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# I.  Introduction

In the German-speaking countries, conceptions of pedagogy related to migration were once dominated by *Ausländerpädagogik* (pedagogy for foreigners), a practice especially prevalent in the 1970s. This focused primarily on the difficulties of *Ausländerkinder* (children of foreigners), viewing these difficulties as deficits and taking them as the starting point for its particularistic pedagogical thinking.[2] While this model is no longer dominant, there is still a "deficit view"[3] of migrant others, even after the turn towards "intercultural pedagogy". *Ausländerpädagogik* has largely disappeared as a term, but not as a practice. After 2001, the "PISA shock" led to the return of approaches that sought to limit pedagogy to boosting the German language skills of pupils from "migrant backgrounds"[4] – a surprising focus given that this target group is usually undervalued in educational institutions (e. g. with respect to its bilingualism or biculturalism), and is still subject to institutional discrimination. The generally high educational aspirations of the parents of students from migrant backgrounds also tend to be overlooked here.[5] As a result, such students still have too little faith in their own potential talents, and may integrate the deficit-oriented image held by others into their own self-image.[6]

It is therefore crucial, when thinking about migration and education, not to reproduce the error of focusing solely on people seen as a having a "migrant background" – with its connotations of deficiency. When the field of migration is narrowed down in this way (in an echo of *Ausländerpädagogik*), two factors are overlooked: firstly, that necessary reforms in the field of migration and education should be thought of as necessary changes in educational institutions, and secondly, that the field of migration and education is associated with requirements which affect *all* school pupils.[7]

The problem that serves as a starting point for this publication,[8] then, is that contemporary migration-related pedagogy, from the point of view of social theory and criticism, lacks a solid basis for a broad, well-founded professional understanding of pedagogical thought and action in the context of migration, displacement and education. Such a basis would equip both teachers and learners with the socio-theoretical and socio-critical tools to advocate an understanding of this kind. It would raise awareness of how teachers perceive

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2   For a detailed account see Auernheimer 1990; Diehm, Radtke 1999; Krüger-Potratz 2005.
3   See Uslucan 2012, 315.
4   For a detailed account see Mecheril 2012.
5   See Nauck 2004; Relikowski, Yilmaz, Blossfeld 2012, 111.
6   See Tan 2008, 243.
7   See Mecheril 2004.
8   This publication is based on Manfred Oberlechner, *Wider den defizitorientierten Zwang zur Assimilation für Fremde – für eine humanistische Pädagogik in der Migrationsgesellschaft*, Salzburg 2020.

themselves and others (and the reasons for these perceptions), and how they act and think pedagogically in relation to others, in specific educational contexts. If an enlightened, humanist capacity for reflection is part of the teacher's vocation, then those responsible for the teacher training curriculum have a duty to ensure that this reflexive habitus has a firm place among the requirements for the topic of migration and education in that curriculum. It would be inappropriate to instead require learners to supply reflection as an additional, personal contribution. If we are to move beyond endless moral appeals, then "pedagogy in a migration society"[9] must be established as a subject in the curriculum, after clarification and debate among academics in this field.

The approach taken here recognizes the society of migration as a fact. It presents and highlights important sociological perspectives for pedagogy in a migration society as a subject area in academic institutions of education.[10] Since this "fact of the migration society"[11] is fundamental for the actors operating in the context of migration and education, attention is focused on its educational relevance, and new spaces are created for it: both learners and teachers need to be aware of the social contexts and history of common terms and paradigms in

