1. Introduction

Historical contexts and processes of globalization and internationalization have been determining and challenging education and educational research in Europe, especially with regard to intercultural and linguistic diversity\(^1\). A multitude of contradictions, ambivalences and

\(^1\) This paper has been presented and discussed as two distinct contributions during the SPECIES conference in March 2018 at the University of Lausanne on the
lines of conflict show these challenges, some of which are openly revealed, concealed by ideologies or attempted to be controlled by means of measures of regulation and standardization. For example, this concerns the relationships between global processes and their consequences at the local and regional level; it also concerns the relationships between the appreciation of diversity, regulatory attempts to implement standardization, and the relationships between the production of high-quality scientific knowledge (related to the scientific system) as well as educated, qualified and independent people (related to the education system), and an international, comparison-oriented evaluation and assessment of the results of these systems. The list of such ambivalences and contradictions could easily be continued.

In the following, we try to analyze such ambivalences and contradictions on two different levels. The first one relates to educational cultural and linguistic diversity. The second level looks at educational research itself and asks about its dependence on language and culture. We use the Italian province of South Tyrol as an example, where such ambivalences and contradictions can be shown particularly well due to its historical, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Hence, the present paper shows how such ambivalences and contradictions appear on a regional level and which challenges arise for education and educational research. We analyze two different subjects: diverse linguistic backgrounds within intercultural education – that is, with view on the educational system –, and diverse cultures and contexts of educational research – that is, with view on the scientific system. We discuss the complex interdependencies of different cultures, different expectations and different results of education and educational research that are of fundamental importance for the processes of globalization with a strong impact on the regional level. According to our concluding thesis, such challenges require increased analytical and political efforts to both bear and shape contradictions and ambivalences in view of an emergent super-diversity.

2. Theoretical Background

The paper uses two main theoretical approaches: a) culture as an open and dynamic process of interaction that assumes a dependence of
linguistic and cultural conditions on historical and social contexts and b) super-diversity, which points to a transformative diversification of diversity; this theory captures the complexity of teaching and learning in intercultural contexts as well as the complexity of cross-cultural educational research projects.

2.1 Culture as an Open and Dynamic Process

Here, culture is regarded as an open and dynamic process of interaction, which leads and should lead to a change in the perception of others and of oneself. This paper argues, in line with the dynamic systems theory, that languages and cultures are products of the historical and social contexts in which the individuals’ developments take place. Each cultural group with its language(s) and individuals is an open system, which is influenced by the “very slightest change” and can be considered acceptable across cultural differences or not. Language and intercultural education play an important role in sensitizing human similarities as well as differences.

Such a concept of culture is useful not only for the field of education, but also for the field of educational research. A history of social science approach serves to analyze historical developments and to identify cultural contingencies of forms and modes of doing research as a ‘normal science’ in different cultures. There are several ideas, approaches and theories about the development and structure of social sciences and educational research in different cultures. The one tries to reconstruct the development of social sciences in the context of nation building. Another one tries to identify turns and shifts of

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5 Ibidem.
6 See P. Wagner, Varieties of interpretations of modernity: On national traditions in sociology and other social sciences, in C. Charle, J. Schriewer & P. Wagner (Eds.), Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities, Frankfurt am Main, Germany & New York, Campus,
knowledge production, for example, from mode I to mode II knowledge. A third one distinguishes the “disciplinary” pattern of scholarly communication. They all have significant consequences for ways of thinking, researching and arguing as becomes apparent when analyzing and comparing, for example, national educational research journals. Such different research cultures are also performed by different languages and the associated world views. The dominance of the English language in scholarly communication not only leads to a pragmatic homogenization of understanding and communication but also to the fact that certain linguistically mediated world views become hidden and run the risk of disappearing from the treasure trove of variety and diversity of such linguistic (and theoretical) constructions and concepts. In this respect, intensive conceptual and definitional work from a comparative linguistic and philology perspective is also required in educational research in order to make intercultural understanding possible in the first place and to preserve the connection between text and context, language and social experience. Such methodical and methodological considerations also correspond to real


processes of the present: Globalization of economies and global mobility also led to the internationalization of education and educational research. Although “education policies, programs and practices have been, and continue to be, located in national territorial spaces” 10, this does not mean that a global element is absent. As Robertson and Dale emphasize, it was possible to detect a “thin” global policy regime in the years following the Second World War until the 1980s. With the advance of neoliberalism as a global political project, there has been a thickening of regional and global policy making activity arising from, and in turn driving, the transformation of national and sub-national education spaces, policies and outcomes. Such transformations have generated important challenges for researchers of education, largely because education policies are no longer primarily “national” or indeed made by national states 11.

