



PASS

Influence on **p**ersonal **a**ccess
to education for people
with migrant background

A Sokrates, Grundtvig 2 project

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Table of Contents

Preface	3
PASS project and partners.....	4 - 6
Integration of migrants: A paradigm shift	7 - 9
The biographical approach	10 - 12
Questionnaire for the second interview phase.....	13 - 15
Biographical accounts of education.....	16 - 29
The theatre approach.....	30
Script: Coming in from the shadows.....	31 - 38

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Sokrates
Grundtvig



HAUSERBEGEGNUNG



Associated partner

PREFACE

From 2006 to 2008, eight organisations from five countries worked together in a Grundtvig Learning Partnership: "PASS – Influence on Personal Access to Education for People with a Migrant Background".

We met in Leer/Germany, Innsbruck/Austria, twice in Rome/Italy, in Vilnius/Lithuania, and finally in Ankara/Turkey. We carried out biographical interviews with people with a migrant background to find out more about resources and barriers on their educational career in the receiving societies. We produced transcripts and English versions of the interviews and started an analysis. In the process of the project work we decided to work with the Social Theatre method to immerse ourselves in the accounts and to gain a holistic understanding. Acting also opened up a way of sharing our findings with many people and entering into a dialogue with migrant players and audiences.

We have already published a leaflet on the project objectives, the partner organisations and the first year's work. This second leaflet reports on the results and products of the project: a review of the biographical

interview method; the questionnaire for the interviews; results of the interview analysis; a script for a theatre play based on accounts of our interview partners. These products can be and shall be used by people and organisations which pursue similar goals and a subject matter like ours.

It was a great pleasure and lesson to work in our intercultural Learning Partnership context, to listen to the interview partners' accounts and to learn how to adapt Social Theatre for our project objectives from Mario Azzopardi, director of the Malta Drama Centre.

Let's take it further, following the path of Coesistenza in a multiversal world!

Annemarie Schweighofer-Brauer, TheFBI Centre, Innsbruck



PASS partners with mayor of Leer/Germany



PASS partners at meeting in Innsbruck/Austria



Theatre workshop in Rome/Italy

PASS PROJECT AND PARTNERS

The PASS project seeks to define ways of improving access to education for people with a migrant background through empowering individuals. It works bottom-up, which means that first of all the people concerned are asked about their experience instead of analysing the educational systems of the receiving societies. This can be a further step if people's account indicates a necessity for that.

Asking people with a migrant background about their experience is realised mainly through a biographical approach. Life history interviews with a focus on education help to identify previous experiences of success and failure. How do gender and migrant background interact with access to formal as well as informal learning processes in the receiving society? Individual agency is shaped by factors such as migration experience, gender,

cultural background, family, as well as political and economic boundary conditions in the receiving society. In view of all influencing factors, every person has to be considered as a unique human being with a unique and unrepeatable life experience. Support must take into account the unique situation of each person.



Lithuanian partners



PASS partners



Meeting with speaker of Karaim people (minority in Lithuania)

IMPRESSIONS OF PROJEKT MEETING IN VILNIUS, LITHUANIA

THE PARTNERS

SPEHA FRESIA, ROME, ITALY

Speha Fresia has been working since 1983 in the field of training, research and consultancy in the framework of local development combined with adult education provision and an entrepreneurial spirit (guidance and counselling).

www.speha-fresia.it

GRIOT, ROME, ITALY

The Associazione Interculturale Griot "A.I.G." is an Italian non-profit organisation founded in 1999. It is formed by immigrant citizens from different countries. The main objective is to develop moments of direct integration in all layers of society.

HYDRA INTERNATIONAL PROJECT & CONSULTANCY CO., ANKARA, TURKEY

Hydra International Project & Consultancy Co., Ankara/TR is a non-profit company, provides information-based technical, economic, legal support services in order to achieve sustainable growth with the first priority given to humans.

www.hydra.com.tr

THE FBI CENTRE, INNSBRUCK, AUSTRIA

Centre for Social Scientific Research, Education and Information – The FBI Centre, Innsbruck/AT, founded in the early 1990s, is a non-university based Science Shop and research institute to make advanced knowledge accessible to a wider public.

<http://www.uibk.ac.at/fbi>

HAUS DER BEGEGNUNG INNSBRUCK – HDB, INNSBRUCK, AUSTRIA

Haus der Begegnung, Innsbruck – HdB, Innsbruck/AT is an adult education facility, established in 1966 to create a "site of social education and encounter" and has specialised in four main areas: Work and Economy, Social Policy, Ecology and Intercultural & Inter-religious Dialogue.

www.hausderbegegnung.com

MYKOLAS ROMERIS UNIVERSITY, VILNIUS, LITHUANIA

Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius/LT is a modern, dynamic and fast growing university that is a full member of international higher education organisations. The Faculty of Social Policy prepares professionals for the sphere of social services.

<http://www.mruni.lt/lt>

VOLKSHOCHSCHULE FÜR DIE STADT UND DEN KREIS LEER E.V. – VHS, LEER, GERMANY

Volkshochschule für die Stadt und den Kreis Leer e.V. – VHS, Leer/DE is an NGO founded in 1945 with the focus on a broad adult education. It is one of the thousand adult education centres of the German Adult Education Association.

<http://www.vhs-leer.de>

BERGISCHE VOLKSHOCHSCHULE SOLINGEN WUPPERTAL, WUPPERTAL, GERMANY

Zweckverband Bergische Volkshochschule Solingen & Wuppertal, Wuppertal/DE is a fusion of two Volkshochschulen. Our six Education Centres are developing and applying concepts in the sense of a "new culture of learning" for everyone (main target group: people with a migrant background).

<http://www.bergische-vhs.de>

ASSOCIATED PARTNER:

MALTA DRAMA CENTRE, HAMRUN, MALTA

Malta Drama Centre is a state institution providing comprehensive drama training, including outreach theatre in Hamrun/MT.

<http://www.maltadramacentre.org>

INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS: A PARADIGM SHIFT

FOCUSING ON THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF OUR PROJECT

Throughout its history Europe has always been shaped by migration processes. In modern European societies, migration and integration are perceived as major challenges. In countries with a colonial past, such as Britain and France, the issue of living together in a multiethnic and multicultural society has been given attention for decades. Integration policies have been developed and implemented. The Netherlands for instance can look back on a tradition in which multiculturalism is considered an essential part of the country's societal self-understanding. Put in a nutshell, everybody there belongs to an ethnic minority. Based on this, self-awareness policies, programs and measures are conceived that endow ethnic and cultural minorities with rights and opportunities to articulate themselves. In other European countries the implementation of diversity policies is still in the early stages.

Even European countries that for a long time did not define themselves as „immigration societies“ can no longer shut their eyes to the necessity of integration and/or diversity policies. Integration policies, however, are concrete expressions of a more or less explicit idea of integration that reflects the ideas of a society about itself.

PARADIGMS IN INTEGRATION POLICY

Even the terminology used shows up the differences in the approaches towards dealing with cultural diversity. In Britain they talk of "ethnic relations policy" or „multicultural policies“. In the countries of the PASS partner organisations the following terms are in use: "Integrationspolitik" in Germany and Austria, "Integrazione dei immigranti" in Italy, "Entegrazyon" in Turkey and "Migrantų integracija" in Lithuania. As everywhere in Europe, the search is on in our countries for a clearly defined concept of integration.

In general the policy approaches dealing with cultural diversity can be summed up in the paradigms listed below:

- 1) The **exclusive model** assumes the cultural homogeneity of a given society. According to this interpretation, the terms "nation", "society" and "community of descent" overlap completely. The exclusive model perceives migrants and ethnic minorities first and foremost as foreign bodies. Migration is considered problematic in principle. In this concept "integration" is something that has to be achieved by the migrants themselves. It includes learning the language, cultural adaptation, taking on

the so-called "national identity" and assimilation into existing social structures. The goal of the one-sided integration process is the "dissolution" of cultural diversity.

