaching Inclusive Education through the Concept of Dignity

1.1. Ethical approach: Human Rights

Based on the traditions of the English mother country, the “Summary View of the Rights of British America” was published in Virginia, at this time still among the British colonies. This pamphlet, drafted by Thomas Jefferson, was followed by the Declaration of Independence of 4 July 1776, to be considered the primary document of human rights. The declaration maintains that “all men are created equal ... and are endowed by their Creator with inherent and inalienable rights..” In Jefferson’s view, this truth was to be held self-evident and thus firmly established. Theological foundations were not considered essential; emphasis was instead placed on the “*volonté générale*”, i.e. the democratic agent of the consented will of people towards human rights.

We should, of course, be aware of the fact that two conflicting principles – though aiming at the same goal – are at issue: there is the theonomical argumentation, taking dignity of man as self-evident and thus indisputable. On the other hand, prior to the outbreak of the French revolution, there is the issue of the rationalist encyclopedists’ philosophical tradition, dialectically presupposing reason and dignity as the essential requirements in humane life in the Age of Enlightenment.

Given those essential prerequisites, legislation after 1933 was in no need to be changed, as both – though contrasting – approaches had not envisioned any

dictatorial encroachments. Thus, the encumbrance of the Nazi legislation (euthanasia-program) subliminally governs discussion on the subject until today.

1.2. The Pedagogic Heritage of the Age of Enlightenment

Let us reconsider ROUSSEAU'S didactic novel "Emile" (1762) under the viewpoint of inclusion. In this respect, attention is focussed on two issues – beyond discussing extensively the subjects of anthropology and relevant philosophy of Rousseau's:

- Emile is an individual being, and assigned exclusively to him there is one tutor, who thus represents the link to society. This framework may be called a "classical laboratory setting", an enclave (so defined by OELKERS), or else: segregation (*"Verinselung"*), as Rousseau in other respects withholds consent to guidance. To him education is basically related to nature and to protecting the purity of mind.
- Education is an achievement to be fulfilled by free individuals – for free (unreduced) individuals; thus handicapped individuals are outside the focus of culture and education.

GOETHE'S pedagogic credo is laid down in "Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship", giving a description of what he named "*pädagogische Provinz*" (educational insula).

2. "Normality" governs thinking

The concept of "cause and effect" is at issue: normality is considered the rule and non-normality therefore is the exception and thus establishes segregation. The initiative was taken by artists. Josef BEUYS: Prior to the question: "what can we do?" we have to put another one: "In what way do we have to think?"

In the light of up-to-date educational theory a new approach could be set forth: maintaining that the child in question is de-abled, i.e. prevented from doing something, rather than applying the quasi practical characterization dis-abled, which thereafter has to be the point of issue. In the light of these considerations, education is called upon the task to overcome the individual child's limits together with the child.

- Another concept at issue is the term "*Defizitorientierung*" (DREHER) "orientation towards deficits", relating to special topics within the educational theory in respect to handicapped children: adequate educational or else therapeutic measures to be taken are based on the specific deficit(s) identified.

- SPICHER attempted to bridge the gap between therapeutic measures and “normality“ by means of the philosophy of language, using the term “*dialogische Vernunft*” (reasoning by dialogue). He concluded that to him reality (*Wahrheit*) is to be seen as “*konsensuelle Wahrheit*”(reality of consensus). This concept includes intellectualism as well as emotio-nalism, whereby the “wholeness of man” is established.

Given those considerations, FEUSER’S philosophy pursues the subject by using the term “*inte-grales Menschenbild*”, i.e. integration does not only mean to put an end to segregation and to imposing negative social and societal burden upon handicapped people. “Integration” likewise is aiming at the non-handicapped person’s psychological deformity, caused by their being restricted to established standards of performance.

Using this evidence, the postmodern concept “*transversale Vernunft*” (transversal reason) is to be introduced into the discussion, denoting the transition from one system of standards to another one, taking into account the variable requirements involved.

Hence the far-reaching consequences regarding inclusive education:

- Fully accepting the pupils’ divergent individuality calls for a variform approach with re-gard to the methods, learning objectives and educational targets in timing;
- Given a holistic perception of man (or “*Gänzlichung*”, according to SPICHER) in assessing to the person reason and the need to be embodied in a social framework, this perspective involves as a result that the inner values are to be upgraded, thus social learning would have to outweigh the volume of subject knowledge.
- Sincere concern about the singularity of each pupil calls for specific progress monitoring as well as for an individualized, verbal evaluation of performance, without school marks.

3. Changing the approach

Under the present conditions the thesis at issue reads: *Strategic re-evaluation of minorities in school!*

The teachers’ categories of reasoning take a horizontal pattern of thinking for granted, thus accepting the onset: disabled, weak, foreigner, outsider. Consequently a continuous change of “established” paradigms is pursued. Given those conditions, overflowing radicalized awareness and understanding will in the first

instance entail a doctrine of unrelatedness („*Fremdheits-lehre*“) which though is a necessary step towards developing comprehension for inclusive education.

4. Historical Review

The following summary has been drafted from an internal paper of the “European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education”.

The Federal State of Austria has an education system whose basic premise of guaranteeing access to public schools without distinction, was established in the “School Organisation Act” (“*Schulorganisationsgesetz*”) of 1962 which even today constitutes the legal basis of the entire Austrian educational system. In 1974 parents and pupils were first given the statutory right to take part in the decision-taking process at respective schools. This development was continued in 1993 with statutory provisions governing school autonomy⁹, a decentralization of the decision-taking process and the legal possibility for parents of children with special educational needs to choose either a special school or a mainstream school (integration).

In the sense of continuity of education the respective law legalized integration on the lower level of secondary schools beginning with the first year of secondary schools (5th grade) in 1997 in ascending order.

5. Education Services – Special provisions and Systems

According to the Austrian law the task of the special school (“*Sonderschule*”) is to provide children with special educational needs (“physical and/or psychic handicapped children”) with special education with reference to their disabilities and needs and to impart educational contents to them equivalent to the curricula of primary schools, general secondary schools and pre-vocational schools as far as possible.

The structure of special schools in Austria (“*Sonderschulen*”) is partly rather identical, partly completely different to that of the mainstream education. As distinguished from the mainstream education there

- are smaller groups (8 or 15 instead of 30 at the most),
- are teachers with specialized training and qualification,
- is an autonomous curriculum which in essence may be a modified curriculum of the mainstream education with reference to the special educational

⁹ The 14th Amendment of the School Organisation Act (“*14. SchOG-Novelle*”) allows schools to issue their own curriculum regulations by majority vote of the School Committee or Forum within a frame demanding them to keep to the compulsory number of lessons being stipulated for the whole period (4 years) and to a stipulated minimum number of lessons for each subject.

needs of the pupils or a curriculum the general purpose of which is very far from being comparable to mainstream schools.

Pupils with certified special educational needs (SEN) – “*Sonderpädagogischem Förderbedarf*” - (by decision of the district school board) have got the possibility of choosing between a special school or a mainstream school (integration/inclusion).

There are three models of integration in mainstream classes two of which depending on the number of pupils with SEN:

- Mainstream classes with full time support by a teacher for special education;
- Mainstream classes with support by the hour by a teacher for special education;
- Cooperation classes which have the structure of a special class, their pupils being taught by a teacher for special education and having the possibility to attend a main stream class in those lessons where they are able to follow the respective curriculum.

Mainstream schools are provided with specialists (special mobile service) being offered an “outpatient” treatment for children with various disabilities such as speech impediments, behaviour problems, hard-of hearing, visual handicaps etc. in or outside the classroom.

Additional aids with reference to the category of disability, special equipment, special transport (if necessary), special therapy ... are available.

6. Children with Special Educational Needs – Identification Procedures

Within the school system there are two main institutions advising parents respectively certify-ing the special education needs of the child:

- Centres for special educational needs (“*Sonderpädagogische Zentren*”)¹⁰: One of their tasks is to advise parents including telephone and personal contact (advisory talks) as well as establishing a catalogue of measures to be taken for the care and support of the child with special educational needs.
- The district school board (“*Bezirksschulbehörde*”): has to make a decision (certified special educational needs) either on application of the parents or on application of the school or on the board’s own motion. Before making such a decision the board has to obtain the expert’s opinion of the head of

¹⁰ Vienna is the only federal province that has changed all special schools into centres for special educational needs.

the special school (or centre of special education) in question and, if necessary, of a school physician (or public health officer) and of a school psychologist (only with consent of the parents).

7. Mainstreaming in Vienna

7.1. Primary Schools (grades 1-4)

A “mainstream class” is set up as the need arises. That is to say if a certain primary school has set up a mainstream class one school year, it does not necessarily follow that this school will set up another mainstream class in the following year. The wish of the parents of children with SEN for a particular school cannot always be granted as organisational matters have to be taken into account for the setting up of mainstream classes. The decision, however, remains above all with the school inspectors, in consultation with the head teachers.

In case of “single mainstreaming” the child receives a number of additional teaching hours according to his/her condition. This means that the teacher in charge of the primary school class in which the child is integrated gets a specially trained colleague for a certain number of hours as additional support.

7.2. Mainstreaming at Secondary Level (grades 5–9)

In most cases all children with SEN and some of the “regular” primary school children go up to a mainstream class at secondary level. It can be in a secondary modern school (as in most cases), a comprehensive school or a grammar school. Where “new” mainstream classes are set up it usually consists of 6–8 so-called “educationally handicapped children” – the highest total number of pupils being 22.

8. Final Remarks

The Vienna Mainstreaming Advice Centre (p. 6) comments the current situation as follows:

- “Generally speaking it can be said that “social mainstreaming” has been a success in main-stream classes;
- Many questions remain unanswered concerning the optimal implication of a course design attempting to differentiate between different needs and at the same time taking into account individual goals for each of the children; ...
- It is also obvious that under the present conditions ... some implementations will be harder than others since it cannot be denied that mainstreaming is not cost-neutral – especially in the transitional phase – and that costs will rise;

- It would be of great importance to make teachers realise (already during their training) that their job requires a greater willingness to be mobile and flexible;
- To start “pedagogical partnerships” for the well-being and in the interest of the children is one thing, to live and implement them successfully is another.”

9. Appendix

Chronica Austriaca Inclusionis

1985: Parents took the lead in Styria and Tyrol

1988: „11. SchOG-Novelle“ Official agreement for improving integration in schools

1990: 133 classes with 504 children with special needs, further 960 cwsn have support by social teachers in some lessons

1991: Petition of 4.370 persons are given to the „Nationalrat“, official maximum number of integration classes gets more

1992: Petition of 60.000 persons given to president and Minister of Education at *Ballhaus-platz*

1993: Demonstration in front of the parliament – 15th Amendment to School Organisation Act („15. SchOG-Novelle“): Integration in primary school

1994: Slow motion by administration

1996: After hard struggles → 17th Amendment to School Organisation Act („17. SchOG-Novelle“): Integration in the secondary I sector

1999: Never ending story: no integration in the 9th grade and in the secondary II sector

References

HABERMAS, J.: Die Einbeziehung des Anderen. Studien zur politischen Theorie, Suhrkamp 1996.

DREHER, W.: Denksuren. Bildung von Menschen mit geistiger Behinderung – Basis einer integralen Pädagogik, Mainz Verlag 1997.

European Agency For Development in Special Need Education, National Overview: Austria. Secretariat: Teglgårdsparken 100, DK-5500 Middelfart – Denmark. (11 pp. photocopied)

Vienna Mainstreaming Advice Centre (ed.): Mainstreaming in Vienna, A Survey (9 pages, photocopied); Gaspasse 8–10, 1150 Wien.

SPICHER, H. J.: Grundlagen des gemeinsamen Unterrichts – Integration von behinderten Kindern in der Regelschule, Mainz Verlag 1998.

WALDENFELS, B.: Topographie des Fremden, Frankfurt 1997.

History and concept of multicultural education *(General topic)*

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

LESZNYÁK and CZACHESZ (1998) provide an overview on the history and concept of multicultural education and on the factors influencing its fulfilment. The chapter is built on their work in content and structure, with supplements included. In the literature multicultural education refers mainly to the education of newly arrived immigrants and caste-like minorities, while the education of historical and autonomous minorities appears as a separate issue. We start the chapter with some definitions of multicultural education.

1. Multicultural education: definitions

The most common definitions of Multicultural education are the following:

- Multicultural Education is at least three things: an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process. It incorporates the idea that all pupils, regardless of their gender, social, ethnic, racial or cultural characteristics, should have an equal opportunity to learn in school.
- It is a reform movement designed to make some major changes in schools and other educational institutions so that pupils from all social classes, gender, racial, and cultural groups will have an equal opportunity to learn.
- It is an ongoing process whose goals, which include educational equality and improving academic achievement, will never be realized because they are ideals toward which human beings work but never attain. (BANKS at al., 1997. pp. 3-4.).

Multicultural education in the United States is an approach to teaching and learning that is based upon democratic values and beliefs, and affirms cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies and an interdependent world. It is based on the assumption that the primary goal of public education is to foster the intellectual, social, and personal development of virtually all pupils to their highest potential (BENETT, 1999. pp. 11.).

Multicultural education is an inclusive teaching/learning process that that engages all pupils in developing a strong sense of self-esteem, discovering

empathy for persons of diverse cultural backgrounds, and experiencing equitable opportunities to achieve their fullest potential (TIEDT and TIEDT, 1999. pp. 18).

Multicultural education, defined in a socio-political context, is a process of comprehensive school reform and basic education for all pupils. It challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in schools and society and accepts and affirms the pluralism (ethnic, linguistic, religious, economic, and gender, among others) that pupils, their communities, and teachers represent. Multicultural education permeates the curriculum and instructional strategies used in schools, as well as the interactions among teachers, pupils, and parents, and the very way that schools conceptualize the nature of teaching and learning. Because it uses critical pedagogy as its underlying philosophy and focuses on knowledge, reflection, and action (praxis) as the basis for social change, multicultural education promotes the democratic principles of social justice.

The seven basic characteristics of multicultural education in this definition are:

Multicultural education is antiracist education.

Multicultural education is basic education.

Multicultural education is important for all pupils.

Multicultural education is pervasive.

Multicultural education is education for social justice.

Multicultural education is a process.

Multicultural education is critical pedagogy (NIETO, 1996, pp. 307–308).

1.1. History

After the break-up of the colonial system in the 50s and 60s, the workforce has arrived in great masses to Great Britain that was unprepared to handle problems surrounding. The unpreparedness of the country has led to social, economic and political conflicts. The unpreparedness of the British education system itself has resulted in the school-failures of immigrant children. There were individual teacher initiatives in the 60s, then in the 70s and 80s, educator / professional labour organisations adopted the problem. As a result, the direction of multicultural education was set forth, with the following characteristics:

- Liberal unworldliness;
- Underlying principle: acknowledgement and acceptance of equivalence of different cultures;
- School failures of immigrant children are culture-dependent;
- Insistence on curricular changes.

After the application of ideas, some defects have come into the surface: it focuses on the problematic nature of minority groups, it has a single focus on

culture, and it wishes to reduce prejudice on individual level. To overcome the above defects, a new direction, anti-racist education, was created in the 70s and 80s. This direction emphasised the followings:

- Transformation of curricula and teaching aids;
- Transformation of school ethos;
- Increase of the racial and political identity of children;
- Reconsidering and transformation of teacher, teaching and evaluation methods.

The above two educational directions form separate parts, though can not very well distinguished between in everyday school practice. The most characteristic difference between them is in their main orientation: while the direction of multicultural education is culture-oriented, the anti-racist education thinks in terms of structural changes.

An other important state that should be mentioned when talking about the history of multicultural education is the United States of America, that has been a multiethnic society from the beginning, but the state of its minorities shows many similarities to the state of those immigrating to Western Europe. The beginnings of multicultural education are connected to the civil rights movements of the 60s. This educational direction has a wider scope than its British version, as it deals with issues concerning also low social status children, girls and the education of minority children. The following branches are distinguished between in the United States:

- Encouraging curricular transformations;
- Improving performance;
- Improving interpersonal and intergroup relationships.

