ÇOKKÜLTÜRLÜLÜK MASALI: ÇOKKÜLTÜRLÜ TOPLUMLARDA TÜRK İŞÇİ ÇOCUKLARININ EĞİTİMİ SORUNU (ALMANYA VE HOLLANDA ÖRNEĞİ)

FABLE OF MULTICULTURALISM: EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF TURKISH WORKERS' CHILDREN IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES (SAMPLES OF GERMANY AND HOLLAND)

Dr. Mahmut TEZCAN
Ankara University
Faculty of Educational Sciences
Professor of Sociology

ÖZ

Eğitim yönünden çok kültürlü toplumların yabancı işçilerin çocuklarına yönelik durumunu ortaya koyan bu yazıda o ülkelerin hiç de başarılı olmadıkları, hatta çokkültürlülüğün özüne ters düşen uygulamalara girdikleri belirlenmiştir. Çünkü bu ülkeler (özellikle Almanya) bu çocuklara eğitim olanakları sağlamada yerli çocuklarla eşit şans olanaklar sağlamamaktadırlar. Bu olanaksızlıklar, okul, öğretmen, programlar yönünden son derecede kısıtlı tutulmaktadır. En önemlisi bu ülkeler işçi çocuklarına dil öğretememektedirler. Çocukların başarısızlıkları da bu noktada düğümlenmektedir.

Türklerin entegrasyonu üç açıdan değerlendirilebilir:

1. Türklerin içinde yaşadıkları toplumdaki siyasal karar alma süreçlerine ülkenin yerlileri gibi katılabilmeleri gerekmektedir.

2. Toplumsal alanda ise, devingenliğin önündeki engellerin kaldırılması şart.

3. Kültürel alanda ise, Türklerin kendi dilleri, dinleri, kendi kültürleri ile bu toplum içinde var olmalarının önündeki çok yönlü engellerin ortadan kaldırılması, her alanda ayrımcılığa son verilmesi bir zorunluluk olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Ortak yaşam politikalarının işlevli kılınabilmesinin koşulu ise karşılıklı hoşgörüdür.

ABSTRACT

This paper examines Turkish workers' children's educational problems in relation to the policies of two sample multicultural societies, Holland and Germany. Special attention is paid to assimilation, integration and multuculturalism as parts of these policies, and to their connections with education.

It is shown that, in these countries, these aims are not attained in any way and that even those attempts at application that have been made contradict the origin of multiculturalism. In respect of education, these countries do not provide equal chance and possibilities for foreign children; the aims are restricted to the degree of impossibility by school instructors and the curriculum.

Nowadays multicultural societies are qualified as industrialized and developed societies. These societies, at the same time, have reached the status of "Information society", also called postindustrial society, and they carry and live the characteristics of this time. On the international level, a widespread and accelerated migration has started to those societies in which information is dominant and technology is developed.

European countries have obtained the workers required by developed industry from Mediterranean countries, such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia and Turkey.

These workers first went alone to these countries and afterwards they brought their families. However it was not an easy process. It was necessary to make some agreements between the countries sending and receiving workers. Thus, as a result of the workers' children's arrival, the issue of their education has taken place as a serious problem which has not yet been resolved.

In this paper, educational problems of Turkish workers childrens will be examined in the frame of policies followed by the host countries.

Dealing with Holland and Germany as samples of two multicultural societies, the "Assimilation", "Integration" and "Multiculturalism" that take part in

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these policies, and their connections with education will be discussed.

I. The Sample of Holland

Minorities Education is inefficient in respect of creating equitable possibilities for minorities.

The goals of the minorities' policy that was put into practice in 1983 are as follows (Alkan,1992):

1. Improving the minorities' social situations,
2. Preventing prejudices and discrimination,
3. Providing their liberation as a group and as individuals by showing respect to minorities' culture, religion and language (pluralist view point).

The 1983 native language and culture education policy aimed to:

1. Instil positive self respect and consciousnees.
2. Decrease the gap between the environments of school and family.
3. Contribute to multicultural education.