9  From the perspective of social theory, the expression "society of migration" (*Migrationsgesellschaft*) characterizes the current historical situation. It is not restricted to Western Europe. Thus, the aspiration to universal humanist values of pedagogy in a society of migration, as presented in this work, has no spatial limitations: the productive force of these values is needed everywhere, as a matter of principle. The term "society of migration" was primarily coined by Paul Mecheril, whose work is drawn on here. Mecheril goes beyond ideas of "societies of immigration" (*Einwanderungs- oder Zuwanderungsgesellschaften*) linked to the nation state and covers migration phenomena that affect *all* the people living in societies of migration; see Mecheril, Oberlechner 2016. In the following discussion, "ethno-cultural heterogeneity" is used to mean a pluralism of ethnic identities. "Ethnicity" is defined in the terms used by Max Weber (1978, 389): "We shall call 'ethnic group' those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists." Robert H. Jackson (1984) defines "identity" as the extent of people's awareness and valuation of their membership in a category. "Ethnic identity" then refers to people's awareness and valuation of their membership in an ethnic group. What criteria do people use to subjectively differentiate "their" ethnicity from others? Here Weber (1980, 390–91) mentions, among other things, "perceptible differences in the conduct of everyday life", "pronounced differences in the economic way of life", "outward differences in clothes, in the style of housing, food and eating habits, the division of labor between the sexes", the language community, and "the ritual regulation of life, as determined by shared religious beliefs".

10  See Mecheril, Karakaşoğlu 2019, 39: "This is not about special education in places where there are many migrants – it is about pedagogy in a society of migration" (own translation). Migration studies is therefore not the same thing as research on migrants.

11  For an introduction to the concepts of "migration" and "society of migration" see e. g. Pries 2010; Treibel 2008; Faist, Fauser, Reisenauer 2014; Spindler 2011; Brinkmann, Sauer 2016; for religion see e. g. Kazzazi, Treiber, Wätzold 2016; Lauser, Weissköppel 2008; "Faith on the Move – The Religious Affiliation of International Migrants", https://www.pewforum.org/2012/03/08/religious-migration-exec/ [last accessed 16 January 2020].

pedagogy in a migration society. It requires a thorough theoretical exploration and a critical engagement with current and historical social models relating to migration and education, along with a historically founded conceptual and theoretical knowledge, to ensure that pedagogical professionalization fits the facts of the migration society.

One fundamental problem is that "migration" as a line of difference almost never occurs alone, but usually appears in current curricula alongside "gender" and "disability" as an aspect of "cross-sectoral diversity". This means that although "migration" is often found as a catchphrase, e. g. in the Austrian teacher training curricula for primary and secondary levels, there are not enough stand-alone teaching units available on migration as a line of difference, or on pedagogy in a migration society, to allow a deeper engagement with specialist theory and pedagogical practice. In the field of diversity, the motto tends to be "a little of everything".

Individual higher education institutions are also reluctant to accept any precise codification of curricular content, be it on migration, pedagogy in a migration society, or other topics; each institution wants to be "autonomous" and use the framework of the curricula to design its own teaching programmes. Furthermore, the teachers themselves are sometimes unwilling to be tied to content specifications in their teaching. The establishment of pedagogy in a migration society as a subject, as advocated here, is also hampered by the fact that there is no comparative evaluation of teachers' outcomes in this subject area. Moreover, it is often assumed that pedagogy, in the context of a migration society, is to be equated with language acquisition/German as a second language. This is typical of a deficit-oriented, particularistic "repair" mindset, which expects pedagogy to iron out the deficits associated with migration. This is not, however, the approach being proposed here. Pedagogy in the migration society is not a particularistic, i. e. segregatory, form of special education, though all too often this is what it amounts to in Austria (and in Germany) – in other words, migration-related education is often still the old *Ausländerpädagogik*. Ultimately this reflects the following: although people accept, superficially and reluctantly, that Austria (or Germany) is a society of migration, they do not have a sufficiently deep awareness of this fact, nor do they universally welcome it.

In this publication, pedagogy in a migration society is therefore not understood as a particularistic form of special education. This is based on the assumption that individuals' examinations of their internal and external "relations of foreignness" constitute learning processes in societies of migration, and that these processes affect all members of society.