- 2) The **integrative model** tries to offer migrants opportunities for social integration. This model emphasises the equality of all members of a society, including migrants, and tries to compensate differences in life chances with a wide range of "integration opportunities". The republican model perceives migrants as new or potential citizens. Migrants are accepted as long as they take on the basic values of the host society in full. Culture plays quite a subordinate role. Cultural diversity is not considered a relevant category within the integration process. The goal of the integration process is empowering the migrants to find their place in the new society and to participate in it.
- 3) The **multicultural model** takes cultural diversity for granted and perceives it as basically a good thing. Following on from this, ethnicity and cultural identity become relevant categories, for instance in education or social policy. Ethnic communities are also seen as having rights of organisation, representation and participation. The multicultural model recognises migrants as cultural minorities and concedes them a right to cultural diversity and autonomy as long as this is compatible with the legal framework of the host country. The pluralist model demands that

migrants adopt the same tolerant attitude towards diversity of culture or "Weltanschauung" and accept the legal framework of the receiving country. In addition to the cultural rights, this model puts great store by support and anti-discrimination measures.

A PARADIGM SHIFT FROM INTEGRATION TO DIVERSITY

Of course, these paradigms represent a simplified typology and will not manifest themselves in their pure form in the integration policy of nations, communities or cities. They are useful as pointers and for recognising approaches with potential for the future.

The **exclusive model** shows no potential and is essentially incompatible with social reality and with the constitution of modern democracies. The **integrative model** knows many different emphases and ways of implementation. Experiences in many places show that it is right to link integration with the issue of equal opportunity: successful integration is possible where migrants have a fair chance of education, political participation and access to the labour market. The strength of the **integrative model** is its emphasis on the social and political aspects of integration. Its weaknesses are a certain "cultural blindness" and insufficient recognition of cultural diversity. Migrants are only considered as individuals vis-à-vis the state, cultural differences are rarely taken into account. The **multicultural model** has so far remained a vision, rarely fully implemented. With reference to so-called parallel societies, there is great scepticism today towards multi-

THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

The main objectives of the PASS project were finding out more about what supports people with a migrant background in getting access to education in the receiving societies and what hinders them; studying this matter with a bottom-up approach; asking the people concerned about their experiences, reflections and assessment; and recording their education stories in the context of biographical accounts. We decided to adapt the oral history interview method for our purpose, which was originally developed to integrate the experience and memory of individuals and groups into the historical horizon of societies: experience, memory and world views which formerly had not been regarded as significant for the "great history", for the progress of the human race. We regard people with a migrant background as experts of their experience. What they recount, what they think, what they reflect on is the starting point for creating best practice models for the integration of migrants into the education systems of the receiving societies.

THEME-CENTRED ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

For our project we combined oral approaches from contemporary history

and social science. We designed a theme-centred oral history interview method. The interview consists of two phases: an open phase in which the interview partner recounts her/his memory according to her/his mental structure; and a second phase guided by a questionnaire.

This method is based on the following assumptions:

- Biographical research is not only a method but an attitude. It is notable that researchers who intend to contribute to the democratisation of societies or to support disadvantaged groups of people often decide to work with the biographical approach.
- The interviewer is the main research instrument. Objectivity in this context is the product of an adequate self-reflection on one's own behaviour, role, influence on the situation; a product of having clarified your own prejudices, assumptions and mental concepts.
- Doing research with interviews means experiencing a situation with people (the interview partners) that is not an everyday situation. A special setting has been planned and prepared. But any plan can be upset and must then be adapted in the interview situation. The researcher/interviewer has to work creatively with unexpected things happening. Unex-

This includes psychological repression, for instance because of guilt, shame or traumata.

Lies, repressed aspects, untold details may of course also be interesting. The question is: why does somebody tell a certain story in a certain way in the context of the interview?

PASS PROJECT RESEARCH

In the context of the PASS project the biographical approach was useful, because we wanted to find out what sense people make of their life experience. What did they learn about gaining useful knowledge on staying and living in the receiving society? What kind of knowledge do they need? Which strategies proved to be suitable? What helped them? What barriers did they encounter? And again: What knowledge, which strategies helped

them overcome these barriers? Which aspects of their knowledge, behavioural habits, thinking structures helped or hindered them:

- as a woman/as a man
- as having been born and raised in a certain region of the world
- within a particular social class
- within an individual family
- as having been raised in a certain way
- as possibly following a religious belief
- as being an individual with a unique experience
- as having gone through and experienced different situations, countries, cultures, classes, types of education, ...



Dinner with guest



PASS partners in Cappadocia

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE SECOND INTERVIEW PHASE

After designing the methodological setting for our interviews in the PASS project, we worked out an extensive questionnaire for the second phase of the interviews. In our discussions we identified biographical contexts which can be meaningful for educational possibilities, barriers and decisions of individuals. We formulated questions to explore those contexts.

WE HAVE LISTED THE QUESTIONS BELOW:

Family structures/ networks

Do you remember something about your grandparents, what did they tell you about their lives?

What did your parents tell you about their lives before you were born?

What do you know about the circumstances of your early childhood?

How many siblings do you have? Male, female? What did they do later on?

With whom did you live during your childhood (grandparents, parents, siblings, other children, other relatives, non-relatives)?

What did your grandparents (male and female), parents (mother and father) work as? How did they earn their money?

Where did you live (town, village, house, or apartment), what did it look like?

How was life there?

What did you play and with whom?

What duties did you have as a child?

What did you learn from your people, from whom and how did you learn?

If somebody is a 2nd or 3rd generation migrant:

Were there people, organisations, (migrant) networks around which your immigrant grandparents or parents already knew?

How did they meet new people?

If somebody is a 1st generation migrant:

With whom did you leave your place of origin?

Were there people, organisations, (migrant) networks around which you already knew? How did you meet new people?

With whom did you form friendships? In what context?

Who belongs to your family and relatives? (You can draw it, if you want) (ancestors, grandparents, animals ...)

Who is important in your life? (blood lines, marital lines, family and relatives)

Motivation for migration

When or how did the idea to leave your country come about?
Which coincidences or casual facts have influenced or driven your decision?
(People you met, relatives or friends who already had made this choice, etc.)
What ideas /fantasies did you have of the receiving country?
Which country did you originally want to go to? Is it this country?
Do you think that this is the country where you can realise your life project?

Social-economic conditions

Did you emigrate for economic reasons? Or for which other reason did you emigrate?
What image did you have of the host country?
What did you find? Confirmation or disillusion?
Did you have a job before emigrating? What kind? What level of income?
Was it enough to support your family? Qualification? Were you satisfied with your job?
Did you find a job in the host country? Had you arranged a new job before leaving your home country? Does this job match your expectations?
Do you make use of your qualifications?
Is knowing the language important for your job?
Are you involved in a new job training or educational process?

Through which channel did you find a job?

Do you have trade union contacts? Do you participate in other labour associations?

Do you know the rules and laws governing your work tasks?

Do you know how to work through the institutions?

Are you thinking of changing your job? For income reasons? Status? Qualification?

Is your work place a place of integration?

Did you experience cases of racism or exclusion?

What about the relations with your colleagues?

Do you support your family at home?

Education

Do you have an educational background? If so, can you talk about your educational background?

Do you have a diploma/certificate etc.? (Educational or vocational)

Where did you complete your most recent education?

Could you continue your education in the host country?

If not, what was the reason? If yes, can you explain it a bit?

Could you tell me about the education system in your home country?

Have you experienced any difficulties with education in your home country?

Are you informed about the education system of the host country?
Can you compare your home country and the host country in terms of educational opportunities?
Have you experienced any difficulties with education in the host country?
Have you experienced any difficulties/discrimination on the basis of your gender in your family and in the education system?
If you could what would you change in your education history such as studying a different subject or continuing education further?
Would you like to start/continue your education?
Have you attended any language courses or have you participated in vocational training or integration courses in the host country?