The mentioned transformations challenged educational systems, and educational research as well. An area that has strongly been affected by these processes is the teaching of further languages and its potential for intercultural education. Allemann-Ghionda highlights that multilingualism and language education are central in the conceptualization of intercultural education 12 – or the education of migration 13 – and hence the social positioning of an individual. According to Santerini 14 language – a communication code that is not purely instrumental – contains a strong meaning of possible equality and dignity of citizens as members of the same cultural community. This has a respective impact on people who do not (sufficiently) master the language of this cultural community. Although the management of linguistic diversity is not alone decisive for the individual’s position in society, it is a central aspect of the type of participation in public life.


11 Ibidem.


13 P. Mecheril, Handbuch Migrationspädagogik, cit., uses the German term Migrationspädagogik; as the term cannot be translated literally, here, education of migration is used here – aware of the inadequacies of the translation.

It might be clear that linguistic diversity increases due to migration and that the use of language changes; however, there is no consensus on how to deal with this development.\textsuperscript{15}

Similar developments are observable in the field of educational research. These include not only the linguistic (and also financial) dominance of the English-language and evidence-based research mainstream,\textsuperscript{16} but also hegemonic structures of research center and periphery, of colonializing and colonized scientific and scholarly fields.\textsuperscript{17} Such developments apply in particular to emerging researchers and doctoral students who are increasingly affected by an economic system of the production of scholarly knowledge, in which knowledge is regarded more as a commodity than as a public good.\textsuperscript{18}

2.2 \textit{Super-diversity as a Transformative Diversification of Diversity}

In addition and extension to a concept of culture as an open and dynamic process of interaction, we use the concept of super-diversity. We understand diversity as a concept that includes a wide spectrum of differences, including linguistic and cultural differences and the associated frictions and contradictions. We consider it a special task of scholarly analyses and reflection to clarify these differences and contradictions in their specific figurations, without wanting to tie them


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together under one single, “homogenizing” umbrella as an uncritical ideology. The super-diversity paradigm\textsuperscript{19} focuses on the complexity of migration trends and sees cultural and linguistic diversity as the normality within a nation. Moreover, the dynamic systems theory\textsuperscript{20} emphasizes the hyper-complexity of learning.

Cultural and linguistic diversity is strongly related to what Vertovec describes as super-diversity; it is the process of observable society developments as a transformative diversification of diversity. There are different reasons for diversity: not only migration but also historical and political changes; this is especially observable in territories characterized by minority communities. In addition, diversity in the field of educational research emerges in the form of hierarchies, different research cultures, disciplines, and theoretical or methodological approaches or schools. Regarding the education system, this “inner diversity” is in Europe influenced by migration, which entails the variety of different cultural backgrounds and first languages (L1s), giving rise to super-diversity. Migration and its points of friction with existing diversity challenges educational settings in Europe. In the great majority of European countries, the intercultural approach is incorporated in the general aims of the national curricula. The focus in these curricula is on intercultural learning to develop values and respect through the understanding of historical and social contexts of cultural diversity\textsuperscript{21}, whereby the aims of an education of migration – for example to work in a teacher team on interculturality and to remove the cultural ethnocentrism within schools – are still experienced as being difficult to achieve\textsuperscript{22}.

Even though this concept has its origins in analyses of migration processes and thus focuses upon the pedagogical field in particular, it can also be modified and transferred to the field of educational research. Regarding the educational research system, the “inner diversity” is characterized by a double reference. On the one hand, it can be


\textsuperscript{20} L. Aronin & U. Jessner, \textit{Understanding current multilingualism}, cit.


seen in the multitude of theories, programs, methodical approaches, methodological “camps” and a trend towards fragmentation of educational discourses, which is sometimes lamented as a lack of clarity or even as “lack of discipline”\textsuperscript{23}. On the other hand, however, attempts at methodological standardization and political instrumentalization of research processes and products are becoming increasingly visible. A transformative diversification of diversity is thus complemented by a transformative homogenization of diversity in the academic field. Such a complementary perspective refers to centrifugal forces of differentiation and diversification, on the one hand, and corresponding centripetal forces of integration, homogenization and also hierarchization on the other hand. The first one could indicate the structure of a “loosely coupled”, the second one the structure of a tightly coupled system\textsuperscript{24}. It is these two forces taken together that characterize the interplay and super-diverse development of cultural and linguistic differences and similarities in both the pedagogical and the academic field\textsuperscript{25}. Standardizations and hierarchizations of “quality” and value as


well as the increasing commodification of scholarly production define, so to speak, the complementary piece to the transformative diversification of diversity, that is the transformative homogenization of diversification in the medium of standards and hierarchies. Contemporary ranking criteria and lists as well as the attempts to gain the power to define the level of research quality and, thus, obtain the appropriate financial and human resources serve as other vivid examples.