At present, however, pedagogy is too action-focused and interculturalizing in its approach to migration. "Interculturality" assumes distinct "container"

cultures[12] as entities; it seeks to line these up and then problematize the "interculture" at their intersections – as if today's cultures, in view of the steadily increasing and global processes of transculturality, did not already contain multiple cultural codings, and were not already interwoven or intermerging (and not just at the points of intersection). "The differentiation between cultures ignores the internal diversity and heterogeneity of 'cultures' and the overlap (relationships, commonalities) with other 'cultures', their constitutional hybridity."[13] The interculturalization of universally valid facts of the migration society usually implies, however, that people are reduced to their "culture of origin". This leads to the overlooking of complex relations of difference, which cannot be reduced to "culture"; in societies of migration these may, for example, be linked to postcolonialism and Orientalism (more on this later).[14]

This publication therefore does not restrict itself to an intercultural discourse within pedagogy; instead it aims to highlight a broader socio-theoretical perspective on constructions of foreignness in which migrant others are subjected to unilateral pressure to assimilate. In the course of the text, selected examples are used to substantiate the concept of "assimilation" with specific content. This study does not explore in detail other approaches that are also relevant for pedagogy in a migration society, and which focus on key concepts such as identity, recognition, tolerance and respect. In presenting my concept of a humanist pedagogy, I have deliberately restricted myself to a specific selection or juxtaposition of Edward Wadie Said, Zygmunt Bauman, and critical theory versus the Chicago School of immigration studies, Hartmut Esser, and the "integration plan" of the Austrian federal state of Salzburg. The more the spirit of Enlightenment and humanism predominates in a particular society and in a particular era, the less migrant others are exposed to a deficit-oriented pressure to assimilate. This thesis is the foundation for my reflections.

This study, then, does not seek to devise a systematic socio-theoretical foundation for pedagogy in a migration society; instead it aims to offer basic principles for the transfer of knowledge in training and professional development. To this end, certain primary texts are recommended reading: Said's study of the two-hundred-year-old tradition of "Orientalism", an assimilating and appropriating perception of the Middle East, Arabs and Islam by Europeans and Americans, and Bauman's diagnoses of society in *Liquid Modernity.* Also recommended are, for example, writings on assimilative integration from the Chicago School of immigration studies, and texts by Esser for specialist

12  For the nation-state-based "container" model of cultures see Mecheril, Castro Varela, Dirim, Kalpaka, Melter 2010.
13  Fuchs 2005, 126, own translation.
14  See Oberlechner 2017, 109; for critical perspectives on the concept of "intercultural education" see Auernheimer 2017. There is also increasing critical scrutiny of "intercultural education" by scholars in the field of pedagogy themselves. As a result, "intercultural educationalists" describe their approach as "reflective intercultural pedagogy" (Hormel and Scherr 2004).

training in the field of pedagogy in the migration society, as well as the works cited in the final chapter by authors from different disciplines who engage theoretically with the social construction of foreignness.

In the following discussion, the deficit-oriented assimilative pressure exerted on migrant others is juxtaposed with postcolonial thinking, specifically that focused on the ideological system of Orientalism, in order to critically scrutinize assimilative pressure, and to deconstruct and delegitimize cultural hegemoniality. This is followed by diagnoses based on the notion of "liquid modernity", which construct the migrant other not as a special case, but as the norm within a capitalist world society driven to neoliberal economic practices.

Sociological diagnoses of the present describe social relations as "flexible", multi-optional", "hybrid", and/or "fluid". They lead to findings on the "risk society",[15] the "multi-optional society"[16] or the "sociology of modernity: freedom and discipline".[17] The period has also being conceived as "liquid modernity",[18] a concept and discourse shaped by Bauman (to be discussed in detail later). In his diagnoses and metaphors on mobilization or on the dissolution of boundaries and time (especially in his writings on "postmodern society" in the 1990s[19]), Bauman refers to findings in Peter Gross's *Multioptionsgesellschaft.* This can be traced back even further to the *Communist Manifesto*, where Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels[20] describe how the achievements of the bourgeoisie lead to the dissolution of "old structures":

All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

While for Marx the upheavals meant liberation from social and economic structures and therefore the self-realization of the individual, Bauman sees modernity as characterized by "liquid" (in the sense of volatile or transitory) private and social living conditions, in which the aims of modernization are preserved. In liquid modernity, these aims are no longer instituted and monitored by the modern, discipline-enforcing state, but are aspired to and achieved "voluntarily" by individual strength of will, effort, and flexibility. To exemplify