In Holland, there are various data that show the mechanisms of election and distribution that perform discrimination against minorities in the secondary education system. It is indicated that minorities will be the most ignorant and fallen skilled groups in Holland in the future. It is obvious that individuals in these groups will enter adult life without any educational and professional adequacy for participating in the work market.

On the other hand, most of the people who have a chance to get a certain kind of education will accumulate in the lowermost professional and technical areas in the working market.

In conclusion,

1. Ethnic minority groups are held at an educational disadvantage.
2. Ethnic minority groups are generally considered as groups which have lower educational and intellectual potential.
3. The history, culture and knowledge of ethnic minority groups are rejected and despised systematically (Alkan, 1992).

The stages of the policy in Holland can be summarized as follows: (Canatan, 1995:199)

1. Native language and culture education
2. Preparation education
3. Multicultural education
1. In the 1970's there was bicultural (bicultured) education in Holland. Foreign children were attending Dutch schools on the one hand and getting education about their own native language and culture on the other hand. This kind of education tended to the aim of return because it was not admitted that foreigners might remain in Holland.

2. In the 1980's the family reunions accelerated and the education of second generation children increased in Holland. In this case, eduational policy formed a preparatory education for foreign children who had recently arrived. The purpose was to integrate children to Dutch schools.

3. The application of intercultural education was the third policy. Pedagogues do not agree about the meaning of this policy. According to some, this education.

a) Should be given as a separate course which aims at knowledge transfer.
b) Should be a form of thought and behaviour.
c) Should be a non-racist and liberalist education.

The three principles of this model are equity, justice and freedom.

There is a domination of intercultural education as a form of knowledge transformation in practice. In fact this mentality, which starts out from the principles of multicultural society and equality of cultures theoretically, did not reflect onto educational applications in Holland sufficiently. In education not multiculturalism but uniculturalism is taken as a foundation.

In Holland, at first the minorities' native language and cultural education was kept independent from Holland's basic educational system. It was continued to realize the purpose of return. However, when the foreign workers' permanence was considered, new functions were loaded onto education. The first function of native language and culture education was to make a contribution to the development of the children's self and consciousness; the second was to facilitate the communication between family and school. The time given to this education was reduced to 2.5 hours from 5 hours in school periods.

The other 2.5 hours were transferred to an out-of-class hour (Canatan, 1995: 207).

II. The Sample of Germany

When the relationships between foreigners and Germans are considered, the two basic policies talked about are the policies of assimilation and integration.

A. Assimilation Policy

It can be thought that assimilation is a process in which groups participating in any society are brought to resemble each other economically, socially and culturally. It is a long procedure realized by change of inter-generations.

Neither Turks nor Germans thought favourably of assimilation. As a matter of fact it is impossible to put into practice. It was also impossible to achieve fusion in German society for Turkish people, whose culture is

essentially different. The notion of citizenship based on blood relationship also prevented the application of assimilation. Germany did not boggle at keeping up the policies of assimilation and integration because of a supposition about Turkish workers as guest workers and temporary. They stayed in ghettos or factory hostels as a community, so they retired to a distance from German society physically. Germans also did not resist the idea that they were living as an introvert group. The social relations provided between Turkish people, thus social isolation and introvertion process was realized.

Germany, France, England and Switzerland are the followers of assimilation policies.

Basic suppositions on which the model are based are that:

a) Society is a unity and it can not be divided economically, politically or culturally.
b) There are common defined values, beliefs and behavioral rules in society that everybody should comply with.
c) The dominant formal language in society is a means of communication that all ethnic groups should know and use.
d) The dominant race and culture is superior to the others.
e) The dominant ethnic group and authority can turn to pressure and violence in the process of assimilation of other ethnic groups. (Canatan, 1995: 187).