Cultural identity

How long have you been living in the host country?
What was the main reason to leave your home country?
What expectations did you have of the host culture?
What are the main elements of your culture (rituals, religion but also food, dress, music, dance etc.)?
Which of them do you practise in everyday life?
Do you teach your children these elements?
Which language do you speak at home?

Are you planning to apply for the citizenship of your host country?
Do you feel integrated in the host culture?
Do you feel accepted personally?
Did gender conflicts arise between the gender roles of your home country and your host country and how do you deal with them?
Are you in contact with associations of your community (which can be helpful, but protection can augment isolation and exert some social pressure)?

Personal Competence

These questions should be used for self-reflection, to find out about the type of learning, resources and weaknesses, ability to concentrate, solve problems, work together.

How do you learn best?
How do you deal with problems?
What are your personal competencies? Or: What can you do best on the job/ at home?
How do you behave in groups?
How do you deal with stress?

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNTS OF EDUCATION

For PASS project we interviewed people with a migrant background. The interviews were carried out in Turkey by Ela Gokalp, in Italy by Marguerite Welly Lottin, Nikola Ljuljdorovic, Elisabetta Cannova and Claudia Calzetta, in Lithuania by Irena Zemaitaityte and Sarmite Mikulioniene, in Austria by Oscar Thomas Olalde, Verena Brunner, Gabriela Schroffenegger and Anne-marie Schweighofer-Brauer, and in Germany by Hrund Eysteinsdottir, Meike Wieger, Heike Pilk and Martina Kissing.

In the context of their biography, the educational career of our interview partners became understandable.

The following pages shall give an impression of findings and insights. We describe some results drawn from interview partners' accounts and cite passages from interviews. The core questions for these reflections will be: Which resources and conditions can promote the education process of a person with a migrant background? Which circumstances influence their education decisions?

Under each of the following headlines we cite passages from one or two interviews and provide the necessary information about the person to understand the biographical context of the quote – although the life stories would also fit with other headlines than the one where they are quoted.

The indicated age of the interview partners refer to the time of the interview. The names have been changed.

DARK SHADOW

Some of our interview partners talked about difficult, traumatic situations they had to live through during their migration. Some of them had to flee because they feared for their life or were forced into conflicts. Those who came as children with their parents to new countries for economical reasons did not make the decision to migrate. They had to leave their familiar environment for something unknown. The dark, foggy, traumatic, even life-threatening part of the migration path is one theme of the theatre script you find below in this brochure. Those hurtful, dark, frightening occurrences leave deep scars in the hearts of people and they provide a key to understand how people do or do not make use of education opportunities later in their life. For some people they become a motor for further development; strengthen their will to overcome obstacles. For others it stays a smouldering injury that dooms them to failure. To a certain degree the education biography of people must be read as the story of working out a drama that happens along the path of their migration.

Amina is a 44 year old woman from Iran, now living in the very North of Germany. In Iran she went to primary school for six years, then to a secondary school for three years and graduated in mathematics and physics.

Due to the political circumstances she was not able to go to university.

She always wanted to do professional work in Germany which was impossi-

ble. She had to take care of her three children and the children of her brother. She managed to get some language course for herself and her husband. Today she has a language certificate for German, but still no opportunity to get into a profession.

She named her childhood darkness.

During the revolution, Amina was a young girl; her mother had to take care of four children without her husband. Every day Amina went to school and came directly back home afterwards. The last part of the day the family had to stay at home quietly.

After the revolution in Iran, Amina's husband was suspected of being opposed to the government. So they could not expect a good future as free people in their own country. Her husband prepared everything for the escape without telling her anything. Only just before the flight was she informed about what she was supposed to do.

They didn't have any idea which country would take them in. Germany was only one possibility. During the whole flight, Amina could not make out what was going on. All her thoughts centred on her mother left behind in Iran.

"When we fled, I cried on the plane for the entire journey and thought only of my mother, whom we had had to leave behind on her own. She is the most important thing in my life and I did not know if we would see her again alive." Her mother was able to join them three years later in Germany. Amina could not imagine living in Germany without her. Their relationship is very strong and emotional.

"I no longer have any family in Iran, only my husband's family still lives there and it is hard for him not to know if he will ever see his mother again. He could not attend his father's funeral, because he had fled before. Such things are very painful and will stay with us forever."

A LITTLE HELP CAN MAKE A BIG DIFFERENCE

No matter if somebody migrates as an adult or as a child, whether they themselves decided to migrate or if the parents made this decision: anybody who comes new to a country, to a new environment, needs support – not only from official agencies or professional responsible. Support is needed from people one meets in everyday life. This support even includes a friendly greeting that signals you are welcome; you do not have to feel inferior and worthless. In the accounts of second generation migrants often teachers play a decisive role for their success or failure in school and therefore for the first steps in an educational career.

On many occasions organised structures might already have been created to set off disadvantages or to provide empowerment. In recent years for example, in several German regions children are tested at the age of four on their German language proficiency. If they have problems there is still time to help them with special programs before they enter school at the age of six. But apart from such institutionalised support, sympathetic people are extremely important. They do not have to sacrifice themselves. Often it is enough to give a little hand at a crucial moment.

Our findings in the PASS project confirm how important it is to understand that we have no choice but to coexist in one world and that there are many ways to live in solidarity with migrants. Our interview partners repeatedly experienced small acts of support as a lucky break.

Elif, 38 years old, from Eastern Anatolia, migrated to Austria with her parents when she was a child. She describes what happened to her in school:

"In the first year I only sat in there, got no support or explanation from the teacher, had no knowledge of German, the teacher saw that I did not take any notes, did not react to that, he was nice but not supportive; but I was allowed to move up to the next class, during that time one teacher was influential for

me: she tried to integrate me into the class. When I crouched in the corridor she took me in and told me things. I did not understand much, but had a quick mind, managed to pass by observing, I have a good memory, a photographic memory for sentences, which I did not understand but remembered. At home I got no support for learning German since my parents spoke German very badly; I got no help with homework. But in my third year at school, the mother of a classmate gave me extra lessons for a short period, maybe seven or eight afternoons, which gave me the necessary kick-start for getting on. It was an advantage to be able to stay in the class, but I had no idea of what was coming up next."

"I passed the entry exam for the commercial school. (...) In the third class I had to fight with a racist German teacher, who stood in for ours who was on maternity leave. (...) I was teased for half a year until I broke down; my parents could not help me. Finally the aunt of a schoolmate noticed what was going on. (...) She noticed and went to the head of the school.

This teacher had me copy minutes seven times, being ignored was worst, she marked essays that were OK with a fail or at best with a 4 or 4 minus, she wanted me to fail the class. The aunt of a schoolmate helped; the head of the school liked me, I was a paragon child, in every class they stated how conscientious and diligent I was, people called me by my name, I was a little star in the school until this dragon arrived. The aunt put her down in front of me, she helped me, everything was put into perspective, the head of school regularly came and sat in the German lessons, the teacher often came out of the lessons trembling and sweaty, and suddenly I had brilliant marks. My parents could not have helped even though it was important to them, because of blind respect for the school system and lack of an awareness of their rights and that they have to protect their child. When all was said and done, they left us to our own devices."

Anna is 30 years old, she was born in the Ivory Coast and moved with her family to Cameroon. "My father was a fisherman while my mother took care of the family. I have three brothers and five sisters. Two of my siblings are younger than me. But the family was much larger because it also included a number of cousins that were adopted by my parents because their parents died, leaving them alone. These cousins grew up with us as siblings. My family was very poor because the only income came from my father. We did not have problems with food because my father had always some fish for the entire family. We could not have other things like higher school education because of financial constraints. I attended only the elementary schools as most of my siblings did. I was very much involved in sports, above all women's football. My dream, as well as the dream of my family, was to be able to play in a Western European football team."