1.2. Legislation and educational policy

The development and implementation of minority educational policy are influenced by the following factors:

- Characteristics of the minority (number, geographical position, social status)
- The aims of the minority (preservation of cultural identity, or assimilation)

Factors influencing the reactions of the dominant group / host country are as follows:

- National and educational policy traditions;
- Reigning ideological climate;
- International context;

- Social pressure;
- Temporary or permanent presence of the minority;
- politics, bureaucracy, democracy and professionalisation (FASE, 1994).

Multicultural educational policy can come to fruition only if the minority conceptualises an own aim in education and at the same time, the dominant group recognises the cultural and linguistic differences. The aim is the improvement of minority pupil performance and the relationship among different minorities. It covers:

- school culture
- curriculum
- teaching aids
- teaching methods
- evaluation methods.

Success of fulfilment is influenced by external and internal factors.

External factors:

- Local political and professional leadership;
- Support from the media and parents;
- Provision of financial sources and further training possibilities.
- Internal factors:
- Participating teachers' professional knowledge, personality and commitment towards the program.
- The goodwill of other teachers toward the programme.

WILLEM FASE (1994) provides a comprehensive overview of minority education policy traditions of Belgium, Great Britain, France, Germany and Holland. The following general tendencies are enlisted:

1. The domains of intervention: intercultural policies, language programmes, compensation programmes or preparatory arrangements.
2. There is a large difference in the (legal) procedures the various multicultural policies rely upon.
3. There is a large difference in the groups of actors involved in policy-making.
4. There is a large difference in the distribution of power between national and local authorities.

Central government policies can be grouped into three categories:

1. Facilitation or governing by input. Policies are based on pupil characteristics only;

2. Instrumentation or governing by curriculum rules;
3. Evaluation or governing by input.

The type of educational policies is dependent on what groups are being targeted, with what intensity and for what reasons of different aspects of multicultural policies. According to MASON (1991; Cited by FASE, 1994) while individual persons may identify themselves as ethnic group members, policy makers categorise in order to shape their multicultural policies. KLAUER (1969; Cited by FASE, 1994) mentions the following categorisation trends:

- „Colour-blind” approach: the conventional strategy to treat all pupils equal in order to arrive at equal outcomes. Egalitarian approach.
- In order to arrive at equal outcomes, there is a need to treat pupils differently. Egalitarian approach.
- Elitist or anti-egalitarian approach: unequal treatment may be inspired by a desired unequal outcome. Pluralistic approach.

On the basis of the above pluralistic \Leftrightarrow egalitarian, and low \Leftrightarrow high categorisation ideas we can distinguish between eight programmes:

1. *Mother tongue education*: clearly specifies target groups;
2. *Religious instruction*: offered for special target groups among the ethnic minority population;
3. *Preparatory classes*: well-defined groups of immigrant pupils, normally just arrived, are being offered an education that is separate from the mainstream;
4. *Bilingual education*: transitional – the first language is perceived as being instrumental to second language acquisition;
5. *Modern languages*: mother tongue education is offered for every pupil;
6. *Intercultural education*: an attempt to enlarge mutual understanding between indigenous and migrant pupils. The aim is to provide better knowledge of cultures and religions. Reduce prejudgement and prejudice. Part of it may well be language awareness;
7. *Anti-racism*: more emphasis is given to structural compared to cultural elements of teaching – recruitment of teaching staff, school organisation, community involvement;
8. *Compensation*.

2. Minority pupils

Different models were set up for the explanation of minority underachievement in education:

1. *Cultural deprivation*: cognitive deficits, personality development, motivational shortcomings;
2. *Socialisation*: family characteristics;
3. *Social capital*: the influence of social environment;
4. *Culture of poverty*: cultural patterns, inadequate habits and norms;
5. *Conflict*: struggle for social positions, social and cultural reproduction theories;
6. *National choice*: social distance, social status and educational achievement. With the same achievement level a minority person have less access;
7. *Cultural differences*: differences between school and home cultures;
8. *Social structure*: class relations, relations of dominance and expectations towards certain groups;
9. *Empowerment*: factors disabling or empowering minority pupils, instructional processes, curricula;
10. *Contact*: more contact leads to harmony and less discrimination.

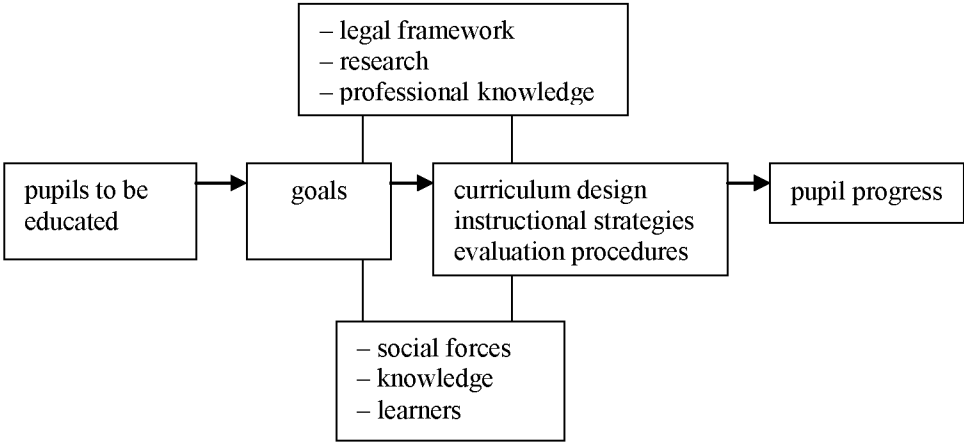
Factors contributing to underachievement are the followings:

- Stereotyped attitudes of teachers;
- Low expectations of ethnic minorities among teachers;
- The lack of relevance of the curriculum to ethnic minorities;
- Eurocentric / anglocentric curriculum;
- Biased assessment and testing procedures;
- Poor communication between school and parents;
- Racism in the educational system;
- Racial prejudice and discrimination in society at large.

The idea of changing school culture appeared in connection with the anti-racist direction. The aim is the modification of school ethos, atmosphere and the gain of essential material culture. The aim of increasing the number of minority teachers appeared in the name of cultural pluralism. Teachers of minority origin can serve as role models and can weaken the stereotype that someone with a minority origin cannot be an intellectual worker. It is also very important for schools to maintain good relationship with local communities, parents and the school should be tolerant to the customs of a community. Schools should also pay attention to different educational methods resulting from differences between boys and girls.

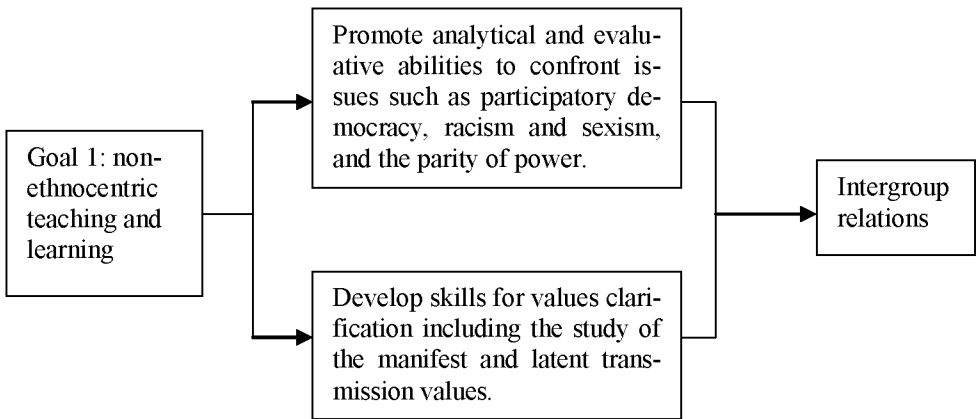
3. Instructional models

Figure 1. Model of curriculum system



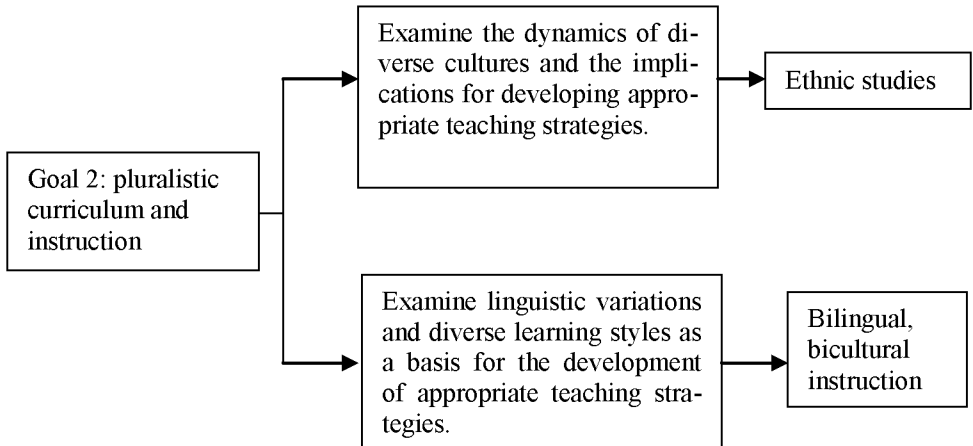
When creating multicultural educational policy, external forces like legal framework (laws, regulations, limiting decisions), the state of minority and ethnic related research and professional knowledge put limitations on what we can do. According to the model, the presence of a minority group serves as a social force, so it should be taken into account. It has cultural aspects for knowledge. The question, whose knowledge it is, arises. Perspectives of different culture orientations should be considered. Schools take knowledge from the real world and shape it into school knowledge. There is a change in the group of learners, the types we have. This way, social forces, knowledge and pupils form the context of teaching. The aim is to introduce new sets into the curriculum relating ethnic groups in some countries. The task of curriculum development is the working out of a pluralistic curriculum. According to the multicultural education direction, the teaching – learning process should not be ethnocentric. Anti-racist direction adds to it, that the curriculum should also not be racist. These two aims, and the models targeted at these aims are presented in figures 2. and 3.:

Figure 2. Goals in Multicultural education / 1.



Values classification was worked out as an instructional strategy in the 1970s. Once the values clarified then action comes and the change process can come. Pupils have to be aware of all these.

Figure 3. Goals in Multicultural education / 2.



A pluralistic curriculum cannot be based on the dominant language alone. Three models were responding to the above requirements:

3.1. Intergroup relations model

It was developed in the United States of America, in the 1940s – 1950s. It is an intercultural model, the aim of which is to foster positive behaviours between minority and majority groups in order to improve such relationships. The major concept is empathy.

Requirements: contact between groups should be:

1. sustained over a reasonable period of time;
2. planned to involve the two groups in achievement of common tasks;
3. insure equal status between the two groups.

Operational principles:

1. Every person needs to belong or have a sense of belonging to a group.
2. Ethnic groups have both similarities and differences.
3. Separated or segregated people develop myths, prejudice and stereotypes about each other.

Teaching strategies:

4. A study of ethnic groups in the community;
5. A study of family life patterns (backgrounds and experiences of minority and majority groups);
6. A study of intergroup experiences (stereotyping, ethnocentrism, prejudice, racism or discrimination);
7. A study of racism (examination of the characteristics of racist and prejudicial thinking).

3.2. Ethnic studies model

The aim is to foster increased knowledge about ethnic groups themselves.

Requirements: In the study of ethnicity, an ethnic group should be approached as a group that is:

1. organic and in the process of changing and grouping;
2. organised by a generic system of values and belief;
3. internally diverse;
4. similar and different from other groups.

Operational principles:

1. Ethnic groups have unique experiences within the larger society;
2. Ethnic groups have definable demographic characteristics;
3. Ethnic groups have elements of group homogeneity as well as heterogeneity, i.e. intergroup differences and similarities exist;

4. Ethnic groups have worldviews that can be understood through their literature, folklore, music or other humanistic forms.

Teaching strategies:

1. Ethnic studies courses for all pupils, focusing on specific ethnic groups or several ethnic groups.
2. As opposed to memorisation of dates or of popular ethnic heroes, multimedia techniques and multi-instructional patterns (peer tutoring, field trips, simulations, role-playing, etc.) are recommended.

3.3. Bilingual model

Its basis is the linguistic diversity and learning styles. The goal is to provide linguistic minority learners equitable educational benefits.

Requirements:

1. instruction should begin in the learners' native language;
2. instruction for basic literacy in the native language should precede formal instruction in the second;
3. instruction for full literacy in two languages and two cultures should be sustained until achieved. It is not a transitional model.

Operational principle:

Bilingual education is based on the assumption that optimal teaching and learning are possible when instruction is delivered in the learner's native language and culture. The bilingual component focuses on the pupil's particular ethnic group.

Teaching strategies:

1. the native language;
2. second language teaching / acquisition.

References

- BANKS, JAMES A.–CHERRY A. MCGEE BANKS. (1997). *Multicultural Education Issues and Perspectives*. 3rd ed. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon. 3–4.
- BENNETT, CHRISTINE I. (1999). *Comprehensive Multicultural Education: Theory and Practice*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon. 11.
- FASE, W. (1994). *Ethnic divisions in Western-European Education*. Waxmann.
- LESZNYÁK MÁRTA –CS. CZACHESZ ERZSÉBET (1998): *Multikulturális oktatáspolitikai koncepciók*, In: Cs. Czachesz Erzsébet (Eds.): *Multikulturális nevelés, Szöveggyűjtemény tanító- és tanárszakos hallgatók számára*. Mozaik Oktatási Stúdió, Szeged, 1998., 7–17.
- NIETO, SONIA. (1996). *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education*. 2nd ed. White Plains, NY: Longman Publishers. 307–308.
- TIEDT, PAMELA–IRIS M. TIEDT. (1999). *Multicultural Teaching: A Handbook of Activities, Information and Resources*. 5th ed. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon. 18.

Suggested literature

CS. CZACHESZ ERZSÉBET (Eds.): *Multikulturális nevelés, Szöveggyűjtemény tanító- és tanárszakos hallgatók számára*. Mozaik Oktatási Stúdió, Szeged, 1998.

Educational methods for preventing prejudice. Cooperative education (*Unique topic*)

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

The basis of this chapter is the comprehensive literature study by Horváth (1994). Teaching traditionally applied at schools comprises individual, competitive and cooperative methods. Among the three methods, cooperative education is considered to be the ideal method in classrooms which are heterogeneous in one or other respects (gender, ethnicity, social-economic status, ability levels, etc.). If the aims are the transmission and application of knowledge and principles; understanding of complex concepts; problem-solving; creativity and unusual thinking; understanding perspectives; *acceptance of social, cultural, ethnic differences; reduction of prejudice and bias*; positive attitude towards school, learning and oneself; the optimal teaching method is the cooperative method. Empathy, patience, care and self-discipline are needed for the cooperative work-model. The above prerequisites have to be mastered; it is not enough only to say: Cooperate!

1. Comparison of cooperative learning and traditional group-work

Every educator is familiar with small group-work, but its traditional form is not the same as the cooperative way. Differences between the two kinds of learning groups are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparison of the characteristics of traditional and cooperative small group-work

Cooperative groups	Traditional groups
Positive interdependence	No interdependence
Individual reporting	No individual reporting
Heterogeneous groups	Homogeneous groups
Shared leadership	One awarded leader
The task and its support is emphasised	Only the task is emphasised
Social skills are transmitted directly	Social skills are presupposed or neglected
The teacher controls and takes action	The teacher does not monitor group-work

Positive interdependence means a mutual, helping dependence on one another. Besides their own performance, group members have to monitor the performance of their group-mates as well. When creating tasks, the educator consciously builds this responsibility up. Each group member has an individual responsibility (*individual reporting*), each pupil is given a feedback on his/her own performance. The whole group knows each other's work, and know who they have to encourage. The *composition* of the cooperative learning group is *heterogeneous* in abilities and in personal characteristics. Each member is responsible for task fulfilment (*shared leadership*) and for the others' performance (*shared responsibility*), the group members support and encourage each other. The pupils concentrate on reaching maximal performance in case of all members, while keeping up a good working relationship (*the task and its support is emphasised*). Pupils also cooperate during the *acquisition of social skills* (e.g. leadership, communication, building trust, handling conflicts, etc.); the educator creates situations consciously for the acquisition of these skills. The teacher controls and takes action; organises learning situations for the groups for the sake of effective processes.