B. Integration Policy

This policy aims at a synthesis by affecting ethnic groups without assimilation. The standpoint of this model can be defined as harmonious heterogenity. The different sections of society provide a consensus on common principles by grasping the conflict models. The cultural differentials of minority groups are respected as long as they do not conflict with basic values of dominant culture (Canatan, 1995: 164). The philosophical principle of this policy is reconciliationism. It is expected that different cultures will reach a synthesis in certain dimensions in the course of time. Sweden and Holand are followers of this policy in Western Europe. The principles of this policy are equity, freedom of choice and solidarity.

The relationship between minority and majority depends on the principles of equality and harmony in the integration model. The belief of cultural and racial superiority gives place to cultural tolerance and racial equality in this model.

This model has two principle suppositions (Canatan, 1995: 189):

a) Cultural differences are recognized clearly and positively.
b) Ethnic groups are not only an element which constitute society but also share the possibilities of society. The political and economical power is shared out and generalized among the groups.

Structural pluralism expresses that ethnic groups are in possession of their own organizations and institutions. A pluralist society can be defined as a kind of society in which more than one ethnic group exist and they can express themselves on an institutional level.

One of the polices of living together is integration. Integration perceived as assimilation could not be an effective policy. In fact the Turkish people's adjustment to German life style could not be considered in any case. Integration means that the migratory society continues relations with the other sections of the migrated society by maintaining different social characteristics without assimilation.

C. Multiculturalism

There are various different ways of understanding integration. The critiques of models of integration constitute some submodels. One of them is a concept of multicultural society. It is admitted to a certain extent in Germany. It can be defined as different cultures living together. However this standpoint reduces them to merely folkloric elements. As to the dominant viewpoint, these folkloric elements will add colour to the dominant German culture and life style. (Akkaya, 1997). This definition is criticized as a shallow approach to multiculturalism. However this concept should be understood in the following way:

"It is defined as different groups' participation to the process of making decision or effecting it by means of methods that organized and institutionalized under legal guarantee." (Erggil, 1995: 159). In that case, bilingualism, which constitutes native and formal language of children who belong to different cultural groups, is inevitable in respect of education. According to linguists, to understand well and to use a truely native language are two preconditions of children's success in school and in all studies about second/formal language in the future. (Ergil, 1995: 160).

For multiculturalism to be an effective policy of living together, a standpoint is necessary to improve political and legal infrastructure of approach models in respect of culture and this is gaining support gradually in Germany. The view of different cultures living together, effecting and contributing to each other and realizing integration can be meaningful only if political and legal rights are given to foreigners as well as equal chances in all domains. These constitute the theoretical

fundamentals of models of living together that models will be effective in future. (Akkaya, 1997).

In this model, the political power aims at keeping different ethnic, cultural and religious groups together by maintaining their own socio-cultural existence. No particular group's domination can be allowed.

One of the basic conditions of cultural pluralism is structural pluralism. An ethnic group cannot maintain its own identity and being without having basic institutions which can transmit its culture to the following generations (Canatan, 1995: 162).

The philosophical fundamental of this policy depends on cultural relativism. According to this view, each culture is a consistent and meaningful unity in itself. A culture cannot be judged according to the values and norms of any other culture. There can not be an avanced or undeveloped culture, nor a superior or inferiorone. All cultures are equal and should be evaluated equally.

Nowadays, none of the Western societies formulates a pluralistic policy respecting minorities. Only Switzerland is successful in this subject.

Switzerland realized the need to increase the representation possibilities of minorities to obtain majority rights (namely equal citizenship). Switzerland accomplished this by gaining legal institutional supports with the aim of realization in the domains of legislation, execution, judgement, publication and teaching language (Ergil, 1995: 165).

The thesis of multicultural society ignores real power relations between dominant and minority groups and negative mechanisms for minorities in educational institutions, that is to say institutional discrimination. (Canatan, 1995: 202).

Institutional discrimination reproduces ethnic inequality by means of institutions, rules, habits and similar structural mechanisms. In this sense, discrimination is in the essence of the system and produces itself perpetually.