A football trainer promised to make that possible and the parents sold a little piece of land to pay him – he disappeared with the money. Eventually an opportunity arose to go to Europe with the national team and the mother arranged Anna's escape with a friend whose son was already in France. Without documents she crossed the border to Italy to stay with an aunt, a former nun, who lived there. In Rome she was forced to work as a prostitute, she escaped and was helped by the Caritas centre. They found a place for her at a girl's house. She got pregnant, the father refused to acknowledge the child. At that time she met an elderly Italian woman, a lay nun, who decided to support her and her child. They have been living in the house of this lady ever since.

"She is my second mother. In the meantime I got a baby girl who now is 13 years old, very good at school and with music and sport."

She herself attended a language school and learned almost perfect Italian just speaking with her second mother.

She joined a female football team in Rome for fun. "Years ago I attended a school for family stewards and geriatric nurses. For about ten years now I

have been working in the social sector and earn my living there. During all this period I had a secure home to stay in with my daughter as well as financial support from my second mother. She really took care of my child in all possible ways.

I am now a member of a social cooperative. I support my family back in Africa with money; about 20% of my stipend every month goes to my siblings at home.

I go home once a year with all kinds of presents for all my extended family. Naturally also with money. So far my daughter has gone to Africa only once when she was still little. She enjoyed staying there with other children in a very open and unconventional life."

Magnolya, 50 years old, moved to Austria with her parents when she was 14. She did not want to leave Istanbul. She went to primary school in Istanbul for five years and quit afterwards although her father wanted her to continue. She took care of her younger brother while her parents worked. In Austria she started working in a factory at the age of 15. "One day I got a letter telling me that I had to attend school since I was only 15. I didn't want to go to school. I was afraid that the other children would make fun of me because I could hardly speak German. That's why I preferred working. My boss at that time arranged something so I could keep working. Then I was sent to Switzerland to do some sewing courses because I did a good job (sewing shirts). If I had to take the decision again I'd go to school. I'd love to go for higher education or even study at university. But at that time I wanted to be independent – yes. I wanted to earn my own money. Now my husband has to look after me." She married when she was 17 and stopped working because her husband did not want her to work. The marriage was arranged by the husband's brother and her parents – she herself did not want to marry at that time. When she was young she learned German pretty fast, but gradually lost it since she had married and stayed at home. "In Turkey I was playing an instrument. I

couldn't continue. I couldn't speak proper German and didn't know anybody. Otherwise I could help my daughter now – but I can't!"

Magnolya's sister and her brother are highly educated and work in qualified positions now.

Manolya has only few contacts with Austrians. "If I had had the feeling that they accept me and like me I'd have been more outgoing and inviting. I would have loved to invite them to my house but I never got that close. Four years ago I had a treatment at a health resort in Salzburg. There I met a woman from Carinthia. She was speaking slowly so that I could understand her. We went for walks and she even invited me for a hiking tour. If I had met someone that caring in Vorarlberg I would have been more active. She was very thoughtful and caring – I didn't experience that attitude in Vorarlberg."

SCHOOL SYSTEM

How migrant children are treated in school, the support they get by teachers, class mates or parents of class mates can be decisive for their further development as has been shown already. The basis for liking or disliking education, for being able to integrate in the receiving society, for selecting a proper professional training later on may be laid in early school experiences.

But what happens to children in school depends not only on the personality of their teachers and the climate they create in class. It also depends on the school system of a country, on how school life is structured, how school deals with cultural diversity and on the ruling ideology on how to raise children in this society.

Lena, 42 years old, living in Lithuania, is a second generation migrant, daughter of a Belorussian mother and a Tartar father. She works as a teacher of English at a school with Russian as teaching language.

"My parents met in Kamchatka. My mother's family was exiled, my father served as a military pilot, also he stems from Ural, Sverdlovsk. Our family language is Russian."

"My parents only wanted to escape from Kamchatka, to go anywhere to 'Continent' ('materik'), but of course their life was shaped by where my father was ordered to go. From Kamchatka my father was sent to work in Cherniakhovsk, Kaliningrad district, after that to Panevežys, there my sister was born and later on to Vilnius where I was born. My mother followed her husband as the wife of a pilot."

"What I remember from my childhood? I remember the kindergarten, the school."

I hated the kindergarten. I was always punished for nothing, especially by one nanny. It was always difficult for me to be among people. I always feel alone, even when I am among people. I need some kind of vacuum around me. I always lagged behind the group, tried to escape. I did not need any friends or toys; I was silent and concentrated on waiting for my parents. Fully ready to leave kindergarten, my bits and pieces in my bag, I waited near the fence until my parents came to pick me up. Usually I did not say 'Goodbye' to my nanny or other children. I remember a disgusting juice we drank in kindergarten, as I realise now, it was mango juice. I remember fish oil. Children were forced (...) to stand in the line by the wall; hands had to be behind the back. Everybody was forced to drink one spoon of fish oil.

I hated the school as well as kindergarten, although I was fated to work at school. I suffer working at the school, but some mixture of laziness, laxity and fear keep me from leaving this job. In life there are a lot of baseless fears... they come from childhood and remain with you for your whole life."

SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE FAMILY

First and second generation migrants in different receiving societies gave

examples of the necessity to meet understanding people who give good advice or provide important information, who help to find a way through the institutions in the new environment, who arrange helpful connections, who have an open ear for one's sorrows, who just signal: I notice you.

In addition, especially for second generation migrants, their family's attitude has an enormous impact on their access to education. If parents or grandparents are already educated, it is likely that they will encourage their offspring. In low-education families the encouragement and support of the children depends on the will of the parents to create a better live for their children and on their general views on education. If the family supposes that education is a good way to have a promising future, children have a realistic chance of succeeding.

Consequently people from poorly educated families where education is not highly rate need particular support. Children have to be led in another direction in institutions that work with them.

In well-educated as well as in poorly educated families, girls and boys are frequently treated differently according to assumed gender roles. Not only gender but also the position as first, second, last sibling affects the messages they receive from their families.

Dilara, age 26, migrated from Eastern Anatolia to Istanbul and later to Austria with her nuclear family when she was about ten years old. After visiting primary school and Commercial School in Austria, she counsels and supports migrants as a social worker and takes part in further education (in evenings and weekends). Her dream was to study psychology:

"I absolutely wanted to study or get some other training in this field. This mattered to me greatly. Why? Why was this so important for me? There are various reasons. One important reason of course was my own family, my family history, these conflicts in the relationship between parents, children and

the like. I am an introspective person that wonders, thinks a lot why, what for and so on. All that certainly was a reason. The second reason certainly was the culture a bit, or rather the time in the society in which I found myself. This was difficult and I kept thinking, why does it have to be like that? There must be some change possible. There must be some solution, via culture and education. And I saw my chance only in that I could become different if I get an education, a good education for instance. I put a lot of store by education."

In Austria the parents supported and still support their four children in gaining an education. But being female in this Turkish family also meant restrictions – not all wishes for education were supported.

How did the decision to emigrate to Austria come about?

"Well and then the question arose, because of my father's job, that we had no security and did not know what future we could have. So my parents must have thought or that is how they tell it, to gain more security for the future, in a European country at least you get insured, there is at least a social security. Better education possibly and so on."

In Austria she entered school: "There was a very committed teacher who supported foreign children. She made up a group of extraordinary pupils if you want, pupils who were not native speakers of German, they either spoke no German at all or very little, in the first year. This had a very big effect. We were taught like that for half a semester, just the foreign pupils, and she came to us in several subjects, this was really important for instance. Biology, geography, in all subjects that she could teach she came to us, because she talked very clearly and slowly with us, had her concept in her mind, taught us German along the way and curriculum subject matter. After half a semester we were put into the usual streams and I for instance had caught on really well, came into very good streams, first and second, German, English, Mathematics, this was rather astonishing, for the other teachers too. Sometimes there were even looks of envy, I could really feel it. Yes, it went well then, I finished lower se-

condary school with commendation. That was a very good time; I experienced a lot in that time. Then I just went on to the commercial college, I passed the entry exam and was taken on, that was another thing that was not taken for granted. My parents thought that I would certainly not make it, but they said, if you want to continue going to school, we do not want to stand in your way. So I continued. Yes, after the commercial college the external A-level. I tried to do this externally, via the BFI. Except for German I passed in all the subjects, got good marks. Meanwhile I got married, moved to Tyrol."