2.3 Method and Field of Investigation

In view of the super-diversity paradigm and the dynamic systems theory, this paper – by focusing on South Tyrol as an example – aims at analyzing contemporary challenges of the interplay between intercultural and language education and educational research, and its consequences for educational settings.

Regarding a first step this paper focuses on a larger mixed methods research with nearly 400 questionnaires filled out by children, 50 semi-structured interviews with children and parents and 20 language teachers that participated in focus group discussions. Derived from this larger mixed methods research on South Tyrolean primary schools, this paper analyzes data through constant comparative analysis and the method of the key incident analysis to show contemporary challenges and its consequences for educational settings. Hence, single events, which are described in detail and linked to other incidents and theoretical constructs were used. These single events are characteristic for a certain social reality. The outcomes of this study reveal insights into the children’s, families’ and teachers’ encountered difficulties, on how interculturalism and multilingualism are two in-

26 S. Vertovec, The emergence of super-diversity in Britain, cit.; Vertovec, Super-diversity and its implications, cit.
27 L. Aronin & U. Jessner, Understanding current multilingualism, cit.
tertwined constructs that may constitute one of the main challenges for European societies. The paper shows how “old” immigrants gain increased respect at the expense of the “new” ones and how to value super-diversity as a resource.

In a second step the paper takes up more recent developments of globalization and interculturalism of educational research in a broader, European, context, in order to show some consequences, which affect educational research, especially the role of emerging researchers in a multilingual and intercultural setting, South Tyrol. This part is based on a composition of published research and research experiences. The results show that the diversity of the academic field can also be described as a cultural, open and dynamic process. Different cultures and interests of education policy and education administration generate super-diversity as a transformative diversification of diversity in this field. We try to describe these phenomena, developments and challenges in the following.

3. **Historical, Sociological and Sociolinguistic Background of the Research Context**

3.1 **The field of education**

Migration in Italy, as generally in Europe, is becoming increasingly complex as migration channels are more diversified compared to 50 years ago. Regarding this, a diversification of diversity\(^{30}\) is observable. While Italy was characterized by mass emigration until the early 1970s, nowadays immigration is stronger than emigration; in 2016 – compared with 2015 – an increase of 7% in immigration was recorded. In 2016, most immigrants were Rumanians, followed by Pakistanis, Moroccans, Albanians, Chinese and an increasing number of immigrants came from Africa, especially from Guinea, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and Ghana\(^{31}\). Not only the number of migrants is increasing, but they are also coming from a growing number of countries, which results in an increasing super-diversity. Furthermore, to-


day migration in Europe and beyond is characterized by a growing number of transmigrants; hence, migrants who have migrated to and lived in other countries in the past and/or plan to migrate to other countries in future\textsuperscript{32}. These developments are challenging educational systems with regard to the social and linguistic inclusion of these children with a migration background and adolescents. In Italy, intercultural education is aimed to include diversity in structurally inclusive educational systems\textsuperscript{33}. The Italian guidelines for instruction state: “The situation of multilingualism that is becoming increasingly common in schools is an opportunity for all students not just for foreign students”\textsuperscript{34}. Therefore, the intercultural aspect and connection with language learning is a part of the national guidelines. However, children with a migration background are encouraged to assimilation\textsuperscript{35} and teachers mostly focus on the language of instruction\textsuperscript{36}. Regarding this, Zoletto emphasizes that missing competences in Italian underline the difference between children with and without a migration background in classroom; further, he states that this causes a non-participating behavior of children with a migration background and that this noisy silence has to be noted as it is the only possibility that children with a migration background have to be heard\textsuperscript{37}.

In the studied Italian region, South Tyrol, the situation is highly complex since the region is characterized by a specific linguistic situation: German (65.3\%), Italian (27.4\%), Ladin (4.1\%), and other language speakers (8.6\%)\textsuperscript{38} live together in a kind of parallel worlds.


\textsuperscript{35} See e.g., D. Zoletto, _Straniero in classe. Una pedagogia dell’ospitalità_, Milano, Raffaello Cortina, 2007.


\textsuperscript{37} D. Zoletto, _Straniero in classe…_, cit.