Taylor's view of pluralism is defined with two principles: to recognize cultural differences, which constitute different life practices, on the political level and to consider them equally respectable (Köker, 1996: 12). Taylor puts forward the necessity of evaluating cultural identities as the principle of equivalence respect, against an understanding of "tolerance" which consists of a hierarchical approach based on a particular culture's superiority. In brief, Taylor understands pluralism as recognition of cultural identities, Assigning the traditions and creations of different cultures with equal value (Taylor, 1996B 76). This is a reasonable attitude.

Educational Problems of Turkish Workers' Children

In various educational levels, Turkish children have any number of problems. We can enumerate them from preschool education as follows:

a) Infant Schools

Immigrant children can not benefit from these schools. 95% of immigrant children, at the age of 0-6, can not attend infant schools. There are various reasons for this situation (Turan, 1992: 211):

- These institutions are far from the places that Turks live in.
- There is no teacher who speaks Turkish.
- Turkish families not can afford these schools.

However, the German of Turkish children can be developed with some provisions for their attendance at these schools. That these institutions have spread as a socialization agent is a recent fact for Germany and they could not attain efficient capacity. The govenments did not take this issue seriously. When the rate of foreign children increased, German parents did not send their own children to these schools. As a result, the departments concerned brought into effect a quota and rejected applications.

In addition, since these schools cause loss of identity, Turkish parents are distrustful.

b) Schools, Educational Policy About Foreigners and Education of Turkish Children

The structure of the German educational system is wholly concerning with the middle classes. (Turan, 1992: 222-3) This structure is directed by the middle class towards the world of profession. In this general frame, the function of school is to prepare children for their future social roles and to get them to gain a profession. The social role here is the central role in the life of an average German citizen. A student who is not suitable or who is discordant with this general functional expectation and direction is refused and eliminated by the system. A privileged and differently arranged curriculum for foreign children generally, or Turkish childen in particular, is not considered (Turan, 1992: 223).

Preparatory Classes

Since 1964 preparatory classes have been constituted with the aim of developing foreign students' German.

For native language courses were taken to these classes, they digressed from main purpose.

When the idea of integrating foreign children into the German school system was accepted, preparatory

classes were meaningful. These children were integrating to German school, native language and culture courses. This matter was considered as an obstacle to the integration policy. In practice, the students delay in preperatory class for a long time and could not start normal class. The children remained in the same class for 4-5 years, instead of 1-2 years. Some Turkish children even reach school leaving age without any certificate for completing their compulsory education years. These children finish compulsory education without any skill.

60% of Turkish workers' children pass compulsory schooling age before they finish basic education by the ninth year, so they lose possibilities of attaining any profession, at least by way of apprenticeship education (Abadan, 1979).

The teachers appointed to preparatory classes are not suitable in respect of quality since they are not for these classes, grammer courses and the education of foreign workers' children. This matter decreases their success. Those families which are settled in a scattered manner can not profit by these teachers and classes. In addition, in these classes there are no German teachers originating from Germany, or the teachers have not the required quality in respect of profession and experience.

Although there is an increase in the number of Turkish students who profit by vocational education, this education is insufficient.

It has become harder for Turkish youth to find places in apprenticeship education, especially since the combination of the two Germanies. The German employers give priority to youths from East Germany in respect of apprenticeship education. Conseqently there is a decrease in acceptance of apprenticeship applications from young Turks.

c) Special Education

Since Turkish children could not learn German sufficiently and adapt to the educational system, an important proportion of them the are sent to schools for special education by testing. These children, are labelled as mentally retarded (I. Youth Council, 1989: 426).

d) Higher Education

A few young Turks abroad can attend higher education. Since only those students who left school with high grades can pass to higher education, this matter is an obstacle for Turkish students.