"For me there is a phase before the marriage and one after it. Before I married it was difficult. I generally had difficulties, not personally, but through my father, because he was authoritarian and had little confidence in other people and against the community. (...)

Honour was always an issue from his side. Yes, I could have a boyfriend or somebody could see us. Or generally, also without boyfriend, he wanted people not to tell: 'Ah, Ahmet's daughter walks around like something in town.' Although this was normal for our age, but not imaginable for him. It was very important for him, that we all are always ideal."

His daughters should be educated: "Yes, sure. It was contradictory. On one side – my father, not my mother – you should not invest too much in the daughters, because they will marry and go to another man. Therefore he did not want to invest in something like buying a house or apartment, nothing we could inherit from him. But on the other side it was important to him that we should become educated. And he worked hard for that I have to admit. Only, this was his advantage, too, because then we were ideal in the eyes of others. Because it was said of us: 'The daughters of Ahmet, they go through education, they came later to Austria but they made it.' And so on. Yes. I think these things were good for him, too."

Belma, 28 years old, came from Istanbul to Italy on her own to study. Her fa-

ther was an entrepreneur, her mother a housewife. They are retired now. Her sister works in Istanbul in the real estate sector.

"I decided to come to Florence to study architecture because in Istanbul I had been attending an Italian Lyceum, but I really started speaking Italian well since I came here, with the practice of this language.

My parents, although they were not so happy when I decided to come to Italy, agree to give us the opportunity to study abroad, because coming back to Istanbul we should have a better chance of finding a good job." Also another friend of her was already at the university she selected.

SUPPORTING THE NEXT GENERATION TO HAVE A BETTER LIVE

In many cases parents, fathers or mothers, encourage their children to gain qualifications, to go to schools, to study because it was difficult for them to survive without any of these.

They even pursue it as a main aim in life to enable their children to become well educated, to open up possibilities for them that they missed so desperately.

Amina, whom we mentioned before, came with her husband from Iran as a refugee. She is very concerned about her children and their education, she also learned German doing the homework with her children and she has informed herself about the German school system, which isn't really easy to understand.

Fahir, a 51 year old women, migrated from an Eastern Anatolian village to Ankara. She has never gone to school. Her husband abducted her and she became a fellow wife in a polygamous household. She has five children, three girls and two boys, but none of them is registered on her name. The first wife has also five children, and under her name ten children are registered, inclu-

ding the respondent's children. In Ankara her husband has locked her up in the apartment. Only after his death after ten years of marriage, could she go out – she had to go out to earn a living for herself and her children. Today, officially, she is single and does not have any children. Until now she has been mainly working as a cleaner and carer of the elderly. Education is a very big issue for her.

"When I was working for Dünya Newspaper, I was asked if I am illiterate; because I used to open the Newspaper building around 7 o'clock. Thus, sometimes, I had to answer the phones or take notes. Then, my boss offered to send me to a literacy course. I went there for three to four days, but it was too much to do, then I had to quit."

"If I have a chance, I would definitely like to go to school. But, we have an enormous debt, so if I don't work, how can we survive? Several years ago, I could manage to buy a house, but my son was going to marry and he needed my financial help. So I had to leave my house to them and found a rented house again. Life is tough, and only some people have the opportunity to get an education."

Her three daughters are graduated from high school. She is still working for their education, even though none of them is her child by law. In addition, one of her sons has graduated from university.

"I could raise my children as good persons. This is my biggest success. They could go to school and they have a better education than all of my family. It was not easy, especially as a single and an illiterate woman."

EDUCATIONAL PREREQUISITES BROUGHT FROM THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

First generation migrants frequently arrive with high qualifications – professional training, university degrees – in the receiving societies. Migrants with special qualifications are even called to European countries – like IT specialists from India. Legal requirements are arranged in such a fashion as

to simplify their integration into the labour market.

In other cases highly qualified refugees have to overcome many barriers and even migrants with full legal status often need to get their degrees acknowledged before they can use it to enter the labour market. They have to pass exams or to go through supplementary education in the receiving society, they have to repeat courses and even parts of their study – even if they can show years of professional experience. It happens that institutions in the receiving society like universities do not know the legal premises migrants with refugee status have to continue their studies. In such cases again they depend on helpful members of the receiving society who share their knowledge and on contacts to find their way through the jungle of regulations. Migrants who come with professional qualifications that are scarce in the receiving society evidently find it much easier to be allowed to work.

Tarik, 34 years old, came from Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria in 1993. He had almost finished his degree in Informatics.

"But then the war started, and I was called up to serve in the Yugoslavian People's Army to fight Slovenia. So I had to drop out of university and move into barracks. Before the official start of the war in 1992 there had been protests, strikes and clashes. The preparations for the war took some time. I deserted because I did not want to serve in the army, so I had to go into hiding in my own country and in Sarajevo. I really did not want to fight in the war against Croatia. This has influenced my life."

He flew to Salzburg where his sister and brother-in-law were already living. "I knew that the legal steps were going to be very complicated. As a refugee, I first went to charities. The Caritas helped me at the start with some money. I had absolutely no means at all.

Then I attended a German course, and after a few months I started to work as a sales representative for computer software. I still work at the same place."

He had studied informatics to fulfil his father's expectations although he did not like this subject. In Austria his education was helpful because computer experts were needed. He had to earn money not only for himself but also to support his parents in Bosnia.

His education was not fully acknowledged in Austria: "Not automatically. My diploma had to be naturalised. In my case it was quite simple. Maybe it had to do with the demands of the labour market. I only had to redo one subject. So I was able to start working quite soon."

He performs well in his job but still does not really like this kind of work. He dreams of being a construction engineer.

Azekel, 38 years old, came from Angola via Portugal to Italy. In Angola he went to school for eleven years and finished with a high secondary school certificate. He left because of the war with the aim of working and studying and getting a University degree and finally coming back.

"The people who were leaving Angola were middle-class and we used to live well in our country, so coming to Europe and finding a lot of difficulties made us also very angry and we used to find all deficiencies and defects in the host country, and I needed time to lose this mentality and to see how things are in reality. The lack of university studies makes me feel mortified; I have good memories of my school time, also because we had a lot of foreign teachers from the 5th up to the 8th class, mainly from Cuba. I still remember a young teacher, very nice and with a lovely approach, she was teaching mathematics, but she was also the form teacher and so she used to organise other activities too like theatre, gym, other events, and when I met a school friend of mine, now a priest, after 19 years, we recognise each other through remembering her."

"At that time Portugal was quite poor, and the war in Angola started after the independence of 1975, but until 1982 we lived well in our country, after this

date and until 2002, the death of the guerrilla leader, poverty was very high in Angola. So when I was 18 years old I decided to run away. I know that a lot of friends of mine, maybe three or four years older than me, went to war and some of them died, others were injured and most of them, with their mutilations, did not remain conscious." Leaving Angola in this situation was like deserting. He had to produce documents which proved that he was only 16 years old – because with his real age of 18 he would not have been allowed to leave the country but would have had to join the army.

In Portugal he worked as a manual worker in the building sector under very hard conditions for four years. Then he changed to a publicity agency in a computer company and attended a training course in computer science. He met his wife in 1991 and moved to Italy with her.

"Now I could not think of coming back to Angola, because the Angolan mentality would be in conflict with my and Rosella's life style, now I feel that Rome is my town. Our cycle of friends is quite mixed, before I used to attend the Angolan community more frequently, before starting to work for the Angolan embassy. But now I don't work there anymore, because I do not have any relatives in the government, so now I am unemployed again.