South Tyrol was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1919. At the end of the World War I it was annexed to Italy. Today, three languages – German, Italian, and the minority language Ladin – are official languages in this territory. The South Tyrolean school system is distinctly marked by a multilingual language policy, although schools are divided into linguistic groups. In other words, South Tyrol has an entirely separate German and Italian school system from kindergarten to the end of secondary school\textsuperscript{39} and a separate Ladin school system to the end of grade eight. German primary schools have in average four to five hours of school lessons of Italian as a so-called second language each week. Italian-language primary schools have a higher number of lessons in the second-language: from five up to thirteen hours a week within programs that promote the second language. In German-language and Italian-language primary schools, the minority language Ladin is not taught, but they learn English as a foreign language. Ladin-language schools have a trilingual school system. We can conclude that this territory is characterized by a high inner diversity. Moreover, migrants in South Tyrol more often enroll their children in Italian-language primary schools than in German-language primary schools. In South Tyrol’s schools, 25 percent of the children in Italian-language primary schools have a migration background and 8 percent of the children in German-language primary schools\textsuperscript{40}.

\section*{3.2 The field of educational research}

In the field of educational research, we must go a little further and take account of the European context as emphasized by Lawn and Keiner: “At a time when the necessary strategy and structures for a European Research Area are being constructed, the effects of a global market on scientific knowledge are being felt with different degrees of intensity across a landscape of European universities which has found more difficulties than opportunities in its divided state. Diversity, a condition for a new strength, is being overlain by homogenizing forces centred on the consequences for employment and promotion in universities of English language publishing in global citation systems.


\textsuperscript{40} Autonome Provinz Bozen-Südtirol, \textit{Südtiroler Sprachbarometer}, 2014, cit.
This seems to be having a skewed effect on individuals and institutions... However, when looking not only at programmes and policy statements, but also at self-descriptions, practices and infrastructural conditions of universities and academic disciplines at the local or regional level, one finds significant tensions, even conflicts, about organisational policies on publication and promotion linkages, about research traditions and key references which are being forced out into the open by the pressures of globalisation, particularly the dominance of English language publication and linkages with citation indexes using primarily English references.

There are several indicators for this also conflictual process between diversification and standardization, which are not only about scientific quality, but also about the enforcement of power of definition and the acquisition of financial means. We would like to list some of these indicators here – without claiming to be exhaustive:

– increasing importance of transnational legal regulation of intellectual property rights,
– increasing institutional diversification according to research and teaching, universities and research institutes,
– new “research institutions” (“add ons”) at the fringe of or within the political or economic system,
– new intermediate, hybrid organizations and networks at the fringe of the professional fields,
– factual or ascribed dysfunctionality of and mistrust in universities, both in research and teaching,
– differentiation of particular disciplines, new modes of governance, financing and management,
– new alliances, e.g. between universities, business, industry,
– restructuring of universities according to market criteria; administration turns to management,
– differences between natural sciences and engineering and social sciences, arts and humanities (bibliometric – non-bibliometric),
– competition over power of definition and application of criteria for research quality.

There is extensive empirical evidence for these social, political, organizational and academic transformations\textsuperscript{42}. They are manifested on concrete, infrastructural levels and affect working conditions, career patterns and scholarly production itself. These socio-structural phenomena are accompanied and integrated by new beliefs and generally accepted normative worldviews and orientations regarding knowledge management and governance in particular. This applies to particular beliefs, to mention the most important ones,

\begin{itemize}
  \item belief in management according to economy,
  \item belief in learning instead of education,
  \item belief in applied rather than basic research,
  \item belief in decoupling research and teaching,
  \item belief in market-driven competition,
  \item belief in benchmarks and performance indicators,
  \item belief in high quality and useful outcomes of research,
  \item belief in knowledge as a “contract good”,
  \item belief in research as a cumulative enterprise,
  \item belief in standards.
\end{itemize}

These transformations have been accelerated and dynamized in Europe since the 1990s at the latest. The “birth” of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano in 1997 also falls into this phase; it is one of the world's small universities with good international rankings. Of particular importance for the founding of the university was the interest of the Province of South Tyrol in taking teacher training into its own regional hands. Among the Faculties of Economics and Management, of Computer Science, of Design and Art and of Science and Technology, the Faculty of Education is the largest\textsuperscript{43}.


Until then, university teacher training had taken place in the Italian heartland (especially Padua, Italian language) or, German-speaking, in the culturally associated but nationally Austrian North Tyrol. In this respect, the founding of the university also reflects the special importance of education, of teacher training and hence the cultivation and safeguarding of one's own regional identity. The attribute “Free” does not reflect so much a commitment to political liberalism or to a private-sector organization, as the fact that South Tyrol has obtained a relative political “autonomy” within Italy, the “freedom” of which is also and especially to be expressed for the university, even if the regional regulations may not contradict the national regulations or have to be specifically approved in Rome. This special political position then corresponds to the special cultural and linguistic position. The profile of the university emphasizes a strong international outlook, as testified by its multilingual courses (German, Italian, English, and Ladin at the faculty of Education) and the high number of students and teaching staff from abroad.