2. Effects of pupils on one another

Pupil performance is strongly influenced by pupil-pupil interaction. In case of *individualised* teaching, the individual performance of pupils is not connected to the achievement of others. As a result, pupils strive at individual performance, and do not care about the achievement of their peers. In *competitive* education pupils are separate individuals with no common aim, but a group context is essential, as competition is the comparison of individual performances, to win over, to overcome someone. This process can result in negative interdependence as well, when pupils realise, they can produce achievements if their peers perform worse or less. Pupils view school as a field where competition is possible. They work hard to be better than their peers, or they neglect work, because loosing many times results in a lack of belief in their own abilities. Competition is in our blood.

The third way is cooperative learning, the basic principles of which can be depicted in the followings:

Positive interdependence: positive mutual dependence. The results of individual pupils are useful for the rest of the group. The educator has to create situations where pupils feel they need each other to achieve results themselves, and to fulfil the tasks set in front of the group.

- a. Setting common goals – Goal interdependence: „swim or drown together”. The prerequisite of success is the acquisition of the learning material by every group member.
- b. Feeling of external threat – Crisis-interdependence: In this case competition can be useful (among groups of similar compound!!). Competition among groups strengthens cohesion within a group, but weakens solidarity among groups. This negative effect can be eliminated if we find an “external enemy” for the whole class. This enemy can be an other class, or the teacher her- or himself.
- c. Division of tasks – Task interdependence: We should strive at including each pupil in each work-phase. For example, every group member should create a group report, undersigned by each member showing, they are familiar with the content and are able to justify answers. The teacher can choose a group member at random, who has to present, he or she acquired the whole material.
- d. Division of materials, sources and information among group members – Source interdependence: Members of the group are given different parts of the materials, and they have to work together to compile the whole material.
- e. Distribution of tasks – Role interdependence: Formalised and not comparable roles should be assigned to the pupils to avoid the subordinating pyramid-type structure (leader, inferior) and get a net-type structure characteristic to cooperation. The following roles can be possible:
 - A member cumulating other members work,
 - Controller (controls if everybody mastered the material),
 - A member checking precision (corrects others’ mistakes),
 - Controller of presentation/working,
 - Researcher - courier (gets materials, consults with the teacher),
 - Keeper of the minutes,
 - Advisor,
 - Monitor,
 - Other: reader, notary, tender, encourager, praise, watcher of noise level, summariser, asks for help, time keeper, questioning person.
- f. Common acknowledgement, award – Award interdependence: The best way of applying it is when whole groups are acknowledged. For example, the teacher can ask the pupils individually and give them premium points according to the number of group members reaching the previously set criteria.

3. The teacher's role in cooperative learning

Decision-making

- Setting goals – setting the subject matter goal and the level of cooperation to be reached.
- Defining the size of the group – the optimal number is 2–6.
- The distribution of pupils into groups
 - Random group – for example, the teacher distributes cards among the pupils, and those who have cards of the same sign will belong to one group.
 - Based on sympathy – the teacher makes the pupils write a list on who they would welcome in a group, then creates groups in a way, that each contains at least one member preferred by an other member.
 - Based on ability levels – heterogeneity plays a very important part: the same group should contain excellent, medium and weaker ability level pupils, representatives of different ethnic groups, or girls and boys as well.
 - To prevent marginal status – the formation of special groups is needed: we should look for marginal pupils and form groups of skilful and helpful members around them.
- Planning the activity – the most difficult task of teachers is to choose exercises suitable for cooperative work.
- Planning the evaluation method – a criterion-oriented evaluation method should be used; in which teachers have to define the criteria that make the completion of a task successful (acquisition of the learning material is only one element in it).
- Defining the desired forms of behaviour – the teacher should encourage everybody for participation, and should criticise ideas and not individuals.

Monitoring, intervention

- Monitoring pupils' behaviour – if possible, the teacher should use a prepared form where she/he can record cases of proper forms of behaviour. Only one group should be monitored at a time. Pupils can monitor oneself as well, with the help of a self-evaluation form.
- Intervention to group dynamics – teachers should intervene only if it is necessary. For example when she/he recognises, that the individual pupils do not possess skills essential for cooperative work, or if there is a lack of cooperation in the group.

- Closing the task – after finishing the task pupils should summarise what was achieved. The teacher him- or herself can also summarise. The most successful is when a certain product is created. In case of project type tasks the product can be an album, a book, an exhibition, a tabloid, a programme, a lecture, etc.

Evaluation of the process

- Measuring pupils' achievement – achievement measurement contains the evaluation of knowledge and expected forms of behaviour. Only those, who achieve good results in both respects, can show an excellent performance.
- Measuring group work – it is a very important task. The evaluation of group work serves the quality improvement of cooperative work.

References

HORVÁTH ATTILA (1994): *Kooperatív technikák. Hatékonyság a nevelésben.* (Cooperative techniques. Effectiveness in education.) OKI Iskolafejlesztési központ, Budapest

Curriculum and teaching aids (*Unique topic*)

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

We discuss the questions of curriculum and teaching aids with the help of a literature review created by LESZNYÁK and CZACHESZ (1998), also using some extra information. Curricular transformations and the working out of teaching aids and methods related to them form an important part of Multicultural education. These questions need to be discussed, as there are a lot of misconceptions and wrong information on minorities in the curriculum. With the help of proper information, prejudice can be reduced and as a result, the self-concept of minority pupils will improve. BANKS (1999) summarises the following curriculum development paradigms:

- *The Contributions Approach*: This approach reflects the least amount of involvement in multicultural education approaches. Selecting books and activities that celebrate holidays, heroes, and special events from various cultures incorporates this. This way minorities are judged different from the normal; they are viewed as of secondary importance and exotic.
- *The Additive Approach*: In this approach content, concepts, themes, and perspectives are added to the curriculum without changing its basic structure. This involves incorporating literature by and about people from diverse cultures into the mainstream curriculum without changing the curriculum. Concepts, problems, social and political issues concerning minorities are also addressed.
- *The Transformation Approach*: This approach actually changes the structure of the curriculum and encourages pupils to view concepts, issues, themes, and problems from several ethnic perspectives and points of view.
- *The Social Action Approach*: This approach combines the transformation approach with activities to strive for social change. Pupils are not only instructed to understand and question social issues, but to also do something important about it. Pupils should be able to make proper social decisions and act according to the values of pluralism.

BANKS (1993) talks about curriculum development paradigms according to a wider division as well:

- *Ethnic additive paradigm*: teaching about ethnic heroes and celebration of ethnic holidays. These are included in the curriculum because teachers have only a little knowledge of the given ethnic groups.
- *Self-concept development paradigm*: the aim is to raise the self-concepts of ethnic minority youths and to increase racial pride.
- *Cultural deprivation paradigm*: the major goal of school programmes is to compensate for the cognitive and intellectual deficits of minorities (cultural deprivation comes because: lower-class, poverty, lack of effective concept acquisition, cultural and intellectual deficits).
- *Language paradigm*: views the problems as resulting primarily from language or dialect differences.
- *Racism paradigm*: institutional racism is the only or most important cause of the problems. To implement educational programmes that help all pupils attain educational equality, teachers must understand how culture affects the lives of their pupils as well as how racism and culture interact to cause educational problems for many ethnic minority pupils. The curriculum should also help pupils to view concepts, events and issues from diverse ethnic and cultural perspectives. For teachers to become mediators it is important to come to grips with their own personal and cultural values and identities.
- *Radical paradigm*: the aim is to develop increasingly high levels of cross-cultural competency. It assumes that the school is part of the problem and plays a key role in keeping ethnic groups oppressed. A primary role of the school is to reproduce the social-class structures of society rather than on the characteristics of minority pupils and cultural differences.
- *Genetic paradigm*: the failure of ethnic groups in school and in society is due to their own inherited or socialised characteristics.
- *Cultural pluralism paradigm*: the major goal of the school should be to help pupils develop commitments and attachments to their ethnic group so that they can participate in its liberation.
- *Cultural difference paradigm*: the school should modify the educational environment in order to make it more consistent with the cultures of ethnic minority youths.
- *Assimilationist paradigm*: pupils should learn the skills needed to become effective citizens of the nation state and from developing strong national loyalties.

- *Holistic paradigm*: it is conceptualised as a need that should guide educational reform. It conceptualises the school as an interrelated whole.

The task of teaching aids is to reflect changes in the curriculum, and to provide an objective picture on different cultures. There are several bias in the curricula, however. (GOLLNICK and CHINN, 1986; cited by LESZNYÁK and CZACHESZ, 1998):

- omission (leaving out certain cultures; insignificant extent of representation);
- stereotyping;
- selectivity and imbalance (viewpoint of the majority rules);
- unrealistic information (due mainly to wrong information);
- fragmentation and isolation (attachment without integration, for example in a supplement);
- linguistic discrimination (preference of majority language, inequality of genders (e.g. in English language)).

Teaching and evaluation methods also greatly influence classroom processes and the learning experiences minority pupils gain. Teachers are apt to discriminate. Discriminative actions may include when minority pupils or girls are called less during lessons, or when the teacher does not pay as much attention to them as he/she does to majority pupils or to boys. Stereotypes, prejudice and pigeonholing by teachers play part also during informal evaluation of pupils. In addition, academic tests do not take the different culture-specific learning experiences of pupils into account (different language, wording, content, task type).

What happens in classrooms: the hidden curriculum

HERNÁNDEZ (1989) summarises well the processes underlying teaching and education at schools. There are two interrelated curricula at classrooms: a) *invisible curriculum*, hidden in the interactional, social, management and organisational aspects of classroom life b) *visible curriculum*, transmitted through the formal structure of academic content, planned learning experiences and instructional materials. These two establish the essence of schools.

Classrooms

Classrooms are socially and culturally organised learning environments (ERICKSON, 1986; cited by HERNANDEZ, 1989). In a pluralistic classroom much awareness should be placed on the hidden curriculum, which focuses on the tacit values, attitudes, and unofficial rules of behaviour pupils must learn to participate and succeed in school. The hidden curriculum is influenced for example by the

effect of ethnicity, social-economic status, gender and other culture-related factors to classroom processes and to one another.

1. Teacher expectations

Teachers' expectations influence pupils' performance and participation in the class's work, and their social competence. There are certain aspects in which teacher behaviour indicates a discriminatory attitude towards his/her pupils. These are as follows:

- Location of pupil seating;
- Amount of attention directed toward pupils (e.g. smiles, eye-contact).
- Opportunities given to pupils to participate;
- Amount of wait-time allowed for pupil responses;
- Frequency of clues, prompts, and follow-up questions in problem situations;
- Amount of praise and criticism;
- Frequency and detail of teacher feedback;
- Amount of effort demanded and expectation of task completion;
- Frequency and nature of interruptions.

Sociocultural factors, like clothing, language, cleanliness, and family background can influence teacher expectations. Such influences tend to work to the disadvantage of pupils from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and those speaking minority languages or non-standard dialects of English. This level of influence on expectations (can) result in discriminative behaviours, that enlarges ability- and information differences already existing at the beginning of schooling.

2. Effects of cultural differences

Different rules are governing interaction between individuals in case of different cultures. This may cause problems for pupils when classroom interactional patterns are not consistent or compatible with those that children experience in their homes and community. Such interactional factors could be:

- *Tempo* - e.g. how quickly teacher and pupils interact;
- *Management* – e.g. how teachers control and monitor behaviour, what kinds of behaviours are used to intervene, how teachers define what constitutes paying attention, how the attention is focused, how much time is given for pupil response);
- *Organisation of pupils* – e.g. *whole class, small groups, group project, one-on-one with the teacher*);

- *Participation* – e.g. frequency of volunteering and responding, willingness to interrupt other speakers).

In their interactions with pupils, teachers should aim to maintain the integrity of the home culture while respecting the demands of the school. Classrooms are complex communicative environments. Classroom interaction has several important elements:

- Communication between teachers and pupils and among peers;
- The construction of contexts and meanings;
- Levels of pupil participation;
- Evaluation of pupil ability.

The cultural background that pupils bring to the classroom can influence their interpretation of and response to each of these elements.

3. Patterns of differential treatment

The experiences of pupils in the same classroom can differ significantly. Variations in teacher – pupil interactional patterns have been associated with gender, ethnicity and achievement level. In many cases, teachers act without conscious awareness. The best tactic to overcome differential treatment is to be aware of and to monitor interactional patterns in classrooms. Observations can be made on the frequency or quality of interactions, for example. The following steps are needed for this:

1. Decision on the type of interaction information the teacher wants to collect (e.g. treatment of boys and girls, questioning strategies, teacher feedback to pupil contributions);
2. Selection of an observation technique;
3. Decision on how to collect the information needed.

3.1. Social context dimension

Language attitudes

Language attitudes are feelings, beliefs and values associated with one's own language and/or dialect and those spoken by others. These can influence perceptions regarding the social identity, status and ability of the speakers of a given language. Speech is one of the most effective instruments for maintaining a given social order (see *My Fair Lady*). Language attitudes appear in classrooms as well, and teachers' first impressions are often based on language use.

Pupil status

Peer status at all grade level is associated with characteristics like athletic ability, attractiveness, popularity, and social distinctions related to class, race, ethnicity, exceptionality and sex. In general, the higher the status of pupils, the higher the expectations of them, and vice versa. Teachers can modify expectations in multiethnic classrooms, through:

- Positive evaluations of pupil competence;
- The presence of individuals with different ethnic and cultural characteristics in positions of high status and authority (e.g. teachers);
- Creation of cooperative group activities.

3.2. Instructional (ability) grouping

Instructional grouping is done mostly according to pupil abilities. Pupils in low groups generally have quantitatively fewer and qualitatively inferior opportunities to learn than those in higher status. Significant differences can be in pupil social status within and between different tracks and ability levels. Grouping defines pupil status within classrooms and the school. Instructional grouping usually hinders learning and academic achievement among pupils assigned to low groups. In these groups pupils can experience a lowering of self-esteem and changes in attitudes toward school. Research evidence suggests, that homogeneous grouping increases social-class differences, whereas heterogeneous grouping appears to reduce them. Negative effects can be counteracted if the teachers:

- Provide constancy in the quality of instruction across levels;
- Examine the mode of instruction and learning climate within levels;
- Ensure access to pupils in low-ability groups to quality instruction and “high-status knowledge”;
- Avoid labelling;
- Allow for mobility across groups;
- Consider status effects in assigning peer groups; and
- Set up cooperative learning groups and ensure tutoring.

3.3. Management dimension

The following factors belong to this dimension:

- *Content* – subject-specific knowledge, attitudes and skills;
- *Instructional strategies* – teacher repertoires of instructional and management methods and techniques;
- *Instructional settings* – teaching contexts or groupings;

- *Pupil behaviours* – individual abilities to manage and control learning and control in diverse situations, activities and groups.

It's important to note, that the modification of one element can result in a reciprocal effect on the other elements. For example, the modification of group size and compound can influence strategy choice and pupil behaviour.

There are special techniques that are helpful in adapting curriculum to meet pupil needs:

- Provide alternative modes of response (oral rather than written; visual or graphic rather than verbal);
- Shorten assignments by abbreviating the task given or dividing more complex tasks into segments;
- Ensure that pupils experience success and develop self-confidence by initially assigning relatively easy tasks or assignments;
- Incorporate pupil input in curricular planning;
- Let pupils choose among alternative activities and assignments;
- Modify the presentation of abstract concepts by using concrete learning activities (e.g. visual aids);
- Select written texts appropriate for the reading level of pupils, and/or provide first language materials for those who need it;
- Use clues and prompts to assist pupils working on assignments;
- Establish academic and behavioural expectations.

Positive reinforcement is of primary importance; also using non-verbal signals and cues is important, though one must take care of its culture-sensitive nature. Pupils should be made aware of the fact, that they are responsible for their own performance and acts.

3.4. Organisational dimension

This dimension refers to how teachers organise pupils for instruction – the social structure they create, the social relationships and academic outcomes they produce. Classroom organisation can be competitive, cooperative and individualistic. Ethnic minority pupils generally perform better in cooperative than in traditional classrooms.