My plans do not include the idea to start again at university, because all that I learned I learned through life experiences and I have always been interested in international news and situations, and also in history and arts, but I prefer a self-organised study, also with the help of my wife, who is a teacher, and I find this way much more comfortable than others to continue to learn."

After the interview Azekel attended a training course about entrepreneurship funded by the region. Maybe reflecting on his situation through the interview changed his idea about education?

Like Azekel, Edson, 29 years old, comes from Angola. He fled on a boat to Spain and went to northern Germany where he lives now. He went to Germa-

ny to study but was not allowed to because of social welfare office payments. "Yes but the social welfare office didn't tell me directly how things were (...). And I didn't speak very good German at that time and could not explain my wishes. It was very difficult (...) One day I spoke with somebody at this office and he said I could only have some work where I don't have to speak a lot, because I haven't visited school and learned German. If I would like to then he could help me find work.

He sent me to a yard for road works (...). I was putting down paving stones on the pavements and roads and cutting trees, sometimes we had to plant trees."

He thinks that he isn't able to learn anything any more, because he has spent so much time in "waiting" and working some low paid jobs.

His education in Angola: "(...) in my case it was not so bad I had a very good family, very nice parents and sister (...). As we grew up it was difficult because we had to make something out of our life. I was about 21 years old in the third year of finishing my secondary school and I was always planning for the future and being concerned about the future, how I could make it better and things like this. I always thought it would be better if I could flee to Europe. There I have more opportunities. (...) Looking back I know it isn't so easy."

"I would really like to participate in a training to gain a professional qualification because I have not finished anything. (...) I REALLY like to do a training, in Germany you need an education. Otherwise it is very difficult to live here. It is also difficult to work for a few weeks or months in one company and then I have to quit and do something else. (...) If you have an education you have more opportunities or chances to attain a position."

Andra, a 44 year old woman from Latvia with a university degree recounts: "When I got married and my husband and I decided to live in Lithuania, I did not consider living in a neighbouring country to be a major change. Those

were the Soviet Union times, and there was not much difference if you lived in one or another republic. Maybe I did not consider it properly. When Lithuania passed the Law on Citizenship, I lived here and was granted Lithuanian citizenship, like many others, who were registered [had a permanent address of residence] in Lithuania. But after a few years, an official from the Migration Department called me and explained that I had a right to citizenship, but not under the regular order, but under the Decree of the President, as an immigrant from Russia who has married a Lithuanian citizen. That is why I should submit the passport I had and apply for the citizenship again. That meant heaps of papers, the national language test, living without any identity documents for a while, and uncertainty to an extent. It was only then that I started to think what it meant to have the citizenship of a country or not to have it; what it meant to a person who might be denied the citizenship. Having treated citizenship as a natural thing, all of a sudden I felt a threat to my security, I lost confidence in the state institutions, I felt helpless and realised how vulnerable a migrant can be."

TRANSCULTURAL EXPERIENCE AS A RESOURCE

Migrants – first and second generation – develop special skills to deal with often contradictory requirements of different environments. Depending on how far it is possible to stick to their familiar beliefs, traditions, structures, they have to develop a transcultural knowledge: to integrate different beliefs, habits, rules, emotional and mental attitudes, ways of behaving, ways of relating to other people. It can be very difficult to work through this integration process psychologically, as a process going on within oneself, and socially, as a process which changes the social networks.

Transcultural knowledge means the capacity to adapt to unfamiliar situations and structures and to keep enough of the familiar identities not to fall apart. It refers to being able to stand precariousness in your personality

in situations defined by others. But it also refers to discovering unexpected aspects of your personality, the freedom to play with identities, the excitement of presenting yourself in different contexts.

Transcultural knowledge of course also refers to very evident skills like bilingualism. In any case it is part of the requirements to face the challenges of our contemporary world.

Ekaterini is 46 years old. Her parents migrated to Germany in the 1960s. She was born in Germany but like many little children she was sent to Greece to live with her grandmother. The parents stayed much longer in Germany than they had planned and eventually took Ekaterini to live there with them: "Yes, so in 1969 I came to Germany and found it very, very bad here. It was everything, it was the gloomy time of the year, it was November, so then I was here in a one-room apartment with my parents and my younger sister, whom I neither knew well, she was five years younger than me and I was alone often, my parents worked, and I had to care for myself. I went to school and from noon I stayed at home with my sister. Yes, this was primary school, the third year; I entered into the third year class." "Yes, like I told you, first it was, the reorientation was difficult. The person I was most attached to was not there anymore. And I think I became ill. Grandma had to come and she was pretty old by then, but she came and stayed for a while and had to go back home, because she could not stand that very well and this was a phase, yes, I floated somewhere and did not know where. I had nobody really who spent many hours with me. My parents returned home in the evening and I carried the responsibility for my little sister, so somehow: foreign country, no language, always at home and the responsibility and nobody was there, everything was horrible somehow. And at some moment I started to reject everything Greek, but I know that only today, I did not know that at the time, it was all unconscious. One day I noticed, I rejected everything, did not want to speak Greek,

did not want to spent time with Greek girls. My mother told me: 'Visit Lisa, you can crochet together.' I did not want to crochet with Lisa. I did not want to do anything Greek. Today I think, all this had to do with my pain, because everything reminded me of my Grandma, I did not want to suffer anymore, I did not to want it to hurt anymore. And everything Greek had to be exterminated, I had to become German, I just simplify now, becoming German and becoming Greek. It was in my brain that way, I had to think German to survive, so. And that again was very bad for my parents. They wanted a Greek girl and now I became German, had German friends, answered them in German, they spoke Greek, I spoke German. So all that was not very happy for them. But I kept to it. I went on rejecting everything and even more in puberty. And yes, basically I lived in that way the next 20, 25 years before it erupted again through the death of my grandma. Then the contrary appeared again.

My grandma died and everything Greek showed up again, what I had oppressed all those years, this was eight years ago." When her parents finally left Germany in the 1980s, Ekaterini stayed, learned a profession, married, gave birth to three sons.

"And by the end of the 1980s something came slowly, started digging inside me, something was going on and something new appeared and wanted to erupt, but it was not quite clear to me, what it is, so it was that way my ex-husband, he told me afterwards, he expressed it that way: 'Yes, you changed somehow and I was not able to cope with that.' And that was, I think, this Greek part, which wanted to finally appear slowly on the surface, which I had oppressed all those years. It began at the end of the 1980s that I started being interested in my culture, my history, my family, my origin, all that. And strongly it broke out through the death of my grandma. There was 100 percent Greece in my head, so much, yes, that my partner could not cope with it, because he had married a German woman and had he known in advance that I could be that much Greek it could have been that we had not stayed toge-

ther." After her grandmother died she started to learn Greek dancing intensively in connection with a self-organised study of Greek culture and history. Nowadays to teach Greek dance and to plan and guide dancing holidays in Greece is part of her professional life. And big parts of the people who take her dancing courses and book her holidays are of German origin.

"And listening to certain songs I see my grandmother, how she lifts her leg, she was 90 years old and still would lift her legs. Sta Tria [a Greek dance – 'three steps'], then she saw dance films on TV and stood up and was flourishing and danced. And those are beautiful pictures for me, beautiful memories. And when I dance the same now as my grandmother, then I feel connected to her, you know."

Elif, who has been introduced already, told us: "I grew up bilingually, learned nine years Turkish and Zazaki [an Indogerman language, but not Kurdish] as spoken in north-western Iran, since my family comes from northern Iran, the Tuceli province next to Erzincan". Irritated by the fact that her parents never appreciated that she spoke and understood Zazaki very well, she still kept a good passive knowledge. After a few days in Istanbul with her aunts the gates would just open.