It should be emphasized that, especially in the university and research field, the attribute “international” usually stands for a monolingual, English-language communication culture. This is not the case at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano. However, this multilingualism, which is highly valued, shows its reflexive and language-comparative capacity and power only to a lesser extent in the field of teacher training, since there, as described above, the target field, the school, falls under language-group-specific regulations and pedagogical practices. Therefore, university teacher training is also organized on a language-group-specific basis, despite a number of innovative measures for linguistic exchange.

Multilingualism and interculturality challenge academic administration, teaching and educational research, when taking into account that multilingualism is also associated with different scholarly and organizational cultures. The educational teaching and research staff is thus stretched between the high intellectual standards of the traditional Italian universities – and their philosophically, aesthetically and literarily shaped specific scholarly culture – and the comparably high standards of German-speaking universities (and beyond) – and their

44 Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, University profile, 2019, retrieved from https://www.unibz.it/en/home/profile.
specific scholarly culture, which is shaped by the humanities, social sciences and nowadays also by empirical, evidence based research.

Such differences do not only result in problems of communication and cooperation. While the natural sciences bridge such problems by the worldwide established use of formalized terms in the English language, educational research is much more related to the use of particular languages and cultures they express; they cultivate their proximity to everyday language and linguistically mediated cultural interpretations. This might lead to intercultural misunderstandings or to the attitude, in view of the high complexity of precise communication, of leaving the speech inaccurate and not getting involved in the mutual comparative views of the other.

This epistemologically and comparatively interesting perspective, which is based on the historical development of different academic cultures, finds its counterpart in socio-structural and administrative peculiarities. In addition, there are different forms of performance measurement. This is centrally regulated in Italy; bibliometric indicators and measures are of particular importance here. Although education research falls under the category of “non-bibliometric disciplines”, the intensive use of figures and numbers shows the general interest in presenting objectivity of performance measurement and evaluation45. In German-speaking countries, it is more forms of peer reviewing according to the professor as a “mandarin”46. These different cultures of performance measurement and organization have a very practical effect when it comes to the acquisition of external personnel whose CVs and institutional affiliations do not meet the culturally and organizationally defined specific standard career and quality criteria in Italy47.

This ambivalence and diversity of academic cultures is particularly challenging for doctoral and post-doctoral students. Although they are going through a demanding multilingual doctoral program, they still have to consider which scholarly cultures, organizational structures

45 E. Keiner & K. Karlics, Dynamising the Dynamics of Funding and Investment Conditions, cit.
47 The different teacher training institutions and levels for primary school and kindergarten teachers in Italy, Austria, Germany and Switzerland could serve as an example.
and evaluation criteria they want to follow in a special way, in order to be able to get a job – Italian, German-speaking or even “international”, that is English-speaking, academic cultures. In the best case, dealing with these complex diversities becomes and forms a significant and high-quality research profile of excellence. In the worst case, emerging researchers are trituted and worn out between the different cultures and their specific dependencies on doctoral supervisors. For many, the pragmatically reasonable solution remains to value multilingualism as a useful “add-on”, but to commit oneself to one of the three scholarly career lines, to internalize their expectations, to analyze the organizational contexts and to determine one's own career steps strategically\(^{48}\).

Taken together, these historical, socio-cultural and sociolinguistic aspects show how different cultures fertilize and advance each other in their diversity, that such an open and dynamic process is also associated with conflicts and challenges of distribution of power; there are no simple solutions for such frictions and tensions, but continuing attempts of dealing reflexively, constructively and productively with a new super-diversity as a transformative diversification of diversity, and making this process of diversification itself a subject of investigation and research.

4. **Contemporary Challenges: Development of a Small Region**

The field of education

Although school division for ethnic groups has and continues to lead to integration problems among the different communities, nowadays another development is observable. On the one hand, we can observe a strengthened desire to collaborate with the other official language group(s) – even though this desire mostly is of an abstract nature which is rarely reflected in real life – and to learn the language of these “neighbours”. On the other hand, it appears that the “newly” arrived ones, hence immigrants with another cultural and linguistic background, are asked to assimilate to the existing linguistic and cultural groups. As an example, we present a key incident from the larger

\(^{48}\) See E. Keiner & K. Karlics, *Dynamising the Dynamics of Funding and Investment Conditions*, cit.
mixed methods research. It is constructed based on the extensive transcript of an interview with a mother of a 10-year old girl, who stated,

Regarding migrants, I wish all cultures could co-exist without influencing each other and without using culture and language as instruments of power… Apart from that, I think it would be great if there were more exchange opportunities between the Italian and German language⁴⁹.