References

- BANKS, C.–BANKS, J. (1993): *Multicultural Education*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- BANKS, J.A. (1999): *An Introduction to Multicultural Education* (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- HERNÁNDEZ, H. (1989): *Multicultural education: A teaching guide to Content and Process*. Columbus: Merrill Pc.
- LESZNYÁK MÁRTA–CS. CZACHESZ ERZSÉBET: *Multikulturális oktatáspolitikai koncepciók*, In. Cs. Czachesz Erzsébet (eds.): *Multikulturális nevelés, Szöveggyűjtemény tanító- és tanárszakos hallgatók számára*. Mozaik Oktatási Stúdió, Szeged, 1998., 7-17.

Suggested literature

- CS. CZACHESZ ERZSÉBET (eds.): *Multikulturális nevelés, Szöveggyűjtemény tanító- és tanárszakos hallgatók számára*. Mozaik Oktatási Stúdió, Szeged, 1998.

The state of multicultural / minority education in the partner countries **– Hungary** (*Unique topic*)

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

The summary is based on the report created by the Prime Minister's Office in 1999.

1. General backgrounds and objectives of minority education in Hungary

The distinctive objective of minority education is to preserve and manifest the identity of the various minorities, for which it strives to

- promote the learning of the native language of the minority as it is spoken, written and generally used at an educated level,
- present and preserve folk-poetry, music, arts, customs and traditions,
- further the knowledge of historical heritage, the culture, and the national and ethnographic characteristics of the mother country,
- encourage tolerance, understanding and respect for difference by emphasizing the values of the various cultures,
- provide instruction on the life, culture and history of the mother country,
- provide assistance for the social improvement and integration of the Gypsy population.

In minority schools the minority native language and literature is to be taught in the proper native language, on the basis of a special program approved by the Minister of Education, while the Hungarian language and literature need to be taught as a foreign language according to the instructions set forth in the National Curriculum.

Presently, the following types of minority educational institutions operate in Hungary:

- *Native language pre-school or school* means an institution in which education is provided in the native language of the children or students attending. Apart from Hungarian language and literature, all subject in these institutions are taught in the native language of the minority.

- In *bilingual institutions* education is provided in two languages in terms of pre-schools, and subject other than the language of the respective minority are also taught in the language spoken by the minority.
- *Special education programs* for the academic improvement of Gypsies are designed to ensure equal opportunities for children and students of Gypsy origin in further studies. The program also offers minority studies for the various minorities.

The majority of minority self-governments do not have their own educational institutions; rather they have the power to influence decisions, through exercising their right of consent and consultation, related to the education of minorities in institutions operated by the local governments. Practically all parties involved in the education of minorities (teachers, students, parents, representatives of local governments and minority self-governments) have relatively little information and knowledge on how to organize the local education scheme, and what role should apply to each and every one of them.

2. Education of minority groups

There is a twelve-year school and pre-school for ethnic *Bulgarians* that was financed primarily by the Bulgarian Government. The number of students fluctuates between 100–120 per school year.

A representative survey conducted in 1971 among the Hungarian *Gypsy* population revealed that 26 per cent of the Gypsies, 25–29 years of age at that time, have completed the eight-year primary school. By 1993 this ratio went up to 77 per cent concerning the ethnic Gypsies of the same age group, which represents a substantial improvement between 1970 and 1994 in terms of basic education. In the 1997/98 school year, 10,027 children from the Gypsy population received minority pre-school instruction. The number of students attending special school programs for the academic improvement of Gypsies was 40,013. It is also evident that, in terms of further education and dropout opportunities in higher education, the gap between Gypsies and non-Gypsies have widened for the detriment of Gypsy students. This gap is particularly wide in secondary and higher education institutions. Failing to succeed in school and dropping out early primarily stem from socio-cultural reasons. The school system is bound to face a large number of problems reaching far beyond public education issues as far as the Gypsy population is concerned. Education plays a fundamental role in changing the social position of people of Gypsy origin.

The *Greek* language is taught in minority primary schools in the village of Beloiannis, in Budapest, Miskolc, Tatabánya, Sopron and in Szeged. In the 1997/98 school year 157 students were attending Greek minority education classes.

In Hungary, *Croatian* minority language training is offered in close to 40 pre-schools and primary schools, with another seven bilingual primary schools and language schools operating around the country. Secondary education in the Croatian language is provided in the schools, in Budapest and in Pécs, for a total of 214 students. The number of native language Croatian pre-school groups is 15 (335 children), with another 114 groups (1.250 children) studying the Croatian language with the help of 97 pre-school teachers.

The first permanent *Polish* Sunday-school was established in 1922. During World War II, Hungary had 27 Polish primary schools and a Polish High School and Lyceum, being the only one in Europe. The Sándor Petőfi Elementary School and Lyceum opened in 1978, next to the Polish Embassy in Budapest, using the curriculum prevailing in Poland. In addition to the above, the national Polish self-government and the József Bem Society of Hungary operate 19 Sunday-schools to teach Polish language and literature and minority studies to Polish children living in Hungary.

In respect of the *German* minority in Hungary minority educational institutions, regrettably, failed to provide appropriate assistance during recent decades for students to master their native language. The language skills of these graduates remain far beyond, by comparison, to the natural bi- and multi-lingual ability characteristic to their grandparents. Latest statistical figures available show that in the 1997/98 school year 13.802 children were enrolled in German speaking pre-schools. There were 40 pre-school groups, hosting 942 children, learning in the German language. Presently, there are nine secondary schools, either independent or having minority faculty, and eight institutions of higher education offering diplomas in German Studies and Pedagogy. Substantial improvements took place in 1995 in terms of German secondary education: school projects were completed in Baja and Pécs, and a new dormitory was built in Budapest, all with support from the German Government and from German foundations.

The *Armenian* minority has no educational institutions, however Armenian self-governments are engaged in organizing language courses in several locations.

There are Romanian minority institutions in various districts of the Hungarian school system, and Romanian minority education is provided in all levels of public education. Romanian minority education is provided in 11 Hungarian settlements: in 12 pre-schools, 11 primary schools and in an independent Romanian secondary school. At this time 1.770 children receive Romanian

minority pre-school and school education with 97 teachers. There are 106 school and pre-school groups in total. Hungarian Romanians have a relatively large number, notable seven, of minority primary schools (Battonya, Bedő, Elek, Kétegyháza, Gyula, Méhkerék, Pusztatötlaka). Teaching is done in both the Romanian and the Hungarian languages. Pre-school teachers for the Romanian minority are trained in Szarvas, while teachers are trained in Békéscsaba, Szeged and Budapest.

As of the 1995/96 school year, *Ruthenian* language courses began in the primary school of Mucsony with 18 students. By last year the number of students attending Ruthenian language training education increased to 64, and a Sunday-school for Ruthenians was commenced in Budapest.

A church-sponsored network of schools up until 1948 provided native language education of the *Serbian* minority in Hungary. Today, pre-school instruction is provided in 11 settlements on the basis of Serbian minority programs, while school education is provided in 13 settlements using the same program, including 4 independent educational institutions teaching in the Serbian language or offering bilingual education (the first four years of primary education in Lórév and Deszk, and full primary course in Budapest and Battonya). There is a Serb-language gymnasium in Budapest. The building complex of the Serbian Pre-school, Primary School, Gymnasium and Dormitory, the largest Serbian educational institution in Hungary, was renovated and expanded in 1996/97 using state funds. During the past three years the schools in Battonya, Lórév and Deszk were also renovated and expanded. Presently, Serbian language teachers for secondary schools are trained in the Slavic Faculties of the University of Szeged and of the Loránd Eötvös University of Sciences of Budapest. The Serbian teachers faculty was inaugurated in 1997/98 in the Teacher's College of Budapest.

In Hungarian territory, as it stands today, there were no education in the *Slovakian* language by uniform standards prior to 1945. Between 1948 and 1958, there were 19 pre-schools and 6 schools created, all teaching in the Slovakian language. In the 1958/59 school year, Slovakian language was taught in 112 schools as an independent subject. Secondary education was provided in the Slovakian Teacher's School in Budapest and a high school in Békéscsaba. In the 1997/98 pre-school season 2,989 children in 106 groups were receiving education in the Slovakian language. The number of Pre-school teachers in 1998 was 150. Higher education for ethnic Slovaks is provided in colleges and in universities. Pre-school teachers are trained in the Pre-school Teacher's College of Szarvas and in the János Vitéz Teacher's College of Esztergom. Diplomas for primary school teachers may be obtained in the Gyula Juhász Teacher's training Faculty of the

University of Szeged. Teachers are trained in the János Vitéz Teacher's College of Esztergom and in the Csoma Kőrösi Teacher's College of Békéscsaba. Secondary school teachers for Slovakian education are trained in the Faculty of Human Sciences of Loránd Eötvös University of Sciences in Budapest and in the Péter Pázmány Catholic University. Slovakian schools in Hungary are receiving visiting teachers arriving from Slovakia since 1989.

There are five pre-schools to provide native language education for the *Slovenian* minority in Hungary, and a total of 132 students are studying the Slovenian language in primary schools, with 12 teachers participating. The number of students is continuously dropping, primarily due to demographic fluctuation. Secondary education is provided in the Mihály Vörösmarty Gymnasium in Szentgotthárd for 1–4 students within a school year. A degree in higher education may be obtained in the Teacher's College of Szombathely, or in the mother country. Two or three students a year opt to continue their studies in Slovenia.

The *Ukrainian* minority in Hungary operates one Sunday-school. The György Bessenyei Teacher's College of Nyíregyháza and the Faculty of Human Sciences of the University of Szeged both have a Ukrainian language and literature faculty. The Faculty of Human Sciences of the Loránd Eötvös University of Sciences of Budapest operates an Institute of Slavic Philology, which maintains a department for Ukrainian language and literature.

The independent minority education system has become stronger in recent years (Bulgarian Cultural Centre, Slovakian Cultural Centre, National Gypsy Information and Cultural Centre, and Slovenian Cultural and Information Centre). The National Serbian Self-Government also functions as a national cultural centre for the Serbian minority. A network of native language research institutes is currently being developed (Bulgarian, Gypsy, Croatian, German, Romanian, Ruthenian, Slovakian, and Ukrainian). The minority research institutes are operated by either the national self-governments (Gypsy and Bulgarian) or national non-government organizations (Slovakian, Romanian, Ruthenian, and Ukrainian), or they were incorporated into universities (Croatian and German). Research is also conducted within the framework of the Serbian Orthodox Church Art and Academic Collection in Szentendre. Moreover, the National Serbian Self-Government organizes social science research in connection with Hungarian Serbians in cooperation with academic institutions in the mother country.

References

Government Resolution 2023/1999 (II. 12.) On the Report of the Republic of Hungary. Implementation of the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Report of the Republic of Hungary. Budapest, January, 1999.

The state of multicultural / minority education in the partner countries. Ethnic diversity in the Portuguese education system
(Unique topic)

Carlos Cardoso (Portugal)

1. Ethnic Minority Children in the Education System: Some Statistics

The number of children of ethnic and cultural minority origin in compulsory schooling (1st – 9th level/6 – 15 years) in Portugal is not particularly significant. The following table shows the comparative evolution (1993/94 – 1997/98) in the number of these pupils. In 1997/98, around 50% of these pupils were attending primary school (1st – 4th level/6 – 10 years). If we bear in mind that in 1990/91 there were 25.646 pupils, we can see that the number of children of minority origin in primary school almost doubled between 1990 and 1997.

Table 1: Evolution in number of pupils of minority origin in compulsory schooling (Source: *Entreculturas*)

	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98
<i>Total pupils</i>	1452074	1423173	1349681	1333035	1299305
<i>Pupils of Minority Origin</i>	75058 (5,2%)	93668 (6,6%)	97957 (7,3%)	90731 (6,8%)	92144 (7,1%)

Although data for the period 1998–2002 has not yet been collated and systematized by the authorities, it is assumed that numbers will have increased during that period, albeit at a slower rate.

Table 2 shows, for 1997/98, the distribution by country of origin of pupils from ethnic minorities and other cultures.

[Table 2: Pupils of non-Portuguese cultures in basic education /Source: *Entreculturas*)

(*) Children and young people born abroad to Portuguese emigrants who returned to Portugal.]

<i>National+Cultural Origin</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>National+Cultural Origin</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>National+Cultural Origin</i>	<i>Number</i>
Cape Verde	12410	St. Thomas & Prince	2136	Ex-emigrants*	25101
Angola	14150	Timor	329	India & Pakistan	1165
Moçambique	4377	Brazil	3542	Other origins	9577
Guinea-Bissau	3156	Macau	245		
Gypsies	5930	European Union	10026	Total	92144

2. Educational Policy Responses to Ethnic Diversity in Schools

The process of consolidation of a multicultural orientation in the Portuguese educational system has been gradual and has, to date, taken place in four phases.

2.1. Educational Reform (1986–1991) and Multicultural Education

Analysis of the early official documents on which the initial phase of educational reform (1986) was based, shows that multiculturalism *per se* did not figure in the intentions of the politicians and educational planners responsible. It is only since the late 80s that multicultural education has appeared in the discourse of various sectors of the education system in Portugal, i.e. policy makers, teachers and researchers, and only in 1991 were the first multiculturally-oriented legislative measures passed. The immediate explanation for this delay has to do with the recent past of the education system, which has clung to ideological influences and scales of priorities inherited from 50 years of dictatorship and colonialism. However, the preparation of the comprehensive reform of the education system took place during a phase in which the need for the inclusion of a multicultural dimension was already making itself felt. Indeed, throughout the above period, and up until the 1986 Education Act was passed, ethnic and demographic changes in Portuguese society were already evident. The consequences of decolonisation, for example, were already clear: immigration from the PALOP countries had intensified and one result of this was an increase in the numbers of African-origin children in the education system. Such changes were a clear invitation for the introduction of multiculturalism in the reform process. However it was ignored by the documents, which formed the groundwork for the educational reform.

The absence of multiculturalism until 1991 also lies in the difficulties encountered in making diversity and pluralism compatible with a process aimed at consolidating mass education. The educational reform launched in 1986 aimed at establishing mass education in Portugal just as other developed countries had done in the 1960s. This was a democratic reform in the sense that the State sought to establish a real equality of access to school for all children aged between 6 and 15 years. The prominence given to the consolidation of mass education, mainly in its quantitative dimension, left little time or space for the recognition of social and cultural diversity which the democratisation of the educational system inevitably implied.

2.2. Beginning of the institutionalisation of Multicultural Education in Portugal (1991–1995)

The first political initiatives on multiculturalism did not occur until six years after the publication of the Education Act, and appeared in response to the emergence of racist extremism and the increased globalisation of international relations, which were intensified with Portugal's membership of the EU. There simultaneously occurred an increase in immigration from Africa which, for the first time in history, confronted Portugal with significant cultural diversity on its "own patch" (European Portugal) and the need to share and rethink human unity in such a context.

This led, in 1991, to the setting up, in the offices of the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Education, the Secretariat for the Coordination of Multicultural Education Programmes (SCOPREM). Its mission is to promote multicultural education projects in schools, giving support in the areas of curricular management, teaching materials and in-service training for teachers. That year, around 30 projects were launched in schools with a higher concentration of pupils belonging to ethnic minorities. This group of schools formed the nucleus of a multicultural dynamic that would spread to other schools. By 1995, some 80 schools in the Greater Lisbon and Oporto areas would be involved in projects of a similar nature.

2.3. Consolidation of multicultural philosophy and practices in schools with broad ethnic diversity

Since 1995, multiculturalism has become a central issue in Portuguese primary education, although many schools continue not to include it in their projects. In the Greater Lisbon and Greater Oporto areas, most schools recognize that they are multicultural. However, few have actually put multicultural practices in place. It is in these that it was possible to identify the following stages of development and resistance:

1. *Diversity was originally associated with conflict, problems with class control, as ethnic and social diversity in schools increased. Multicultural responses arose as a way of solving or attenuating these problems.*
2. *Multicultural practices were originally focused exclusively on occasional activities involving the sharing of aspects of minority cultures. Gradually, in some schools, the multicultural dimension came to be a constant feature of the curriculum.*

3. *Projects have been ongoing over the years.* Furthermore, they are progressive and evolutionary, anticipating new and broader implications for the school and the curriculum.
4. *Projects increasingly permeate the whole school life.* Apart from its continuity, the multicultural, anti-discrimination dimension is gradually permeating the whole curriculum and the whole school ethos.
5. *Projects are undertaken institutionally.* They are part of the school policy, and the school is committed to an increasingly multicultural orientation.
6. *The transformation process has been slow.* There is always fierce resistance, due to the different sensibilities and ideological convictions of those involved, especially the teachers. For those who are used to monocultural classes, being confronted with pupils who are *different* can generate more or less ethnocentric reactions, and diversity in the classroom tends to represent a factor that challenges their usual pedagogic strategies and discipline techniques.
7. *Increasing community participation* has been a feature of those schools that have espoused multicultural orientations.