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15  Beck 1986 (English 1992).
16  Gross 1994. The phenomenon of increasing diversity of options is becoming a significant feature of modern society, described by Peter Gross as the "multi-option society". Here traditional types of social obligations are dissolving and being replaced by "free options" – individual choices, which demand to be/have to be realized as "wishes", and which then put considerable pressure on the individual to make decisions. For Bauman (2000), this "individualistic freedom" leads to a consumerist burden of participation and decision-making.
17  Wagner 1995.
18  Bauman 2000.
19  Bauman 1995.
20  Marx, Engels 1888 (first published in 1848).

this difference between the order-obsessed and over-regulated "first modernity" and the subsequent, largely deregulated "second modernity", Bauman uses the phenomenon of power. He sees power in the latter period as extremely fast-moving, difficult to grasp, and virtual, or independent of the physical: its contingency liquefies in space and time and transcends all national boundaries.

Bauman therefore speaks of a break between the old "panoptic" modernity of control (here he quotes Michel Foucault's systematization of different forms of surveillance, e.g. in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*[21]) and a new, transitory, liquid modernity, which he describes as "post-panoptic". Bauman depicts the ways individuals and societies create identity in the "postnational" present as characterized by a diffuse uncertainty, unease, self-optimization, a lack of individual security, ambivalence, ambiguity, a fear of others, and the absence of public welfare. Individualistic freedom leads to a consumerist burden of participation and decision-making, and weighs heavily (see the more detailed account below).[22]

The neoliberal creed regarding state and institutional deregulation, the flexibilization of employment relationships, the curtailing of social networks, the privatization of social services, or the profitable promotion of self-employment, pushes people into ongoing, unfettered competition, in which a lack of success is interpreted as individual failure.[23] In *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, Ulrich Beck denounces these phenomena as extreme tendencies towards individualization amid increasing social inequality, criticizing their consequences for individual identity: those affected lose their power to act in solidarity, since the inequality they experience is no longer perceived as supra-individual, i.e. class-related.[24] In this context, Byung-Chul Han speaks of increasingly widespread solitude, in a mass consisting of isolated individuals who exploit themselves and fight for (or against) themselves.[25] All are "condemned" to autonomy, all must make more decisions and take more responsibility, and are exposed to more risks. In Beck's view, this results in feelings of personal inadequacy or guilt.[26] Bauman also discerns a sense of insecurity among citizens who see the state as weakened by neoliberal globalization, and feel a lack of individual security because of this. In liquid modernity, as Bauman sees it, the solid, heavy foundation of modernization, the nation state, has largely collapsed.[27] Han writes:

Neoliberalism, as a mutation of capitalism, converts the worker into an entrepreneur. Neoliberalism, not Communist revolution, eliminates the working class that is subject to

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21  Foucault 1977.
22  See Bauman 2000; details on the passages will be given in later sections.
23  See Sennett 1998.
24  Beck 1992.
25  Han 2017b, 36–37.
26  See Beck 1992, 100.
27  Bauman 2000.

outside exploitation. Today each person exploits himself in his own company. Each one is master and slave, in the same person. The class struggle becomes an internal struggle with myself. [28]

In this context, then, this study specifically thematizes the right of "foreigners" or migrant others to speak for themselves, and the desperate historical struggle of the oppressed for self-determination and civil liberties, against the background of Said's description of the cultural system of Orientalism and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's conceptions of subalternity.[29] It also emphasizes the pleasure derived from encountering others, encountering strangers: this is a force that enriches day-to-day pedagogical work – despite its supposed deficits – and gives meaning to pedagogical professionalism.