The majority of “new” and “old” inhabitants recognize the importance and advantages of knowing more than one language and being multilingual in Europe. In the research context of this study, identity formation is strongly influenced by the institutional scholastic barriers, which maintain and strengthen the separation of the two main linguistic groups and result in a closure towards linguistically and culturally diverse participants of social life — independent of whether these are German-, Italian- or other language-speakers. Therefore, the coexistence of language groups is still characterized by the social distance between different language speakers, which has historically been solved by dividing the school systems. However, the newly emerging issue is how to include migrant languages. The existence of divided school systems and the declaration of linguistic belonging do not guarantee the prerequisites for the development of strategies for integration, interculturality, and a society that is characterized by multilingual inhabitants. While the German and Italian language has reached a perceived positive status within the South Tyrolean society, low esteem is given to interculturalism within schools and society. As already found by Gross⁵⁰, a relationship between language and culture is created only to a low extent within schools. This may have negative effects on how different language speakers are integrated into the local society.

Other cultures are still seen as a threat, especially where these cultures are unfamiliar. While language learning has gained a positive status, the integration of other cultures and the relation between cultures and languages is neglected. As a key incident the statement of a young second-language teacher was chosen. She emphasized, I think that human beings like to be multilingual, but when it comes to being

⁴⁹ P.15, in B. Gross, Further Language Learning in Linguistic and Cultural Diverse Contexts, cit., p. 147.
multicultural, we’re still afraid of other nations and cultures. Maybe we speak ten languages, but we find it difficult to get involved with other cultures. I think we have still to improve a lot on this aspect... In South Tyrol, we’re obsessed with (our culture’s) security, and we feel attached to our home region. Consequently, there is no space for multiculturalism.\textsuperscript{51}

Language teachers specify that they are working on the rapprochement of cultures and languages within schools. Schools have to face new compositions of learner groups due to the increasing linguistic and cultural diversity. As there are no clear guidelines on how to reach a rapprochement of cultures and languages, teachers apply different strategies to build bridges between further language learning and the inclusion of other languages and cultures. However, it could be observed that these initiatives are almost exclusively connected with culinary aspects of culture. However, a few teachers try to bring cultures closer to children to benefit openness and consequently promote language learning and sociolinguistic and socio-cultural integration, for instance through the organization of an annual day of languages, a language tree which includes terms on a specific topic in all present languages at school.

The present analysis of the case of the South Tyrolean education system shows how, on the one hand, a transformative diversification within educational institutions is observable, and, on the other hand, how the school system – as well as other educational institutions such as kindergarten – aim to homogenize diversity.

\textit{The field of educational research}

For the field of educational research in a small intercultural and multilingual region, these open and dynamic processes of cultural development and diversification of diversity pose a number of challenges.

A university that pursues a high standard of modernity faces the challenge of transcending the principles of the traditional university. In a way, this creates a contradiction between an epistemological and methodological claim for a “University without Condition”\textsuperscript{52} on the one hand and a university for the region, for the “stakeholders”, for

\textsuperscript{51} T16, in B. Gross, \textit{Further Language Learning in Linguistic and Cultural Diverse Contexts}, cit., p. 147.

\textsuperscript{52} J. Derrida, \textit{L’Université sans condition}, Paris, Galilée, 2001.
the practical, professional and political interests of the province on the other. Such contradictions need “reflexive modernization”\textsuperscript{53} and the ability to deal with super-diversity in order to transcend the traditional university without losing its prime function: objectivated, valid, reliable and critical knowledge.

At the very core of this challenge is the problem of the relationship between theory and practice, which is particularly relevant and a permanent issue in educational research and teacher training. Two conceptualizations can be distinguished\textsuperscript{54}:

The traditional unity concept claims a close connection between “theory”, teacher education and the school system, that is “organization”, a social science-oriented difference concept takes knowledge, that is different forms of knowledge as a point of reference. It is about a relationship between forms of knowledge specific to education as an academic discipline and those specific to education as a profession.

Such different and conflicting approaches characterize a permanent topic in educational research and lead to fragmentation and diversification of the theory-practice relationships. Thus, for example, social roles can be distinguished within the practice-oriented elites as well as the academic elites, which either feel more committed to professional practice and its requirements or to gaining scientific knowledge and its methodological standards. This also indicates the blurring of borders and demarcations between different fields, organizations, social systems and their different functions.

Such different approaches then also have consequences for performance measurement. On the one hand, performance measurement in Italy is based on strictly scientific and scholarly criteria, such as those pursued by the Italian National Agency for the Evaluation of Universities and Research Institutes (ANVUR), and, on the other hand, there is an (usually informal) evaluation of success based on the degree to which the interests of external stakeholders, of the education administration, and of practice are served. There is currently no standardized measurement of success regarding the latter.