2.4. Recent Evolution of Multiculturalism in the Portuguese Educational System

The beginning of 2001 saw the publication of the Curricular Amendment, the aim of which was to adapt the national basic education curriculum to changes taking place in Portuguese society since the Reform of the Education System (1986). The increasing diversity in Portuguese society and schools is central to all the proposed curricular changes, which advocate changes in teaching practice in line with multicultural education. It challenges teachers to concentrate on processes and to view their activity not only in terms of immediate cognitive and socio-affective targets, but also, and above all, in terms of the skills required to perform social functions in a democracy. In the end, these skills anticipate the essential features of a citizen in a society – local, national or global – *increasingly characterized by diversity*.

3. Teacher Training and Research on Multicultural Education

Until 1991, there were no specific teachers training courses on offer for multicultural education. Since that time, mainly thanks to the launching of the national project for multicultural education (Entreculturas), there have been some advances, especially in the field of in-service teacher training.

The teacher training colleges – universities and polytechnics – were initially reluctant to include the multicultural dimension in their curricula. Those that did were located in areas heavily populated by minorities, and were accordingly petitioned to do so. The fact that multicultural education did not exist in Portugal and was not considered, at the beginning of the reform, to be a political priority, affected the way training colleges perceived the problem and invested (or failed to invest) in multicultural education. The lack of trainers with the requisite training, sensitivity and ideological convictions, together with the persistence of traditional models of teacher training and the absence of research in support of the multicultural debate in Portugal, completed this initial scenario.

Since that time, considerable though insufficient advances have been made. Some training colleges either include components dealing with multicultural education in their curricula, especially on post-graduate or specialized courses, or incorporate the same concern in broader objectives aimed at educating for citizenship or personal and social training. There are already cases of colleges in which this dimension, on a par with others, is included through a cross-curricular approach, based on the view that diversity is a constant reference in the training of all teachers, and one that should be present in all the components of the curriculum. What remains to be evaluated, however, is the efficacy of these components. Are they the result of a process that has been thought through and based on a firm ideological training philosophy, taught by qualified trainers with the right intercultural perspectives - or are they simply the result of pressure to deal with this dimension in teacher training?

In the sphere of research on diversity in education, there is a proliferation of master's and doctorate theses, as well as projects either completed or under way.

In spite of these developments in the domain of teacher training and research, what seems to be lacking is a systematic inventory of the progress made, and a confrontation and debate of the different perspectives, orientations and acquired knowledge. What is also required is an analysis of the true effect of this training of teachers, especially on the learning outcomes of pupils in situations of diversity.

The state of multicultural / minority education in the partner countries

– Austria

(Unique topic)

Martin Bolz (Austria)

1. Multicultural Classes

There is scarcely an educational sphere which is so suited to serve as a test case for quality development in education as the work done in and with multicultural classes.

Originally, the aftermath of the ideas of a nation-state, which gained ground in consequence of the events of 1848, and the emergence of industrialisation, which brought a migration movement in Europe in its wake, was economic migration! When new national borders were drawn up after the 1st World War these shifts in population were hampered, but the Yalta agreements in 1945 also merely attempted to reorganise the political powers and after their virtual annulment in our times they have created an “unsettled” situation again.

The migration movements which then came into being as a result of and after the 2nd World War are ongoing and intensifying. The initially relatively welcome phenomenon of mass migration to the industrial nations gave way to increasing tides of refugees fleeing from oppressive political and military circumstances which resulted in an increase in the number of migrants. The pressure to migrate caused by overpopulation in the so-called poor countries is now responsible for global shifts in population.

At the centre of this movement of people, which is by no means over yet, there are European sovereign States that have formed European alliances which on the one hand, largely endeavour to suppress the influx of immigrants through treaty articles, but which on the other hand, (have to) recognise that the means for solving social issues – and as a result migration issues – are to be found in their school systems.

2. The Term Multiculturalism

European educationalists are monoculturally oriented – this fact is apparent simply from reading the various standards for the education documents – though there are tiny flaws. Monoculturalism is to all intents and purposes a creation

which derives from constitutions and which can be moulded to fit school regulations, but distinctions have always been made between regional characteristics, different backgrounds and different dialects in the everyday world of school. Hence, multiculturalism is not a determinant of the relationship between “us” and “them”, but is a key to understanding present-day nation states.

For this reason multiculturalism is the norm and this fact is worthy of consideration in a school system that is steeped in regionalism; to begin with vis-à-vis autochthonous cultures and ethnicities, and then also vis-à-vis new arrivals. Multiculturalism thus implies a bi-directional focus on “them” and “us”. Teachers can contribute a great deal to this mission by reflecting on attitudes, views and values and by implementing supportive measures, but they cannot do so unaided.

3. The Organisational Framework: School

From the perspective of the teaching profession, the school as the organisational framework and the classroom as the disciplinary framework are evidently a matter of importance. This disciplinary framework which is meant to allow and facilitate working and living together within the confines of the classroom either permits differences to be seen and tolerated or homogeneity to be generated. The disciplinary framework may thus at least impede or even directly suppress deeper reflection on the subject of multiculturalism. However, the conventional mechanisms of segregation may also be having an effect at the same time in that pupils who have done badly at school repeat the year or are transferred to special schools, but the problem is not seen to lie in the parameters for these decisions. Assessment is to all intents and purposes based purely on performance but in contrast to this, those pupils who attend special schools or pupils who repeat a year are particularly represented by a disproportionately high number of children with a different mother tongue. An additional segregation mechanism still exists in broad areas of religious instruction where ethnic and religious affiliations are identical and for this reason it is customary to allow these pupils to participate in instruction in their own religion, if the timetable allows, or in no religious instruction at all. The connection between religious affiliation and culturalism points to a field to which educationalists have paid scant attention. “We understand ‘culture’ to mean social life and behaviour as an entity, to the extent that it is characterised by the use by humans of symbols and reproduced by symbolic communication. What we refer to as “culture” is the byword for those social areas whose guiding principles are language and expressive behaviour.” (EKD-Papier, 3.1 [Evangelical Church of Germany Paper, 3.1]. The acid test for quality standards in multicultural classes and schools is the imparting of language.

4. Improvement of quality in classes with children from ethnic minorities

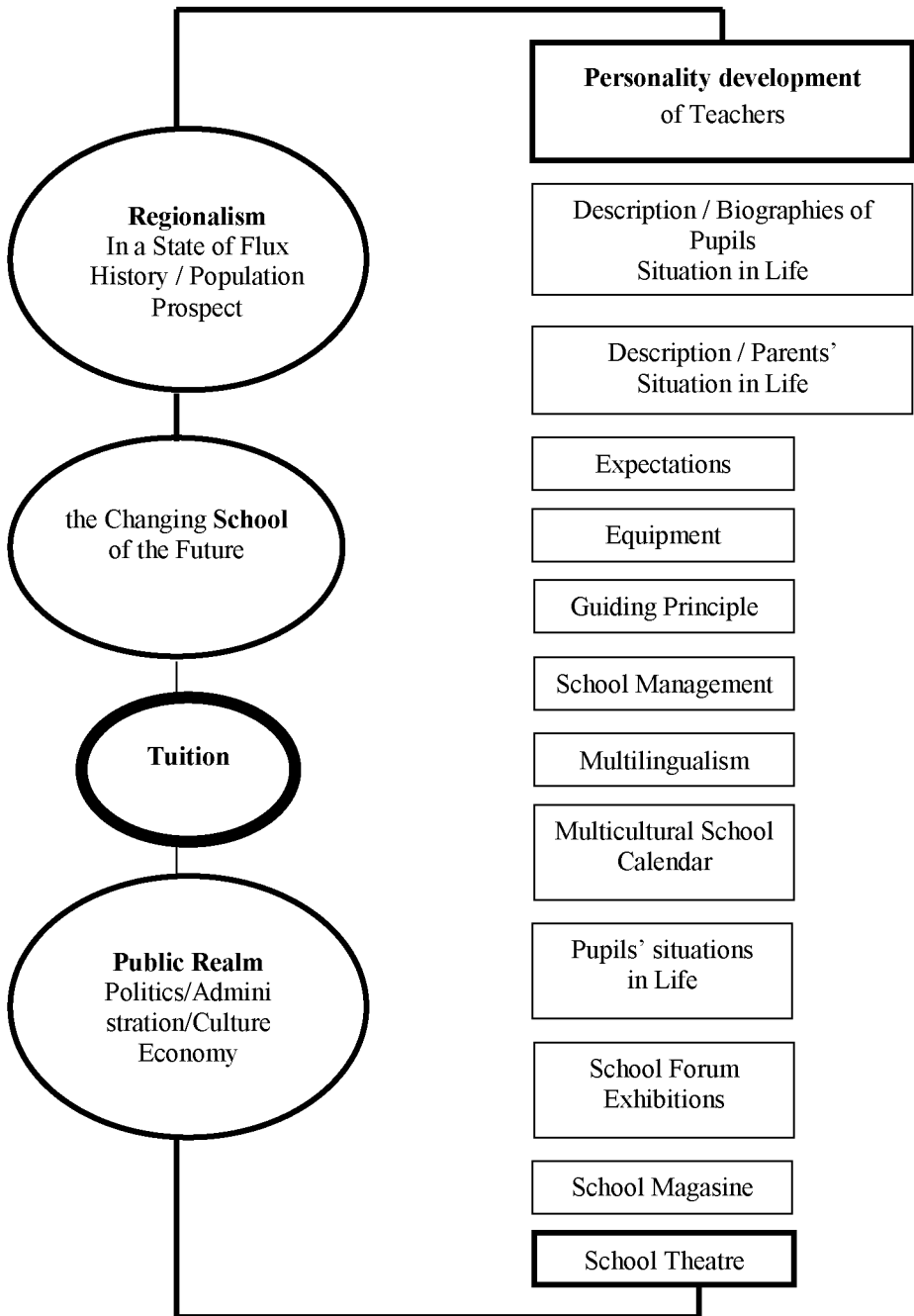
In the actual classroom, children of immigrants belong to the group of minorities, i.e. they enrich a group of linguistic and/or social minorities that are frequently already in existence by adding another facet. For these children as a whole it is a question of learning the national language as the lingua franca and colloquial language so that discriminatory tendencies based on language are minimized. It is thus not a matter of learning a functional language or similar “restricted codes” (Bernstein), but of mastering the standard forms of the appropriate national language.

A number of conditions and effects come into play at the same time.

- Since the school is meant to help all children with their personality development, regardless of the status of the individual child, attention must be paid to a proper command of language in all educational fields.
- The conventional distinction made between the mother tongue and the national language in terms of first and second languages merely serves to clarify the natural sequence of language learning among children from linguistic minorities. It does not imply a value judgement. This means that behaviour-oriented as well as imitative learning must be provided right from the start in the area of teaching strategy and methodology.
- Languages are always of equal value because they are based on thought and on the feats of human intelligence. For this reason, new teaching materials must initially be compiled in the mother tongue for subsequent use in the second language. This makes allowances for the fact that the standard of school work is greatly improved by learning the first language – this should in principle counter the risk of semi-literacy. This will also help to prevent illiteracy in the mother tongue at the same time which again, in terms of the standard of school work, makes itself felt by hampering academic performance and by limiting future job opportunities.
- Since learning a second language is neither comparable with learning any foreign language at school neither from a didactical nor from a methodical perspective, attention must be paid to compliance with several rules:
 - 1. *Natural linguistic acts* are to be given priority, i.e. the experiences of the children are the focus of attention. They talk about what is important to them as that is the knowledge with which they are endowed.
 - 2. *First speak and then spell*. This didactic principle helps all pupils in the class to overcome their inclination towards a “phonetic orthography”. Thus as time goes on pupils will increasingly take it upon themselves to correct their own errors.

- 3. *Targeted pronunciation practice* helps to prevent linguistic interference just as listening and comprehension exercises are aimed at increasingly recognising individual language abilities in the areas of listening, comprehension and speaking. This process takes place in the classroom which has the effect of improving the quality of language comprehension of all children and also their understanding of thought processes.
- . Thus creative lesson planning is just as necessary for teachers as the provision of multilingual teaching and audiovisual aids so that children have access to card indexes, games, learning aids and other materials developed by teachers during the entire lesson. This creativity can be illustrated in the network depicted below.

Network of intercultural school education



References

- AUERNHEIMER, GEORG: Zum Stellenwert kultureller Differenz für die Pädagogik, in : EICHELBERGER; FURCH(Pub.) Kulturen, Sprachen, Welten, p. 161
- DE CILLIA, Rudolf, Dilek Cinar, Ulrike Davy, Harald Waldrauch: Zur Situation des muttersprachlichen Unterrichts und der muttersprachlichen LehrerInnen in Österreich, in: EICHELBERGER Harald, FURCHElisabeth (Pub.): Kulturen, Sprachen, Welten, Die Herausforderung (Inter) - Kulturalität, Studien Verlag Innsbruck, Vienna 1998, p. 40 ff
- DE CILLIA, Rudolf: Mehrsprachigkeit und Herkunftssprachenunterricht in europäischen Schulen, in: DILEK (Pub.): Gleichwertige Sprachen? Muttersprachlicher Unterricht für die Kinder von Einwanderern, Studienverlag Innsbruck Vienna 1998
- DE CILLIA, Rudolf: Spracherwerb in der Migration, (Information sheets by the Department for Intercultural Learning No. 3, Federal Ministry of Education and Culture)
- DIE WIENER KINDERFREUNDE (VIENNESE FRIENDS OF CHILDREN): Zutaten zu Taten, Was Sie schon immer Gegen Rechts tun wollten, Vienna 1995,
- EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN GERMANY (EKD) „... und der Fremdling, der in deinen Toren ist.“ Joint statement of the churches on the challenges of migration and flight, published by the Ecclesiastical Office of the Evangelical Church in Germany and the Secretariat of the German Bishops Conference jointly with the Working Group of Christian Churches in Germany, presse@ekd.de
- Religious instruction for Muslim pupils, a statement by the Ecclesiastical Office of the Evangelical Church in Germany, presse@ekd.de
- FASSMANN, H., MÜNZ, R., : Einwanderungsland Österreich. Vienna 1995
- FISCHER, DIETLIND et al.: Auf dem Weg zur interkulturellen Schule. Fallstudien zur Situation interkulturellen und interreligiösen Lernens, Münster 1996
- HUBER, A., ÖLLINGER, R., STEINER, M.: Handbuch der Flüchtlingsberatung. Vienna 1998
- KOLIANDER-BAYER, CLAUDIA: Einstellung zu Sprache und lebensweltlicher Mehrsprachigkeit, Eine empirische Erhebung zum Selbstverständnis von Kindern mit einer anderen als der deutschen Muttersprache, Studienverlag Innsbruck Vienna 1998
- KRUMM, H.-J., PORTMANN_TSELIKAS, P.R. (Pub.): Beiträge zu Deutsch als Fremdsprache, (Theorie und Praxis), Studienverlag Innsbruck, Vienna 1997
- WEIDINGER, WALTER: Die Wiener Pflichtschule. Entwicklungsperspektiven, Trends, Prognosen. Municipal School Inspectorate for Vienna, December 1998
- WIENER INTEGRATIONSFOND (Pub.): Report 98 (Jahresbericht). Part I., Vienna 1999
- MigrantInnen in Wien. Daten&Fakten&Recht. Report 98, Part II., Vienna 1999

Bilingualism, bilingual education (*Unique topic*)

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

LESZNYÁK (1995) summarises the theoretical backgrounds of bilingualism, bilingual education. The present chapter is based on this synthesis.