For working as an advisor she had to relearn Turkish for half a year until it was fluent again, her lust for reading helped here. Now she has a good command of Turkish and German but with a larger vocabulary in German. She describes her weaker knowledge of Turkish as: "(...) unpleasant, humiliating, it feels as if you are amputated, a strain. Many have this feeling if they grew up in similar circumstances. You can feel it when you visit Turkey or relatives. They treat you as if you were stupid, through my work I have become better at translating and interpreting between Turkish and German, I only miss a few words. The main problem is forming sentences, speaking properly and a lack of vocabulary, the famous 100 words that are all that is spoken at home in

everyday life." *"English was easy for me at school. In year 3 at primary school we all started from scratch, I was very good then, continued in secondary school, where it was an optional subject, half the people participated, the other half did not, I was number 1, everybody copied from me, at Commercial School too, I loved English, I love to travel to England, visited England three years in a row."*

DIFFERENT ATTITUDES IN DIFFERENT LIFE PHASES

There is a lot of discussion on the topic of an ageing society; on how to use the experiences and skills of elderly people; on how to mediate the different needs and desires of the generations. People reflect on their different educational desires at different times of their life. A 20-year old may long for an education which enables him/her to enter professional work, to secure their living, to found a family. A 40-year old may look for education to secure work, to change the career because of work place insecurity, unemployment. Or for some educational support to reflect their life experience, work on their personality, on the work-life balance, to find orientation in a mid-life crisis. 65-year old retired people finally fulfil their wish to study or take courses without any professional reason – to do something they always wanted but never had time for. Or they still want to be instrumental for their environment and take some courses to be able to fulfil certain tasks. Or they pass on their knowledge and experience to the younger ones. This influence of life phases on education decisions concerns migrants as well as nationals of the receiving society.

Ekaterini again – when she was about 15, 20, 25 years old, she was eager to learn a good profession that would permit her to stay in Germany on herself because she knew her parents would return to Greece sooner or later. After school she found a position as an apprentice in a medical practice – without

telling her parents. When her mother became aware of it she cancelled the contract with the doctor. After that Ekaterini worked in a Turkish shop and in a factory for many years without professional training. Finally she managed to find an apprenticeship as a draughtsperson in an engineering firm, starting there just as her parents were leaving Germany. She married, quit her job and had children. After many years, in another phase of her life, she started self-organised education on Greek dance, tradition and history – which fit into her regaining roots and Greek identity.

Mario, 19 years old, is our youngest interview partner, a 3rd generation young man whose grandparents and parents came from Italy to Germany in 1973. He does not know a lot about the life of his family members back in Italy and before he was born. As a result of being asked about it in the interview he is motivated to find out more now. When he was a child, his parents worked and a friend of his mother looked after him. His grandparents and parents worked in a factory in Germany. The parents do not have vocational training. A few years during his childhood, his family lived in Italy again and he still goes there for holidays. His 26-year old brother, who graduated from secondary school and is now at university, is his model. The brother helps him with homework and speaks German with him. Otherwise he speaks Italian most of the time.

Mario graduated from Commercial School and currently takes part in a special commercial vocational training. He has been an active football player since childhood.

GENDERED EDUCATION

As mentioned before, gender is a reason in many families to support girls and boys differently in their educational careers, to allow or deny opportunities, to encourage or prohibit desires. But experiencing their gender as an

obstacle can also urge mothers to wish a better fate for their daughters and to support them in every possible way.

The impact of gender can change during the lifespan of a person – in particular for women when they marry. Their education may have been encouraged in their original family but as a married woman they face obstacles and barriers. In other cases the original family may prohibit education but after marriage a woman may gain more opportunities.

Women of Turkish descent sometimes refuse to marry to maintain their freedom to study and work.

Gendered socialisation nowadays can be an advantage for girls living in European countries to succeed in education institutions. Studies conclude that it seems to be easier to pass through these institutions for girls who display specific prerequisites based on female socialisation: for example the ability to concentrate on a task, to work calmly and carefully.

Gendered education also refers to the fact that men and women tend to be interested in different subjects, to develop different skills due to their male or female socialisation and to their gendered world view.

We already got an impression of Elif's biography. She has one brother and one sister. Her father claims that he treats all his children the same and does not admit that he supported the girls less than the brother. The brother had been in Austria from his first year of life, attended a better secondary school – A stream; meanwhile the girls attended secondary school in B stream. The brother passed the entry exam for HTL [a technically oriented school in Austria for pupils from 14 to 18 or 19 years old, offers A-level equivalent to go on to university] and did A-levels, Elif's sister passed Commercial School, started to work at the age of 18, later started a career as a civil servant, did civil service A-levels, promoted, studying was never on the agenda. The father was keen that his son should do A-levels. The son wanted to study

electrical engineering in Vienna and the parents paid for his studies for six years. He only needed to work during the holidays, studying was a matter of course for the son. But he did not finish.

Elif on the contrary was encouraged by her parents to accept a job offer after school. Many years later she started to fulfil her dream of studying – alongside a full-time job and her political commitment.

Fahir, who was abducted by her husband and had to migrate to Ankara, worked – after her husband's death – for 16 years as a cleaner in a newspaper office. She does not think that she has been discriminated against because of her gender. However, her fears of her husband stayed with her for a very long time. On her first day at the newspaper, she was so afraid because there were more men than women. Day by day, she began to overcome this fear. Thus, she defines her experience as another type of discrimination. With her boss' help, she was able to get over this fear and work in a mixed-sex environment. She realises that her recent occupation is the result of educational problems. She had been discriminated against first by her father, who did not allow her to obtain any education. From her three sisters and two brothers, only one boy managed to graduate from university. On the other hand, her sisters have primary education and they are literate.

"Gender roles are different in Y. [her home village] and Ankara of course, but some things are just the same in both.

The main difference is woman. Because, in our village, women are like asset, they do not have any value. Thus, when men come from rural to urban, the first thing that they do is cheat. Women's difference is in education."

Nigora, 27 years old, migrated from Uzbekistan to Ankara with her husband three and a half years ago. Her brother and her two sisters migrated, too, to the USA and Turkey, because it is difficult to earn enough money to build

up an existence in Uzbekistan. In Tashkent Nigora tried three times to pass the university entry exam but did not succeed. Finally her mother paid for her biology diploma. Meanwhile she got married and had two children. In Uzbekistan she and her husband were not able to find proper work. So they decided to go to Turkey where her elder sister already worked. The two children stayed with her mother. Nigora and her husband sent money for the son's primary school, her mother took care of the children's other needs. This mother is a successful professional woman. In Turkey Nigora works illegally as a housekeeper, she lives with her husband at her work place. She would prefer to work as an economist but has not finished an education in this field.

"I guess, the most important success is to have the right to do what I want to do. I feel freer, because, in my home country, everybody was telling me what I should do. I earn money; actually, my husband and I earn money. Our economic situation is better. We have bought one house and a field. Now, we want to build a house on that field. When we have saved that much money, we'll run back. We are planning to go back in two and a half years."

Asked to talk about her educational background:

"I completed grade 9, and then continued for 10th and 11th. After completion of those two additional years, I tried to pass the university exam, but I failed three times. Then, I applied to college, which takes place in-between lyceum and university. I completed the 'economics' course at college. After college, I applied to university again. According to our system, you go for an exam and if you are among the top 20, you do not have to pay, but if your score is not enough, you have to pay money. I did the same thing, but three years later, I married and became pregnant. Then, our economic situation went bad and we came to Ankara. Thus, I could not complete my university education. At my university, if you are a part-time student, your semesters become double. Thus, even though I could not go, my mother paid money to my teachers, and they let me pass their exams. Last year, I graduated from the Biology Depart-

ment of my university. But, I did not do anything about biology. I wish I could graduate from economics and then I could be working at a bank."

Asked about gender discrimination in her country and compared to Turkey: "No, at the beginning we are equal. But boys start to work and girls deal with domestic work."

"Gender roles are different in Uzbekistan and Turkey. I think women have better conditions here. They are stronger.