Against this background, emerging researchers in particular, but also tenured professors at a small, regionally determined university, face special challenges. Their academic career and reputation are measured, on the one hand, by their academic production; the evaluation criteria are defined centrally, and not fully compatible with the ones in neighboring countries. On the other hand, and sometimes even in contradiction to the scientific and scholarly criteria of evaluation, career and reputation also depend on the degree of involvement in linguistically and culturally different political, administrative and professional relations. Researchers must therefore serve at least two different and sometimes contradictory benchmarks and norms.

Especially for doctoral students there are further reference values and norms, namely the scientific hierarchies and the distinction between different scientific cultures\(^{55}\). Emerging researchers are facing diverse, even contradicting, tasks, challenges, obligations and commitments within universities or projects. These challenges get a material basis, when this cultural and linguistic diversity at the same time is governed by standardized means and criteria, which do not consider such complex intertwined and intersecting intercultural and multilingual academic milieus.

In South Tyrol doctoral students either try to perform an innovative, hybrid scholarly identity between and beyond different languages and cultures or orient themselves at one culture they feel affiliated to. Therefore, it is about the relationships between scholarly, strategic and political behavior. Under these super-diverse conditions “we therefore suggest to teach and to coach students and researchers to use clever, hybrid strategies of research production, to disenchant the “scientific” ideals, to learn to walk on the edge between the market, on which you have to sell yourself, and the scholarly and public responsibility, from which you draw your professional ethics and identity\(^{56}\).

We would like to address one last challenge, which results from the difficult handling of diverse cultures and languages. It is not easy for individuals and groups to endure differences, frictions and diversifications as permanent productive tensions. Appadurai starts from five “dimensions of global cultural flow” (ethnoscapes; mediascapes; technoscapes; finanscapes; and ideoscapes), within which global ten-

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\(^{55}\) See E. Keiner & K. Karlics, *Dynamising the Dynamics of Funding and Investment Conditions*, cit., pp. 275 f.

\(^{56}\) Ibidem, p. 288.
sions emerge\textsuperscript{57}. At the same time, he refers to the danger of false homogenization and, one could also say, “romanticizing” differences and tensions, that is, replacing a possible super-diversifying increase in complexity with “romantic” or populist homogenization.

The globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization, but globalization involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization (armament, advertising techniques, language hegemonies, clothing style and the like), which are absorbed into local political and cultural economies, only to be repatriated as heterogeneous dialogues of national sovereignty, free enterprise, fundamentalism etc… In general, the state has become the arbiter of this repatriation of difference (in the form of goods, signs, slogans, styles, etc.). But this repatriation or export of the designs and commodities of difference continuously exacerbates the “internal” politics of majoritarianism and homogenization, which is most frequently played out in debates over heritage\textsuperscript{58}.

Against this background, the challenges then arise to search for scholarly, scientific and political possibilities to productively develop and use the power of cultural, linguistic and political diversity, which is particularly evident in regions characterized by diversified diversities, such as South Tyrol, while at the same time resisting an unreflected “repatriation of difference”. We recommend to reread the dialectics of enlightenment\textsuperscript{59}, approaches of “reflexive modernity” in a risk society\textsuperscript{60} and of the “digital revolution”, but also to use the concept of super-diversity in order to keep cultural development an open and dynamic process.

5. Consequences for Educational Settings and Perspectives for Future Research and Teaching Practice

The field of education

The relatively recent transformation of educational systems in the studied context due to globalization, global mobility, and migration, shows the dynamics, sensitivity and stability of systems on the “very

\textsuperscript{58} Ibidem, p. 307.
\textsuperscript{60} U. Beck, A. Giddens & S. Lash, \textit{Reflexive Modernization}, cit.
The increasing immigration situation could be used by teachers, educationalists, researchers, and politicians to promote cultural and linguistic diversity in order to increase the collaboration between “old” and “new” inhabitants. As Mecheril highlights, the discussion is not only on how to support the migrants’ competences; education of migration should focus on the recognition of the power of institutional and discursive systems and the investigation of the question, how it is possible to act with dignity in the given circumstances.

The South Tyrolean “equal” school system separates the official linguistic groups – German, Italian, and in part the Ladin one – but includes other (migrant) L1-speakers in these divided school systems without offering these children, in most cases, L1 support. Hence, one could say that there are twofold inequalities in a region renowned for its equal, inclusive, and multilingual education. Hence, as researchers found generally in Italy, children with a migration background are encouraged to assimilation to existing languages and cultures.