Language as a means of human communication is essential in the connection among different cultures. The education of minority pupils: the preservation or loss of minority language can be essential in terms of the existence of a given ethnic group. The acquisition of the minority language is very important for minorities to be able to integrate into the social and economic structure of the host country. As language development of children is closely related to their cognitive development, bilingualism should be understood as a factor influencing children's education.

1. Some theoretical issues of bilingualism

There are several definitions for bilingualism. According to the *wider definition*: bilingual is the person, who has any, minor knowledge in a second language different from his or her own. According to the *narrow definition*: bilingual we call that person only, who speaks both languages on a mother-tongue level.

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1988, cited by LESZNYÁK, 1995), the definitions can form four groups according to defining bilingualism in terms of a) order and time of language acquisition; b) level of language knowledge; c) characteristic features of language use; and d) in terms of identity. When bilingualism is considered to be a social or political phenomenon, the *identification* type definitions are applied, according to which every person is bilingual, who identify with two languages, independent from how well they speak the languages, how often they use them and when they have acquired them. *Linguistic and psycholinguistic definitions* apply the concepts of language knowledge and language use. *Language knowledge* is the existence of any level language skills (reading, writing, speaking, listening) that requires the knowledge of phonemes, vocabulary and grammatical rules of the given language. *Language*

use is the application of language knowledge in reality; in this case the frequency, the context, the topic and the partners of language use are of decisive importance.

Bilingual individuals

In case of bilingual individuals, one of the languages is generally dominant: language skills of the individual are higher in one language than in the other. *In terms of dominance* we talk about:

- *Balanced bilingualism*: it refers to individuals whose language skills are equally high-level in both languages; and
- *Semi-bilingualism*: refers to individuals whose language skills are equally low-level, and this fact results in social and cognitive disadvantages for them.

In both cases when considering education the problem is, that children do not speak the language of the school.

Considering *the order of language acquisition* we talk about:

- *Simultaneous bilingualism*: the child acquires both languages in childhood (0-3 years) simultaneously. Later one of the languages becomes dominant and develops to be the language of instruction at school. It appears mainly in societies where both languages are of high status and politically (to some extent) of equal value; and
- *Sequential bilingualism*: the immediate environment of the child is generally monolingual, and this is the context where the child acquires his/her first language. Second language acquisition begins after the age of three, when the child will have more and more relationships outside the family (e.g. playground, kindergarten, school, workplace). Most of bilingual individuals in minorities belong to this group. In their case, by the time they enter school second language is not yet properly developed to be the means of education. Generally the first language is dominant, but this can also change directions for the sake of the second one.

According to the relationship between the two linguistic systems we distinguish between:

- *Coordinate bilingualism*: individuals develop two, more or less independent language systems by applying consequently one language in certain situations and with certain individuals, and the second language in other situations and with other individuals;
- *Compound bilingualism*: the two languages do not separate during language acquisition. The pupils use both languages alternately in the same situations and with the same people. One language can be the means of explanation of the other.

2. Bilingual communities

Bilingualism can be understood as a common characteristic of a community as well. Combining individual and group bilingualism, the existence of four groups is possible:

- a community and each of the members are monolingual;
- the community is monolingual, some of its members are bilingual (e.g. a country with one official language, but with linguistic minorities living within the borders; e.g. Hungary, Portugal; Austria);
- bilingual community (countries with more official languages, or regions, where two languages are in use during everyday life; e.g. Switzerland, Belgium);
- bilingual community, where most of the members are bilingual too.

Bilingual social groups are characterised by the phenomenon of *diglossy*: the community uses the two languages in different situations. For minorities it means, that they use their mother tongues in informal and intimate situations, while they use the majority language in formal situations, in front of social publicity. Majority language is many times considered to be more important and of higher rank, as proper knowledge of the majority language is the prerequisite and basis of social and economic progress. This fact can result in a change of language.

The capability for living in case of a language is defined by the following factors (BAKER, 1953; cited by LESZNYÁK, 1995):

- *status* (economic, social, symbolic status of a language). These are strongly influenced by the up-to-date political and economic state of the given society, and their changes;
- *demographic factors* (number and geographical distribution of language users);
- *provision of institutional help* (existence or lack of possibilities for minority language use in the mass media, in public administration, in the churches and in educational institutes). Education in minority language is not enough in itself if the family and other social institutions do not encourage language use.

We can classify definitions according to attitudes and goals of the majority and the minority towards bilingualism and minority language. According to this classification we talk about:

- *Subtractive bilingualism*: the status of minority language and culture is low, that is why the aim of the minority or the majority group is to change first

language into the second one. Bilingualism appears as a transitory state, so its value is little.

- *Additive bilingualism*: minority language and culture proves to be valuable, so ethnic groups strive at their preservation, while at the same time the minority group tries to integrate to the dominant ethnic group and acquires its language as well. This is a favourable type of bilingualism.

3. Bilingualism and cognitive growth

The question, how bilingualism influences cognitive development, intelligence and academic achievement of children, has emerged. According to the very first ideas (1890s – 1950s) the effects of bilingualism are disastrous, as the capacity of the human brain for language learning is finite. The first empirical studies have verified this presupposition, with the help of intelligence tests. According to later studies, bilingualism does not, or only positively influences intelligence. Results of studies comparing bilingual individuals have shown, that semi-bilingualism causes disadvantages in cognitive growth; balanced bilingualism has a positive effect on intelligence and other cognitive skills, while dominant bilingualism has no effect on these. For the explanation of these phenomena the *threshold model* was born (CUMMINS, 1984; cited by LESZNYÁK, 1995): children have to reach a certain, minimum level of language knowledge (first threshold) in both languages to avoid negative effects. For a positive effect of bilingualism on cognitive skills, other, higher-level language knowledge should be reached in both languages (second threshold).

In terms of academic knowledge CUMMINS (1984; cited by LESZNYÁK, 1995) distinguishes between two groups referring to qualitatively and quantitatively different levels of language knowledge:

- *Basic interpersonal communication skills* – these are used in certain, cognitively less demanding situations. For example on the playground or during shopping. Approximately 2 years are needed for the acquisition of this level; and
- *Cognitive/academic language skills* – this is the language level on which the child is able to learn. Approximately 5–7 years are needed for the acquisition of this level.

It is very important that the language skills of the child should reach a certain level on the language of instruction!

Types of bilingual education

Grouping of bilingual schools can happen according to several perspectives: SIGUÁN and MACKEY (1987, cited by LESZNYÁK, 1995) enlist the following aspects:

- Goals concerning the two languages (monolingualism or bilingualism);
- The position of the two languages in the curriculum (proportions, status);
- Relationship between the language of instruction and the language spoken by the pupils;
- Homogeneity or heterogeneity of language skills of pupils learning in the same group;
- The extent of sociocultural differences between the two languages of instruction;
- The position of bilingual education in the education system of the country.

The grouping by Skutnabb-Kangas (1988; cited by Lesznyák, 1995) is the most widely accepted and used. These grouping aspects are the followings:

- Linguistic goals of education;
- Number of instructional languages (one or two) used to reach the goals;
- Targeted group of learners.

The grouping aspects of BAKER (1993; cited by LESZNYÁK, 1995) are defined by the goal of mono- or bilingualism. The following distinctions are made:

- *Weak types*: result in subtractive bilingualism that considers bilingualism a transitory state, and comprises of educational forms striving at monolingualism in reality.
- *Strong types*: targeting at long-term bilingualism.

The following educational forms belong to the *weak type*:

- *Submersion*: placing the child to normal, majority language classes presupposing that majority language will be acquired accordingly, by need. It results in semi-lingualism.
- *Extra language classes*: more improved version of submersion. Separate language classes are ensured for minority children to acquire majority language. Placement to a separate group results in segregation and stigmatises the child. Furthermore, it takes away time from other parts of the academic material, causing a lagging behind the normal school material.
- *Transitional bilingual educational programmes*: in the first 2 or 4 years of schooling children (can) use their mother tongues also in classes. Children start schooling in their mother tongue and in the meantime learn the second language, and as time progresses, use the second language more and more

in the classrooms. When the language skills of minority children are considered to be proper to become the means of learning, they are transferred to normal classrooms (at the end of 2nd or 4th grade).

- *Segregation type of education*: strives at monolingualism in the minority language. The dominant group does not ensure the acquisition of majority language for the minority, keeping them on the bottom of social, political and economic rank order this way.
- *Separatist type of education*: strives at monolingualism in the minority language, but in this case it is the decision of the ethnic group, on behalf of preserving their independence.
- *Classical foreign language instruction* in normal schools, for children of the majority group.

Strong types are the following educational forms:

- *Immersion*: provides minority language instruction for children of the dominant ethnic group. Attitudes toward minority culture change positively in case of participants.
- *Culture preserving minority schools*: minority children are learning at the school, the language of instruction is 50 – 100% the minority language. Certain subjects are taught in minority, while others are taught in the majority language.
- *Two-channel bilingual education*: half of the classes belong to the minority, half to the majority group. The language of instruction is 50% the minority-, and 50% the majority language, but only one of the languages can be used within a certain instructional unit (one class, one day, one week, etc.). This way one subject is taught in more languages.
- *Majority bilingual schools*: the target group are children of the majority, the languages of instruction are two, high-status majority language.

Success of bilingual education types are further influenced by the following factors according to SKUTNABB-KANGAS (1988, cited by LESZNYÁK, 1995):

- *Organisational factors* (possibility of choice; approximately similar language skills of pupils learning together; presence of well-trained bilingual teachers; existence of proper teaching aids; culturally relevant teaching material);
- *Affective factors concerning pupils* (high motivation; low anxiety level; existence of self-confidence or positive picture of the self);
- *Linguistic, cognitive, pedagogical and social factors concerning the acquisition of first- and second language* (proper language development in

both languages; provision of the proper amount dominant language teaching materials of high standard in terms of cognitive development; adjustment of weaker language input to the given language skills; opportunity to use both languages in more and more contexts; relationship between the development of the two languages).

References

LESZNYÁK MÁRTA (1995): Kétnyelvűség és kéttannyelvű oktatás (Bilingualism, bilingual education), *Magyar Pedagógia*, 95. évf. 3–4.

Suggested literature

BAKER, C. (1993): *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.

SKUTNABB-KANGAS, T.–CUMMINS, J. (1988, eds): *Minority education: From shame to struggle*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.

Bilingualism, bilingual education in Hungary *(Unique topic)*

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

The summary is based on the report created by the Prime Minister's Office in 1999. Upon the request of the parents or legal representatives of at least eight school children of one and the same minority, it is mandatory to organize and maintain a minority class or study group. Such educational institutions are required to provide for the instruction of minority studies and the history of the minority and its mother country, as well as for the proper understanding of its cultural values and traditions.

Training native language teachers for the education of minorities in their native language or instruction of their native language is the State's responsibility. Teaching of the Hungarian language shall be provided, in a number of hours and at a level necessary, in minority educational institutions as well.

In the settlements where the local Hungarian speaking population, or any other national or ethnic group, is in numerical minority, the local government is required to guarantee the instruction of children of Hungarian or another ethnic origin in their native or any other selected language as prescribed in the Minorities Act.

The Public Education Act prescribes that the language to be used in pre-schools and in school education of all levels is Hungarian, or the native language of national and ethnic minorities. Based on the choice set forth in the law on the rights of national and ethnic minorities, children and students from national and ethnic minorities have the right to attend pre-schools and schools using their native language, Hungarian, or both.

The Minorities Act provides for children of all minorities to receive education in their native language, or of their native language (in their native language and in Hungarian) or in Hungarian, as decided by the parents or legal guardian of the children. The education of minorities in their native language or of their native language, should be provided in minority pre-schools and schools, in classes or groups in accordance of demand and the availability of resources.

The objective of native language education is to provide complete and complex minority education. The language used in this particular type of schooling is the native language of the minority, while the Hungarian language is also to be taught as a second language.

The objective of bilingual minority education is to develop linguistic abilities in two languages in a balanced fashion. The classes in bilingual minority education are taught in the native language of the minority and in Hungarian.

The objective of minority language training instruction is to teach predominantly Hungarian-speaking students their native language as a second language. The language used in this particular type of schooling is the Hungarian language, while the minority language is taught from the 1st grade in observation of the requirements set forth in the National Core Curriculum for spoken foreign languages. Schools may also include other spoken foreign languages in their curriculum, in addition to the minority native language.

Depending on the fluency of minority children, the instruction and education of minorities need to set a goal so as to provide a language instruction development level, as consistent with the respective pedagogical phase and education model, to achieve a level of skill in the minority language taught as the second language to serve as adequate foundation for bilingual or native language education.

According to the statistics on the pre-school instruction of minorities a total of 18.532 children from all national minorities received native language education during 1997/1998 in 364 pre-schools, in 77 groups learning in native language and in another 774 groups attending language training education.

In the 1997/98 school year, minority education programs were offered in 398 primary schools for a total of 51.385 students of which 2.753 were attending classes in their native language, 6.066 participating in bilingual education, and with 42.566 children attending language training education.

In Hungary, secondary education of minorities is provided in native language and in bilingual secondary schools. The native languages of minorities are taught in four vocational training schools around the country.

Language teachers are trained in sufficient numbers by specialized institutions of higher education (colleges and universities) generally maintaining an independent faculty for pre-school teachers and school teachers. To provide pedagogues for the education of the Gypsy population, special faculties studying the ethnic background of Gypsies have been established in colleges training teachers for primary schools and in universities training lecturers for secondary

schools. Native language teachers are also trained in the universities of their respective mother countries.

References

Government Resolution 2023/1999 (II. 12.) On the Report of the Republic of Hungary. Implementation of the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Report of the Republic of Hungary. Budapest, January, 1999.

Bilingualism and bilingual education in Portugal *(Unique topic)*

Lúcia Vidal Soares and Paulo Feytor Pinto (Portugal)

The close relationship between language and thought obviously has tremendous implications for language in the processes of education, training and socialization. Language represents a factor of psychological equilibrium and cultural affirmation. Through the process of language acquisition individuals assimilate the particular norms of the society to which they belong and at the same time develop a sense of belonging to their group. The language we speak therefore influences our representation of the world and of our own everyday environment. In a culturally diverse society, the meeting of cultures is part of its dynamism. Language is the principal basis for dialogue between these cultures and, in a pluralistic setting, for promoting understanding of others.

Achieving a good linguistic ‘performance’ is a decisive factor in the psychological, cultural and social development of each individual, in his/her integration in a society and in the creation of an atmosphere of respect for, and recognition of, cultural, social and ethnic diversity.

School, the meeting point for pupils from increasingly diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, is the ideal place for furthering that pluralism in cross-cultural terms. The teacher is expected to use a variety of strategies to manage this diversity in an atmosphere of equality of opportunity and respect for difference. The acquisition of a language for intercultural communication, together with respect for the language of others, is a task to be achieved throughout the years of compulsory education.

1. Some facts about cultural and linguistic diversity in Portugal

In Portugal, initiatives designed to deal with the question of linguistic diversity in schools are a very recent development. One of the reasons is probably that only recently has there been such a marked upsurge in the flux of immigrants to the country, and therefore a correspondingly greater number of pupils whose mother tongue is not Portuguese. Although a recent phenomenon, the number of foreign residents in Portugal already accounts for a significant proportion of the population.

In quantitative terms, legal foreign residents in Portugal in 2002 numbered 388.258, thus representing about 3.9% of the total population. Between 2000 and 2002 there was an increase of approx. 86% (from 208.198 to 388.258), mainly accounted for by the Eastern European countries (*Immigration and Frontiers Department, 2003*)

In 2002, excluding residents from Western European countries, the distribution of immigrants and ethnic minorities was as follows:

1) *African Countries whose Official Language is Portuguese (PALOPS)*. Cape Verde – 53.289; Angola – 25.972; Guinea-Bissau – 19.612; St Tomé and Prince – 7.199; Mozambique – 5.008). There are certainly twice as many clandestine African immigrants as ones in a legal situation.

2) *Brazil*. The number of legal Brazilians is 48.691 (February 2002), although the real number is probably in excess of 80.000.

3) *Eastern European Countries*. Ukraine (50.499); Moldova (10.221); Romania (8.815) and Russia (6.015). The number of legal and illegal Eastern European immigrants is estimated at 300.000.

4) *Asia (China, India, Pakistan)*. China – 6.940 (2002); India – 1.296; Pakistan – 860 (2000). The real figure, including illegal immigrants, is probably double.