In addition, universities which have limited quotas accept their own students firstly and student members of AET secondly. Consequently, Turks who finished the same high school on equal conditions can not enter some branches of these universities (I. Youth Council, 1989: 427).

e) Turkish, Turkish Culture and Religion Courses

These courses are not a part of the normal curriculum, they are not evaluated as report-card degrees and they are taught outside class hours. Thus interest in these courses is low. (I. Youth Council, 1989: 427).

f) Teachers

There is an important proportion of teacher deficiency abroad.

g) Repression by Outside Society

Because of the increased unemployment, foreign antagonism, repression by outside society, breaking off relations with family. Young people turn to crime and detrimental habits.

h) Spare Times

In addition, the youngones cannot evaluate their spare time productively and they can not organize themselves in sportive domains.

I) Re-integration into Native Country

Since they could not learn Turkish efficiently abroad, they also have adaptation problems when they return home (Tezcan, 1987: 79).

As seen above, the education of Turkish workers' children becomes an important problem. These problems required a solution. This solution depends on arrangements of the two nations.

The need for German and Turkish people to live together healthily and without any problem is an expected situation. The multicutural society necessitated this. A common life policy depends upon some means. We can gather them into four points:

a) Laws
b) Organization
c) Increase of the common life spaces (Akkaya, 1997).
d) Informal education for German people.

The Means of Common Life Policies
1. Laws

The political infrastructure is not amenable to constitute a suitable policy of common life for the present in Germany. Although Germany became a defacto migration country, it rejects this matter in policies and still considers its permanent emigrants as visitor workers. This policy obstructs German citizens from accepting foreigners as a part of society and it makes an image of a group that they can send back if necessary. In addition, in this policysince foreigners are

considered temporary, the conditions for providing equal opportunity and possibility of getting a fair share from all domains of social life can not be brought in force effectively. Due to this policy an alternative of return is always left open.

The only legal arrangement of the German goverment's emigration policy is the Foreigners Law. This law does not draw a frame which is changed according to daily requirements nor does it encourage social integration in respect of Germans and foreigners. The policy was directed as a reaction to current developments, the opposition or elections until now. Future developments were not taken into account. The foreigners policy did not effectively undertake demolition of prejudices against foreigners in the emigration receiving society. On the contrary it caused them to become powerful, consciously or unconsciously.

2. Organization

There is business to be done on both parts. In respect of Turkish citizens, this constitutes the conditions of organization for elimination of problems arising from the models of integration with German society, direction of social and cultural organizations to prevent repression from social life and fulfilment of requirements of modern life (as learning German). In addition, that Turkish people's cultural identity can be made clear and maintained is also a necessary and unavoidable precondition.

3. Increase of Common Life Spaces

For living together, common life spaces should be increased. Up to the present these spaces have been limited. Beause of this, they could not be fully functional. These spaces should be political parties, trade unions, employer organizations, culture associations, common cultural activities and all types of continuations of these. Educational institutions, such as infant schools, are places in which Turks and Germans can lose their prejudices. That Turkish people tend to go out from ghettos gradually and begin to live together with Germans breeds similar results.

4. Informal Education for German People

Informal education which will remove Germans' negative prejudices about foreign workers and especially Turkish workers is required. This matter can be realized by agencies, whether educational institutions or mass media. These prejudices have no place in a multicultural society. It should be considered that Turkish workers are permanent and German people are accustomed to this idea.

Conclusion

In this paper which exposed and presented two multicultural societies' attitudes to foreign workers' children in respect of education, it was shown that these countries were not successful, even with their attempted applications contradicting the origin of multiculturalism. These countries (especially Germany) do not provide equal chances and possibilities for foreign children respecting education. The children's possibilities are highly restricted in respect of school, instructor and curriculum. Furthermore, these countries can not teach the workers' children. The failure of children becomes knotted at this point as well.

The integration of Turkish people can be evaluated from three respect:

1. It is necessary that Turkish people can participate in political decision making progress in the society they live in as indigenous members of the country.
2. In social space, it is necessary to destroy the obstacles to of mobility.
3. In cultural space it is necessary to destroy multudirectional obstacles to their presence within this society caused by their own language, religion and culture and to put an end to discrimination in all domains.

The reciprocal tolerance is the condition for making common life policies functional.

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