This book does not offer a detailed didactic roadmap, or any specific didactic examples of how the humanist building blocks of pedagogy in a migration society might be taught. I am operating as a sociologist here, within the framework of my profession of educational sociology. Of course it would be impossible to dispense with didacticization altogether – that would be like providing a means of transport without clear route maps and timetables. My primary concern here, however, is to provide the initial idea and contours for the concept of a humanist pedagogy in a migration society. I manoeuvre my way through the society of migration as a sociologist of education, seeking to explore it in a pedagogically relevant way and to devise a pedagogical infrastructure. The second step, didactic implementation (in the form of concrete pedagogical roadmaps), lies beyond my remit. Though this step is obviously

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28  Han 2014b, 14. (English: Han 2017b, 36–37)

29  An innovative didactic example showing how the socially critical reflection presented in this publication (aimed at preventing deficit-oriented assimilative pressure on migrant others) can be transferred from theory into practice is offered by "Sprachlos durch Migration?" ("Speechless through migration?"). This is a template for the prize of the same name, awarded by the city of Salzburg, and serves to ensure that the voices of "foreigners" are heard. Although didacticization is not at the centre of this work, this specific case study shows that research focused on social theory gives an innovative shape to the vocational aspect of teacher training. Postcolonial theory pays attention to the question of representation or "representational speaking". As well as investigating the power structure of a discourse or a "speaking position", it examines how marginalized individuals or groups can be made visible or audible within it. In the essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?", Spivak (1988) postulates, for example, that the "subaltern" cannot speak, because they are prevented from doing so not just by means of physical and psychological coercion, but also by techniques of "hegemonic representation". When the subaltern is represented or spoken for (*vertreten*) and thereby re-presented or portrayed (*dargestellt*), the construction of the "Other" emerges. In the hegemonic discourse, subaltern voices can be excluded, falsified, appropriated and instrumentalized. In 2018, against this theoretical background, the author and the city of Salzburg jointly initiated the prize "Sprachlos durch Migration?", awarded by the city of Salzburg. See https://stadt-salzburg.gv.at/internet/service/aktuell/aussendungen/2018/sprachlos_durch_migration_preise_erstmal_471050.htm [last accessed 17 January 2020]. Another example of good practice in this respect is "The Silent University", launched by the Kurdish artist Ahmet Öğüt in 2012; see Oberlechner, Ben Haddou 2019.

crucial, it is not essential that I provide this didactic roadmap myself. After all, in a highly specialized society based on the division of labour there are more competent and more qualified scholars to whom this task can be entrusted. In other words, however necessary this didacticization is, it must be carried out by professionals in the field of didactics. But at the same time, this means that the concept advocated here will only prove its worth if didacticization is in principle possible.

The primary concern of this book is to deconstruct[30] "special behaviour" towards those who are coded as "migrants", as having a "migrant background", or as being "different" and "foreign", bearing in mind the specific social background. The aim is not to lose sight of the positions inherent in the prevailing socialization processes, positions that otherwise tend to go largely unchallenged. This is necessary in order to stress that pedagogical professionalism in a migration society requires socially critical reflection, but also individual self-reflection, using specific examples of the deficit-oriented assimilative pressure exerted on migrant others. Only then is it possible to argumentatively develop an independent, reflexive habitus in the context of migration, displacement and education, within the framework of professional training or ongoing professional development. There is also a need for sound knowledge of the historical evolution or construction of terms that are used today by scholars of education in the context of migration and society, and thus have a lasting formative effect on this context. For this it is essential to link existing conditions to social theory, providing a historical context for pedagogical action and transferring ethical responsibility to those who currently research and teach in educational institutions within societies of migration. It is then possible to critically question deficit-oriented practices of assimilative pressure on migrant others, and help to prevent direct or indirect discrimination (and indeed racism) related to this. Students from "migrant backgrounds" still appear less often in discourses on giftedness; instead they are associated with worse performance outcomes, and tend to be seen as a challenge for the education system because of their different first language. In many cases this can be attributed to a deficit orientation, which leads to the marginalization of these students. This is why we need to critically consider how this deficit view can be changed in educational institutions, and how the potential of the students affected can be made visible.[31]

30  For Jacques Derrida (1982), founder of the linguistic philosophy of deconstruction, language does not merely function as a reproduction of the world but is charged with creative potential. It shows an "excess of meaning", which makes it simultaneously ambivalent, ambiguous, incomplete, or context-dependent (Derrida calls this excess *différance*). Deconstruction refers to the constructed nature of imaginary orders which are regarded as natural: their deconstruction unsettles fixed patterns of imagination in the individual's self-perception, making them give up their order-constituting function.
31  See Tan 2008; Uslucan 2012.