5) *Gypsies*. They number approximately 50.000.

6) *Illegal immigrants*. In 2002, there were an estimated 250.000, but the real number is unknown. A conservative estimate puts the number of legal and illegal immigrants in excess of 650.000.

A study conducted by the Ministry of Education (2002) shows that “*in Portuguese state compulsory education there are 17.535 pupils whose mother tongue is not Portuguese*”. Besides Portuguese itself, the most common mother tongues in the classroom are, in first place, Cape Verdean Creole (8.076 pupils) with, in second place, Romany (1.338 pupils) and in third place French (837 pupils). Russian comes eighth (293), Ukrainian twelfth (147) and Rumanian fifteenth (117). The same study reveals that 2% of pupils whose mother tongue is not Portuguese do not understand a word of this language, and that 22% do not have sufficient knowledge of the language to follow a simple conversation and/or to understand the language used in the classroom. The pupils most severely challenged by Portuguese are speakers of Russian, Ukrainian and Mandarin, while speakers of Gujerati (India) are those for whom Portuguese represents the least difficulty.

2. Responses of the Education System to linguistic diversity

Faced with increased linguistic diversity in Portuguese society and schools, the Ministry of Education launched a series of initiatives with the aim of teaching Portuguese as a foreign language. Officially, the Portuguese language is the only recognized medium for teaching primary school curricula. Since this is not the mother tongue of many pupils, it is of paramount importance to find other means to transmit this information. As a general rule, children from minority backgrounds obtain below-average school results, which can lead to non-achievement and high rates of drop-out.

Broadly speaking, the education system has so far come up with the following concrete solutions to the problem:

- 1) In 1990 the Ministry of Education launched an intercultural education project in the Lisbon area, which included a language component aimed at Gypsy and Cape Verdean pupils in the first years of schooling. That same year, also in the Lisbon area, private enterprises launched the first project for bilingual education of Cape Verdean children in pre-school and primary education.
- 2) In 1991, the need for an effective response to the issue of cultural and linguistic diversity in the education system was officially recognized in the setting up of the Co-ordinating Secretariat for Multicultural Education (SCOPREM). This department of the central administration has developed projects for research, in-service training and materials production within the sphere of intercultural education
- 3) 1994 saw the first state ventures aimed specifically at teaching Portuguese as a Second Language (PL2). The Ministry of Education initiated the project “Teaching Portuguese as a Second Language”, which was co-financed by the Lingua Programme of the European Union. As a result of this project, in 1996 the first materials for use in teaching PL2 appeared in this country: *Contadores de Histórias e Contadores de Histórias: Sugestões Didáticas* (Storytellers and Storytellers: Teaching Ideas).
- 4) 1994 also saw for the first time the accreditation of a training course for primary and secondary teachers of PL2 for speakers of Cape Verdean Creole. This course was the brainchild of the Association of Teachers for Intercultural Education (APEDI).
- 5) In 1997, with the Fourth Revision of the Constitution of the Republic, the obligation to “protect and valorise Portuguese sign language” was sanctioned.

- 6) In 1998, SCOPREM launched its first project designed to develop the teaching of PL2, in this case for Portuguese/Cape Verdean bilingual education.
- 7) Again in 1997, the first in-service teacher-training course dealing with a minority mother tongue - *Curso de Crioulo e Cultura Cabo-Verdiana* (Course in Cape Verdean Creole and Culture) - was accredited under the aegis of the Open University.
- 8) In mid-1988, the Ministry of Education started Complementary Training Courses for primary teachers. *Portuguese as a Second Language* features among a series of specializations.
- 9) In 2000, the Association of Teachers of Portuguese (APP) and the Institute for Innovation in Education published the catalogue *PL2: an Annotated Guide to Resources* (Amendoeira & Ribeiro, 2000) with a view to satisfying the increasing demand for resource materials for the teaching of PL2. What is evident from this catalogue is the paucity of materials specifically designed for this particular aspect of teaching Portuguese.
- 10) The curricular restructuring of Basic Education (2001) stipulated that "schools should provide specific curricular activities for the teaching of Portuguese as a second language to children whose mother tongue is not Portuguese".
- 11) In 2002, the government, through ANEFA - a teacher-training organization for adults - launched the first initiatives aimed at the adult population whose mother tongue is not Portuguese. In mid-2002 ANEFA brought out the first handbook for teaching and learning PL2, which includes, at three successive levels, a textbook and teacher's book. In the wake of this publication there have been various projects, many of them under the auspices of the Church (Catholic, Orthodox ..) and the European Union itself, which finances projects and materials production in this domain.

In summary, the teaching of Portuguese as a second language to an increasing number of pupils is a recent development and one which still needs to be approached in a systematic and continuous way. However, procedures are in place to address this problem in most schools with pupils whose mother tongue is not Portuguese. Ideally, these procedures should at the same time valorise and promote the mother tongue of these pupils.

References

- AMENDOEIRA, FILIPA & RIBEIRO, FERNANDO (2000). *Português Língua Segunda: guia anotado de recursos*. Lisboa: Associação de Professores de Português & Instituto de Inovação Educacional.
- BACELAR GOUVEIA, JORGE (2001). *Constituição da República Portuguesa e legislação complementar*. Lisboa: Âncora Editora.
- BENVENISTE, E. (1966), *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, Paris, Gallimard (tome 1)
- Byram, Michael (1992), *Culture et éducation en langue étrangère*, coll. LAL, Paris, Crédif/Didier/Hatier
- Conselho Científico-Pedagógico da Formação Contínua (2002): <http://www.ccpfc.uminho.pt>
- CORDEIRO, HUMBERTO M.C. (1992). *Relatório Comunitário sobre a Educação Intercultural*. Lisboa: Ministério da Educação. [policopiado]
- DÍEZ GARCÍA, PABLO & OUTROS (2001). *Orientaciones didácticas para la enseñanza/aprendizaje del castellano con alumnado inmigrante en la ESO*. Madrid: CPR Villaverde.
- FEYTOR PINTO, PAULO (2003). Política do Português Língua Segunda em Portugal. In *Actas do XVIII Encontro Nacional da APL*. Lisboa: Associação Portuguesa de Linguística.
- FISCHER, GLORIA (1998). O ensino da língua portuguesa como segunda língua. In Vieira de Castro, Rui & Sousa, M^a de Lourdes (org). *Linguística e Educação*. Lisboa: Associação Portuguesa de Linguística & Ed. Colibri.
- JUCQUOIS, G. (1990), Dans quelle mesure la langue est-elle le résultat de la culture? In *Le Langage ET L'HOMME*, XXV, n^o4, DEC.90, BRUXELLES.
- RAMIREZ-HEREDIA, JUAN DE DIOS (2001). *Primeiro Manual de Conversación en Romanó-kaló - Angluno Pustik pa Vakeripen Romanò-kalo*. Barcelona: Unión Romani.
- SOARES, LUCIA (1996). O manual de iniciação em Português Língua Estrangeira - diálogo aberto entre nós e os outros, Lisboa, Universidade Aberta (não publicada)

Bilingual education in Austrian schools (Unique topic)

Renate Seebauer (Austria)

The contribution in hand starts with a critical view on language policies facing the “new minorities”. Furthermore foreign language instruction in Austrian schools is described - based on current curricula. The diversity of foreign language instruction in Austrian schools is demonstrated by selected examples and current school experiments. The section “Multilinguality or assimilation?” was added to show that neglecting the multilingual potential of migrant children would mean to waste their linguistic potential

1. Introductory remarks

The following remarks on bi-/multilingual education have to be understood against the back-drop of the Austrian contribution “*Ethnic Minorities in Austria - From “minority” to the so-called “Austrian national minority”*” and should not be read without this background knowledge.

The current Austrian situation regarding bi-/multilinguality has been well described by DE CILLIA (2001) who points out that “examples of bilingualism or multilingualism have at the individual level ... been positively assessed today on the basis of research on language acquisition as being personally enriching and instrumental in equipping individuals with invaluable skillsShifting interest from the level of the individual to the society at large, it may be seen that multilingual societies and countries... are the general rule and monolingual societies or very nearly monolingual societies are really rather the exception... monolingual societies i.e. unity of language and nation, are practically non-existent.”¹¹

¹¹ Rudolf de Cillia (2000): Sprachen in Österreich, Österreichisches Sprachen-Kompetenz-Zentrum (Center for School Development, Area III: Foreign Languages) bm:bwk. (working paper of 5 pages)

2. Some facts and figures¹² concerning the new minorities in Austria

In 1991 around 92% of the Austrian population stated to speak German as their „colloquial language“ („*Umgangssprache*“), 2% of the population (about 158.000 persons) indicated Serbo-Croatian, approximately 120.000 Turkish; 176.000 (2,3 %) „other colloquial languages“. Furthermore Croatian (about 60.000), Hungarian (about 33.500), Slovenian (about 29.500) and Czech (about 20.000) were reported explicitly. More current data are not available.

Based on the population statistics („*Einwohnerstatistik*“) of January 1st 2000 one can assume, however, that primarily the languages spoken by state members of former Yugoslavia (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian) have increased strongly (by approx. 70 percent); the increase of Turkish state members can be estimated by more than ten percent.

The fact is that multilinguality in Austria can be explained through the “new minorities“, which, numerically exceed the “Austrian national minorities“ - resident for centuries here -considerbaly.

The portion of “children with another mother tongue than German“ is even bigger than the official paper - the „*Schulstatistik*“ (Statistics regarding schools) reads.

In the school year 1998/99 the portion of “children with another mother tongue than Ger-man“ in general compulsory schools was about 12.4 percent (85.063 pupils; primary schools: 12.6 percent, lower secondary schools („*Hauptschulen*“) 11.7 percent, special schools: 21.7 Prozent), in academic secondary schools („*allgemein bildende höhere Schulen*“) nonetheless only 6,6 percent.

The figures concerning Vienna amount to 34.1 percent in general compulsory schools (ele-mentary schools: 31.9 percent, lower secondary schools 38.7 percent, special schools 34.7 percent), in academic secondary schools: 15.1 percent and thus are clearly higher than those reported for Austria as a whole.

3. Language policy provisions and new minorities

“Language policy provisions which deal specifically with immigrant linguistic minorities that have not received formal recognition are virtually non-existent”, states DE CILLIA (200): “There are no statutory provisions guaranteeing linguistic rights (when faced with public bodies and authorities, for instance), nor does the application of the language policy really promote the linguistic and cultural

¹² <http://www.univie.ac.at/dieuniversitaet/2000/magazin/10000082.htm>

identity of immigrant minorities¹³ – outside schools. The *Staatsbürgerschaftsgesetzesnovelle 1998* (Amendment to the Citizenship Act 1998) makes the acquisition of Austrian citizenship conditional on the production of evidence of a command of the German language.

Provisions do however exist for schools that are attended by pupils with a mother tongue other than German. More specifically, the *Schulunterrichtsgesetz* (School Education Act) makes provision for pupils whose “mother tongue is not German” to attend school as extra-mural pupils for a maximum of two years if they are “incapable of following “classes taught in German as the language of instruction”. In terms of remedial measures for these children, additional weekly classes are held (0,86 or alternatively 0,33 hours per week per child.) within the context of compulsory education (primary schools and general secondary schools). According to DE CILLIA (2000) this “support is based on three pillars similar to the situation in most European countries”:

- Instruction in the national language, i.e. German as a second language (six to twelve classes per week), which may be organized in a variety of ways (from integrated team teaching to additional German tuition).
- Instruction in the mother tongue in the languages of provenance, or alternatively in the languages spoken in the family (as a non-compulsory or optional subject with three to six classes per week; roughly one fourth of children take advantage of this offer), and the interdisciplinary “intercultural learning” teaching principle whose aim is to incorporate the languages and cultures that exist in schools into as many teaching subjects as possible, in order to enhance the capability of pupils from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to live together and to seize this as an opportunity for social learning.”¹⁴

These provisions, which date back to 1992 and 1993, are capable of keeping abreast of European standards, with the exception of the following points:

- “the additional class quotas, the provisions on the teaching of German and
- those on classes in the native language do not apply at *AHS* level (secondary academic school). This ultimately reinforces the two-tier character of the Austrian middle school and (helps to explain) explains the considerably lower levels of participation of foreign children in education, which can be gleaned from the statistics.”¹⁵

¹³ cf. footnote 2

¹⁴ cf. footnote 2

¹⁵ cf. footnote 2

4. Foreign language instruction in Austrian schools – in general and in the context of the EU Enlargement

The curriculum of the primary school¹⁶ (as of September 2001) stipulates that “modern foreign languages” (English, French¹⁷, Italian, Croatian, Slovak, Slovene, Czech or Hungarian) are considered to be so-called “compulsory classes” from the first to the fourth grade. The goal of the teaching of foreign languages is as follows:

- to lay the foundation for and to strengthen motivation for learning a foreign language,
- to introduce the skill of communicating in a foreign language,
- as a result to encourage pupils to interact openly and in unbiased manner with people from other cultural and linguistic backgrounds and to see themselves as part of a larger and especially European community.

The basic specific goals of the curriculum of *Hauptschule* (general secondary schools) with regard to the following languages: English, French, Italian, Russian, Spanish, Czech, Slovene, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Hungarian and Turkish include:

- The comprehension of spoken language transmitted by direct contact or the media gained by working on proposed topics and language exponents based on standard articulation and an average speaking pace.
- The ability of pupils to actively use oral skills acquired in appropriate situations.
- The independent preparation of written, foreign language texts of different kinds taking into account topics and language exponents proposed.
- The written application of language exponents acquired, in a manner that is compatible with the audience targeted as well as the media (utilization of the appropriate text style) and includes modern technology (text processing and e-mail).

¹⁶ The current respective curricula may be downloaded from the homepage of the competent ministry at: <http://www.bmbwk.gv.at/start.asp>

¹⁷ English and French have been introduced since school year 1984/84; In 1992/93, the range of foreign languages offered was extended to include the languages of the neighboring countries and to Austria's recognized minority languages. Since the beginning of school year 1998/99, the compulsory class “modern foreign language” has been prescribed in school regulations as of the first grade. However, by 2003-2004, it will become compulsory for all primary schools to teach a foreign language from the first grade onwards.

A parliamentary inquiry concerning foreign language instruction with regard to the EU enlargement was answered by the competent Minister as follows:¹⁸

“During the 2000/01 school year, primary schools offered foreign language instruction in Croatian, Slovak, Slovene, Czech and Hungarian: Croatian (48 schools), Slovene (2 schools), Czech (67 schools) and Hungarian (11 schools); Polish: no data available to date. Data from minority schools has also been included for Croatian, Slovene and Hungarian. No data is currently available for secondary schools. Already a considerable amount of flexibility - which is in fact used as well, has been permitted for the teaching of foreign languages.

The current trend clearly shows that the languages of the candidate countries for EU memberships are taught on a wider scale in regions immediately neighboring on the respective countries. Nonetheless, there is presently a much greater demand for EU languages including English, French, Italian and Spanish.”

5 The diversity of foreign language instruction in Austrian schools – as demonstrated by selected examples

5.1 Minority schools established privately drawing on the example of “Komenský-Schulverein”/Comenius School Association initiatives

The “Komenský *Schulverein*”, a school association for the establishment of separate schools for children of Bohemian workers in Vienna (since 1872, efforts have been made to preserve Czech language, songs and customs) became the central association with a key role to play in representing the “national feelings of Viennese Czech” - before as well as after World War I. On 16 September 1883, the Association established the first Czech primary school located at Quellenstraße 72 in the 10th district of the municipality of Vienna (initially with three classes for a total of 70 pupils). Already back in 1889, the school had seven classes.