While once divided school systems were necessary to guarantee equal L1 instruction to German- and Italian-speakers in the territory, nowadays this need cannot be satisfied any longer: South Tyrol has become, like most European regions, characterized by super-diversity. Due to migration, the variety of different L1s has increased in South Tyrol, giving rise to a newly emerging issue, that is, how to promote this super-diversity and how to support children with other first languages than the official ones. Even though children with a migration background and parents see learning more languages in this territory as an advantage, children with a migration background who are disadvantaged in learning their L1 encounter difficulties in learning the other school’s languages. However, it is known that supporting the children’s languages of origin is beneficial for their development of communicative competences and indispensable for protecting the

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63 C. Allemann-Ghionda, *Intercultural Education in Schools*, cit.
individual’s rights. Migrant parents underline their own difficulties in reading and writing their language of origin and hence their impossibility in supporting the child in the L1 learning. This confirms what researchers found; schools use and require different linguistic register which are often not accessible to children with a migration background, and this leads to educational inequalities. Regarding this, Gogolin and Duarte point out that classroom activities should “aim at establishing associations between different languages (minority, immigrant, language of instruction, and foreign languages), at fostering inter-comprehension and at a pedagogy that attempts to break with the segmentation and isolation of language teaching methods”. Zoletto underlines that how linguistic diversity of children with – and we would state also without – a migration background is managed within schools might (re)create otherness and social exclusion; accordingly, learning the national language may not only serve to integrate in a specific society but also to learn a sectoral language that only serves to carry out a specific (unskilled) occupation. This precludes the possibility of emancipation and has to be taken into account when designing courses as the attempt to emancipate students turns into a mechanism that increases their exclusion.

Opening up to other cultures in schools means employing multicultural staff, adopting an intercultural design, removing barriers to access, making other cultures visible, ensuring regular review of efforts to promote intercultural openness, organizing intercultural parent partnerships and parental participation, and guaranteeing intercultural training of the team and communicative and linguistic diversity.

66 B. Gross, Further Language Learning in Linguistic and Cultural Diverse Contexts, cit.
69 D. Zoletto, Straniero in classe..., cit.
Moreover, we need to increasingly create bridges between languages and different cultures, not only in schools but also in communities, where everyday situations of coexistence teach concrete forms of citizenship in contexts such as those of contemporary European societies characterized by great personal and social diversity71.

The field of educational research

Regarding the field of educational research there will be no regulatory solutions and demands. Science can only apply its own constitutional principles reflexively to itself, that is more research, more criticism, more analysis, more reflexivity, more contribution to interrupting the everyday interdependencies of false and unproductive homogenizations. It is, as if Janus would analyze his own Janus-headedness and mirror this view as a multifaceted reflection of the process of super-diverse diversifications. Such a wise and strategically informed, reflected and critical view should also be desirable in the face of often one-dimensional approaches to scientific performance measurement. For young researchers in particular, such a view is not only vital for their individual and academic survival; it also makes it possible to intellectually exceed established scientific approaches, research cultures and methodological standards and to further develop them innovatively.

Against these backgrounds we opt for keeping differences, paradoxes, contradictions, breaks and frictions in order to combine intellectual playfulness, intercultural understanding and epistemological diversity. We opt for strengthening a transversal, (meta-)reflexive, communicative and playful dimension, which includes accepting incompatibilities and even incommensurabilities, and for thinking about meta-criteria, for example, explicitness, critical awareness, reasoning, reflexivity and self-limitation. We opt for cultivating public scholarly referencing and criticism, which is to date the most important instrument for the recognition and appreciation of colleagues’ work. We opt for utilizing diversity and intercultural communication as a valuable and powerful resource of sound scholarly production, mutual understanding and intellectual delight72. The opportunities and benefits of

such a “super-reflexivity” are particularly evident in the regional multilingual and multicultural regional space we focus on.

6. Conclusions

This paper has given a small overview on how a small Italian region experienced a transformation from a society characterized by a “high inner diversity” to a super-diverse context that challenges the educational system, politicians, researchers, and teachers. Neglecting the presence of the diversity of linguistic and cultural backgrounds carries with it the danger of causing divided societies and conflictual relationships among inhabitants. This has strong implications for researchers working on education of migration and intercultural education for teachers. In the past and partly also nowadays, in Italy little attention was paid to the interrelation between multilingualism and interculturalism and how to value the “new” languages and different cultures within educational and educational research systems. Hence, on the one hand, much more research is required to improve schooling and to guarantee equal opportunities for all students with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. On the other hand, we also need a reflexive diversification of diverse research cultures and languages. Both research on educational research and a research driven scholarly “observatory” of educational research could help to increase reflexivity on processes of cultural and linguistic diversification of diversity. Thus, super-diversity has to be complemented by super-reflexivity in the field of educational research. This combination and relationships promise to uncomplainingly, productively and intellectually playful deal with such challenging and sometimes also painful processes of transformative diversification of diversity.