KIRYKOVÁ¹⁹ (2003) points out that the “establishment of many branches of Comenius in the Czech regions in 1909 represents a milestone in the history of the Czech minority in Vienna.” Instruction in the German *and* the Czech language

¹⁸ 4134/AB (XXI. GP) – Reply to the inquiry from the Federal Minister of Education, Science and Culture, Elisabeth Gehringer to the written inquiry (4158/J) of MP Dr. Elisabeth Hlavac, colleagues to the Federal Minister of Education, Science and Culture concerning foreign language instruction at Austrian schools with regard to the imminent EU Enlargement to the East. Source: http://www.parlinkom.gv.at/pd/pm/XXI/AB/texte/041/AB04134_.html

¹⁹ Simona Kyrková: Schule als Raum zur Entfaltung nationaler Identität, in: Seebauer Renate (Ed.): Szenen euro-päischer Bildungslandschaften - empirical studies in intensive ERASMUS programs and current trends in selected European countries, Mandelbaum Vienna, 2003, p. 86f.

as stipulated per public law flared up an in-tense “game of tug-of-war” up to World War I. Other schools were subsequently established: in 1921/22 the Comenius Association ran three day-care centers, seven primary schools, a *Bürger* school (roughly equivalent to grades 5 – 10), a business school, a *Realgymnasium* (a secondary academic school specializing in scientific and technical subjects) and eleven language schools outside of Vienna. In 1926, there were approximately 4,000 pupils in attendance. In 1933, the Association ran seventeen day care centers, six primary schools and six general secondary schools, a business school, a *Humanistisches Gymnasium* (a classic secondary academic school) and a school for female professions: in 1935, the most modern school building of the Association at that time was opened at Sebastianplatz 3 in the third district of Vienna. The National Socialists disbanded the Association on 16 February 1942, confiscated its property and converted the school building into military facilities and military hospitals. Several school buildings were destroyed during the air raids on Vienna.

After World War II, the furniture and equipment as well as the teaching materials were moved to Sebastianplatz; in 1945 Comenius schools were granted the right to operate under public law.

Today, the school located at Sebastianplatz is the last school remaining from among the once large number of Czech schools in Vienna: the language of instruction is both Czech and German from pre-school onwards; in addition, there is non-compulsory instruction in Russian. Since school year 1990/91, Slovak children have the possibility of learning Slovak grammar in addition to the Czech language.

5.2 Problems facing “minority schools” – teaching Slovenian in Carinthia²⁰ as a case in point

Four years after the provisions of Article 7 of the State Treaty came into effect an essential element for the harmonious interaction of the German and Slovene speaking Carinthians was abolished: With the end of compulsory bilingual instruction in primary schools, the “*Minderheitenschulgesetz*” (Minority Education Act) of 1959 created the very instrument that had such unfortunate consequences for the Slovenes in Carinthia. An official language used in court with a very restricted use of Slovene as the legal language was agreed at the same time.

²⁰ Source: http://volksgruppen.orf.at/kaernten/de/a_z/s_z/schulpolitik.htm

The Constitutional Court rescinded the restriction of bilingual primary education to the first three grades in favor of bilingualism in all four grades of primary school which complete elementary instruction.

The minority educational system is integrated in the Austrian state educational system as a whole. Specific curricula are laid down for minority schools whose educational objectives and subject matter are based on those of other Austrian schools.

In terms of the local scope of application of the Minority Education Act 1959, the latter provides the opportunity to participate in Slovene classes in 81 primary schools (and in two in Klagenfurt) as well as in 22 *Hauptschulen* (general secondary schools). In terms of the scope of application of the Act, 1,657 pupils or 28.20% of pupils at primary schools and 113 pupils at the two schools in Klagenfurt/Celovec were enrolled in bilingual classes in school year 2000/01. Taking into account enrollments at 15 basic secondary schools and institutes of higher education, 3,175 pupils attend Slovene classes in Carinthia (also as an optional compulsory and optional non-compulsory subject).

A judgment passed by the Constitutional Court in 1989 has also facilitated participation in bilingual instruction at the state primary school in Klagenfurt/Celovec. The fact is that increasing numbers of German speaking parents are also availing themselves of this special educational opportunity which is reflected in the increase in the number of annual applications and in the decreasing level of linguistic ability at the start of school. Bilingual classes are held at pre-school level and, following the judgment by the Constitutional Court in 2000, in the first four grades in both the German and Slovene languages with an equal amount of time being devoted to each.

The first major step towards compliance with the State Treaty was the establishment of a Slovenian grammar school in Klagenfurt/Celovec in 1957. The establishment of this first separate middle school gave rise to a significant educational momentum within the Slovene minority. The Federal *Gymnasium* for Slovenes in Klagenfurt/Celovec is the only *allgemein bildende höhere Schule* (secondary academic school) which offers tuition in Slovenian and teaches German as a school subject. In school year 2000/01, 453 pupils attended this school.

In the autumn of 1999, the Julius-Kugy class (German-Slovene-Italian-English) was introduced. This involves an autonomous school project which has paved the way for multilingual education and has enabled classes to be attended by pupils from Carinthia, Slovenia and Friaul.

However, in the autumn of 1990, bilingual instruction was provided at the "Bilingual Federal Commercial Academy". This denominational, higher edu-

cational institute for commercial professions was established in 1989 at Šentpeter pri Šentjakobu /St. Peter bei St. Jakob im Rosental. According to Art.7, (2) of the State Treaty, a Department of the Board of Education was to be established for Slovene language. The *Landes* Board of Education for Carinthia has complied with this instruction by establishing a separate Department for minority school systems (presently headed by THOMAS OGRIS) which is responsible for school supervision (Thomas Ogris, responsible for compulsory schools; Dr. Theodor Domej, responsible for federal middle schools).

5.3. Vienna – “the largest language school in Europe“

The model educational experiment “*Vienna Bilingual Schooling*” provides bilingual training in English and German from the primary school to the secondary stage I (10 to 14 years old) and the secondary stage II (14 to 19 years old) up to the school-leaving examination at the end of upper secondary education.

Already in September 1992, the first bilingual primary school class with 24 children was commenced in a primary school located in the 10th district of Vienna. Classes which operate on the basis of this model are comprised of 24 children including roughly 12 children who speak German and the other half being English-speaking children. The prerequisite for admission of all pupils is a good previous knowledge of the other second language. Teaching is carried out by German-speaking and English-speaking teachers based on the Austrian curriculum; the curriculum of English-speaking countries is incorporated to the extent possible. Pupils study cultural techniques in their mother tongue (in English or in German) in separate language groups. The other subjects (e.g. social studies and science, physical education, and so on) are taught in German and in English (bilingually) by means of *team teaching*.

At the beginning of school year 1994/95, an additional component of the comprehensive concept “*Vienna Bilingual Schooling*” was achieved through the establishment of a bilingual middle school located at Wendstattgasse 3 in the 10th district of Vienna. The goal of this new school model based on the Austrian curriculum of the “*Realgymnasium*” (a secondary academic school) is to enable children with German or English as their mother tongue to acquire language skills in both languages using modern teaching techniques and to promote and consolidate these skills by constant use throughout the school day.

This is achieved through:

- intensive small group instruction in German and English (as a first and second foreign language);

- bilingual teaching in classes in “social” and “natural history”/“technical areas” through *team teaching* (An Austrian teacher works together with an English language teacher);
- monolingual teaching in classes in “art” und “physical education areas”. The language of instruction is either German or English.

Since school year 1996/97, one bilingual class per grade has been operating according to the “*Vienna Bilingual Schooling*” concept at the “*Bundeshandelsakademie*” (State Commercial Academy) located at Hetzendorferstraße 63 in the 12th district of Vienna. This model provides the continuation of bilingual middle school level instruction with special emphasis in the area of commerce.

The recently opened a “*Gymnasium*” (a secondary academic school) and a “*Realgymnasium*” (secondary academic school) at Draschestraße in the 23rd district of Vienna is operated as a “bilingual upper-level secondary academic school”. Through bilingual classes, pupils are able to acquire competence in the second language which enables them to actively apply the knowledge and skills acquired and therefore to possess relevant key qualifications for study and work.

5.4. Foreign language instruction at the “European Middle School Vienna”²¹ – Austrian, Hungarian, Slovak and Czech children learn together for the Europe of tomorrow

Thanks to the opening of the East, new opportunities arose for strengthening the cultural and economic contacts to the Eastern countries which border on Austria including Hungary, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. This encouraged the creation of an educational program targeted at the youth of these countries in order to respond to this development. Due to its role as a cultural, political and economic center at the crossroad between East and West, Vienna has gained increasing importance. As a result, the Vienna Board of Education was also intent on making an effective contribution in the area of education.

In line with efforts throughout Europe to raise the standard of foreign language proficiency, multilingual instruction conducted in the context of the “European Middle School Vienna” educational experiment gives pupils the opportunity to use a language other than their mother tongue as a working language and to become sufficiently proficient in a third European language so that they are

²¹Source: <http://www.emsneustiftgasse.at/auswahl/ems1.htm> (as per information from the Vienna Board of Schools). This school is located in the 7th district of Vienna at Neustiftgasse 100.

able to work in that language. In addition, this type of school provides pupils from the above-mentioned countries with a unique opportunity to acquire a deeper understanding of living and working together in a cross-border European context.

The educational experiment “European Middle School Vienna” contributes to increasing experience with regard to the comprehensive concept of *Vienna Bilingual Schooling* for children at the middle school level (10-14 year olds). This program is geared to a multilingual body of pupils (i.e. pupils whose mother tongue is German or English, Slovak, Czech or Hungarian). The aim of this school is twofold. On the one hand, it ensures that the pupils have acquired the relevant basic education based on the Austrian curriculum of the “*Realgymnasium*” (a secondary academic school) as well as the curriculum of the Hungarian, Czech or Slovak school system, respectively. However, on the other hand, it also provides the opportunity to acquire skills in a second and third language which can not be as effectively imparted within the context of the conventional, scholastic way of learning a foreign language.

This educational experiment tests a concept whereby pupils are progressively better able to actively apply knowledge and skills acquired in a subject to a second and third language, in addition to their mother tongue. The children are therefore taught in their mother tongue (German, Slovak, Czech and Hungarian) by native speaker teachers, on the basis of the curriculum. As a result, state curriculum requirements are fulfilled in the framework of “national studies” (between 14 and 16 hours per week in each school year). “Creative studies” – artistic and musical education - are mainly taught in German language (two classes a week during term-time). Sporting activities (three classes a week during term-time) are always taken by an Austrian teacher working in a team with a teacher from one of the three neighboring countries.

Emphasis will be on the teaching of English as “a first modern foreign language” (4 classes a week during term-time at 5th grade with an additional three classes in each subsequent year).

The objective of the area of “European studies” is to develop proficiency in English, in a natural way, as a working language. Also included in the curriculum, is the acquisition of an additional foreign language (i.e. German, French, Italian, Slovak, Czech and Hungarian) with two classes a week during term-time respectively); the grade for these classes will be included in the pupil’s school report.

Pupils whose mother tongue is not German are offered non-compulsory additional classes in German for a total of one lesson per week (a total of two classes a week during term-time).

In the area of “European studies” (working language is English), pupils should be trans-mitted an awareness for the European realm involving various aspects such as:

- historical context,
- geographical and environment-related context,
- culture and art.

The didactical program outlined above is aimed at developing a sense of European awareness among pupils of the “European Middle School Vienna”. It is however, necessary to ensure, that such a program fulfills national curriculum requirements and therefore the courses con-tained in the school certificates issued by “European Middle School Vienna” are fully recog-nized in Austria, the Slovak Republic, the Czech Republic and Hungary; in this way, no addi-tio-nal testing is required for the validation of the school certificates in the respective coun-tries.

The “European Middle School Vienna” is an all-day tuition scheme (“open school”) with lunch and afternoon supervision. This gives pupils the possibility of pursuing various languages in a natural way through contact with other students in educational and free-time activities and fosters a community spirit. Boarding school arrangements, outside-the-school are available at student residents for pupils from neighboring countries who do not reside in Austria.

The model of the “European Middle School” of Vienna is a variation of the Middle School experiment (educational experiment in conformity with Section 7 of the School Organization Act (SchOG) and section 18 of the School Education Act (SchUG) which meets the criterion of cost neutrality.

6 Multilinguality or assimilation?

Although several school projects do induce optimism, it should be borne in mind, as DE CILLIA (2000) so aptly states, that “the existing multilingual potential of children from migrant families is not really utilized at school and that in this regard valuable social capital .is going to waste since the instruction available in the first languages of these children is inadequate.: There is thus a pressing need for bilingual classes in reading and writing and for bilingual educational agendas up to the school-leaving certificate for those who want them, to adequately promote bilingualism, which as a rule already exists in pre-school age children, and to meet the demand, which undoubtedly exists, for bilingual qualifications in the immigrant languages, e.g. in the public sector, in the health system and in the police force .”²²

²² cf. footnote 2.

Finally, it is noted that it is not a question of promoting the new minority languages on the government agenda. The predominant impression is that integration equals assimilation, linguistic assimilation no less!

References and secondary sources

- BMUK (Ed.): Information sheets on presentations for Intercultural Learning No. 2 (1999).
- DE CILLIA R.: Sprachen in Österreich, Österreichisches Sprachen-Kompetenz-Zentrum (Center for School Development, Area III: Foreign Language) bm:bwk. (Working paper of 5 pages, 2001).
- FASSMANN H.-MÜNZ R.: Einwanderungsland Österreich? Gastarbeiter-Flüchtlinge-Immigranten. Vienna 1992.
- KIRYKOVÁ S.: Schule als Raum zur Entfaltung nationaler Identität, in: Seebauer Renate (Ed.): Szenen europäischer Bildungslandschaften - empirical studies in intensive ERASMUS programs and current trends in selected European countries, Mandelbaum Vienna, 2003, p. 82-99.
- SEEBAUER R.: Stichwort: Komenský-Schulverein, in: Czeike Felix, Historisches Lexikon der Stadt Wien, Vol.. 3, p. 561, Kremayr & Scheriau, Vienna 1994.
- URL's:
- <http://www.bka.gv.at/bka/volksgruppen/>
- <http://www.bka.gv.at/bka/volksgruppen/staatenberichtcharta.pdf>
- <http://www.bmbwk.gv.at/start.asp>
- http://www.parlinkom.gv.at/pd/pm/XXI/AB/texte/041/AB04134_.html
- <http://www.emsneustiftgasse.at/auswahl/ems1.htm>
- <http://www.univie.ac.at/dieuniversitaet/2000/magazin/10000082.htm>

Authors of the volume

- PROF. ZSUZSANNA BENKŐ, Dr. PhD. Habil. Sociologist, Head of the Department of Applied Health Sciences, University of Szeged, Juhász Gyula Teachers' Training College. International professional coordinator of the Comenius 2.1 project.
- PROF. MAG. DDr. Martin Bolz, Department of Education; State College of Education Vienna; Accred. Lecturer in Education (University of Derby, UK).
- PROF. DOUTOR CARLOS CARDOSO, PhD. Social Sciences Area Coordinator, Department of Basic Education, Instituto Politécnico de Lisboa, Escola Superior de Educação.
- DR. ERDEI KATALIN, Clinical Psychologist, Psychotherapist and counsellor, Department of Applied Health Sciences, University of Szeged, Juhász Gyula Teachers' Training College.
- LIPPAI LÁSZLÓ LAJOS, Assistant Professor, Psychologist, Department of Applied Health Sciences, University of Szeged, Juhász Gyula Teachers' Training College. Subcoordinator of the Communicational skills development module.
- DR. ISABEL MADUREIRA, Teacher, Special Needs Area, Department of Special Education Instituto Politécnico de Lisboa, Escola Superior de Educação.
- DR. PAULO FEYTOR PINTO, President of Portuguese Teachers Association, master in Intercultural Relations in Sociolinguistic area.
- DR. TERESA PINTO, Sociologist, Higher technical of Equality Commission and Women Rights, Ministry Council Presidency.
- PROF. DR. HAB. ET MAG. RENATE SEEBAUER, Department of Educational Psychology; State College of Education Vienna; Accred. Lecturer in Education (University of Derby, UK). TEMPUS-Office; Coordinator of ERASMUS and COMENIUS Projects.
- DR. LÚCIA VIDAL SOARES, Teacher, Portuguese Language Area, Department of Basic Education Instituto Politécnico de Lisboa, Escola Superior de Educação. Master in Intercultural Relations in Sociolinguistic area.
- TARKÓ KLÁRA, DR. PhD. Associate Professor. Sociologist. Department of Applied Health Sciences, University of Szeged, Juhász Gyula Teachers' Training College. Sub-coordinator of Multicultural education module, Project-coordinator.