In Turkey, women's status is better. In Uzbekistan, before marriage, women and men are equal, but marriage creates a kind of imbalance between them."

"I wish I did not marry at such a very early age. My marriage, our immigration... They are my turning points. But I can say that my university exam was a turning point before my marriage, because I was so sad when I could not pass the university exam."

In the case of Tarik, to be male meant not to be able to finish his studies in his country – he had to join the army. Since he did not want to fight, he deserted, became a refugee and has to work to earn a living and to support his parents in Bosnia and therefore cannot fulfil his dream of another education.

SCRIPT: COMING IN FROM THE SHADOWS

A Drama Collage based on Narratives collected by PASS PROJECT PARTNERS
Script by Mario Azzopardi (Malta Drama Centre) 2008

Characters:

Double or Multiple Casting may be necessary.

JOKER – NARRATOR (Male or Female)

ROSETTA

WOMAN ON THE SHORE

TARIK OBILIC

ARMY OFFICER

3 FACTFINDERS (Male or Female)

AMINA FROM IRAN

AMINA'S HUSBUND

ANNA FROM CAMERUN

SIGNOR PECORELLI

HIS SECRETARY

WOMAN FROM ANATOLIA

2 MEN WITH ROPES

EKATERINI DIMOPOULOU

EKATERINI'S MOTHER

CHORUS

The stage is bare. Any space can serve as a stage. The Narrator is called THE JOKER and he/she is the only actor who is not interchangeable. Key characters can become CHORUS members.

SOUND EFFECTS may be recorded or performed live.

Enter ACTORS with drums to announce them

The cold stars are looking upon our dark journey.
The depths of the sea seem to swallow the horizon, our horizon.
Yet we move on as our blood pulses with anxiety and hope.

As dark clouds unleash their force.

We move on

Infinitely vulnerable

And transparent

We have no compass

No mathematical calculations.

We only have instincts to push our dangerous journey forward.

Exit ACTORS & enter JOKER

JOKER: Welcome, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to our theatre. This is a true theatre based on true stories. It is the theatre of life. The rehearsals have been real. Real people rehearsed their lives and today we watch their stories. This theatre is about people who came in from the shadows. They fled from poverty, war, civil unrest, conflicts, fear and persecution.

Some came across the desert, or hid in trucks and trains or threw their fate to the elements, as they gave away all their savings to cross the sea on an old leaking boat.

Today revenue from the world's traffic of smuggled people, of human cargo, amounts to seven billion dollars.

But let's get on to our first testimonial. Rosetta Atanasio lives in southernmost Europe, on an island.

Enter ROSETTA

ROSETTA: My name is Rosetta Atanasio. I work as an ambulance assistant. I still remember that day in November. We received a phone call that there were two bodies washed ashore. When we arrived, the sight was terrible. The two bodies belonged to a woman and a young girl. The woman was almost naked and lace-

rated. Her face was not recognisable.

The girl was in equally bad shape, but there was something else which struck me about her. Her only possession was a small handbag. She clung to it so hard that her fingers could not be loosened from the handle.

Enter WOMAN

WOMAN: That day the ambulance nurse knocked at my door

ROSETTA: Do you have any plastic bags?

WOMAN: What sort of bags?

ROSETTA: Large bags, the kind you collect garbage in for instance...

WOMAN: Not really, sorry.

ROSETTA: Perhaps you can spare a couple of old sheets?

WOMAN: So I gave her two used sheets. They covered the bodies and waited for the police to arrive. It took the police about an hour to arrive.

Later, as I stood looking out of the kitchen window, I saw other bodies floating in the water. Five or six more bodies, bobbing to the surface. I phoned the village priest, and he asked the police to come back to the beach.

Enter CHORUS

ALL: They risk everything left to them. They risk their dark existence. The poor folk put their energies into their dreams.

MAN: Their life is a passing nightmare.

WOMAN: They move from fear to fear and can only hear the dead moving like



shadows in their head.

ALL: They are choked by despair.

They move in fear. As their heavy breathing fills the air.

Exit CHORUS

Enter JOKER

JOKER: So we come to our actual stories, narrated by people who abandoned their homeland, who made the move, the transition, with uncertainties, towards some kind of opaque dream.

Enter TARIK

TARIK: My name is Tarik. Tarik Obilic from Bosnia-Herzegovina. From our history I have learnt to live in resistance or defensiveness.

I belong to the Muslim population. One of a minority in a country full of minorities. My story of escape starts in 1992:

FLASHBACK

OFFICER: Tarik Obilic!

TARIK: Yes.

OFFICER: (gives him paper) You are called to serve in the Yugoslav People's Army.

TARIK: I am a student of informatic, not a soldier.

OFFICER: You are now a soldier engaged to fight an enemy – Croatia. Report to barracks tomorrow at 11:00 in the morning.

Exit OFFICER

TARIK: I was desperate at the camp. I did not want to fight Croatia. I had no reason to fight Croatia. So I deserted and went into hiding in my own country and in Sarajevo....

RE-ENACTS

I moved like a runaway animal. Moving underground in times of war is very difficult.

FX: SHOTS – HE FALLS TO THE GROUND

I must have died of fear a hundred times. Running away from raids and explosions. Afraid of being caught and eliminated. Or be used as a human shield for the Serbian troops on the frontline.

Enter JOKER

JOKER: In 1993, one year after the start of the war, Tarik Obilic escaped from hell and joined his sister and brother-in-law in Salzburg. We shall hear again from him later...

(calls) Next, please: the FACTFINDERS

Enter in stylised steps, 3 FACTFINDERS, carrying newspapers. They read aloud. DRUM BEATS

FF1: Civil unrest, war, instability and poverty have been documented in countries from which immigrants have fled.

DRUM

FF2: Some of the most famous names in British art, literature, design, media and entertainment have refugee origins.

DRUM

FF3: A report by the European Commission found that Eastern European immigrants boosted economic growth.

DRUM

FF1: The Common European Asylum System calls for increased coordination of the EU countries' policies towards asylum seekers and refugees.

Exit FACTFINDERS. WITH DRUM BEATS

Enter JOKER

JOKER: Allow me now to call Amina, a refugee woman from Iran. Age 44. Now settled in Germany. When I first met her I asked her about her childhood...

AMINA: My childhood is called darkness.

JOKER: Darkness?

AMINA: Yes, darkness. A sheet of blackness is my childhood.

My mother lived alone with us, four children.

JOKER: Why did you leave Iran? Why did you escape from your country?

SILENCE

JOKER: Amina: why did you decide to leave your country?

AMINA: It was after the revolution. My husband became a suspect.

JOKER: In what sense?

AMINA: He got suspected of being against the government. I did not understand politics but my husband got more and more anxious....

ENTER AMINA'S HUSBAND

HUSBAND: (talks to AMINA)

It is getting worse. I think they have set someone to follow me. Even at work things are different. We have no future here. We can't live as free people in our own country. It's become dangerous.

(talks to JOKER & the PUBLIC)

You see, I felt trapped. And I feared the worst. Prison and execution. I had to do something. I prepared everything for the escape. But I did not tell Amina what I was doing. One day I just told her we're leaving. I had to do it like that. A man needs to take hard decisions.

Exit HUSBAND

AMINA: We didn't have any idea which country would take us. Germany was only a possibility. I didn't really know what was happening. My thoughts were with my mother, still in Iran.

On the plane which took us away, I cried. I cried for the entire journey. I wept for my mother – the most important person in my life. I did not know if I would see her alive again.

Exit AMINA

ALL: In memory of all those left behind. In memory of faded faces, of photographs printed in the mind. Where do we look? In what recesses of the head? How do we manage to remember the smiles of long ago when our lives are flooded with laments?

We play with half-lights and shadows, as we keep past candles flickering and stretch our arms towards hope.

SOUND FX: AFRICAN MUSIC

Enter JOKER

34

JOKER: Our next story is about an African young woman who had a dream. She escaped from poverty in Cameroon with a fantastic dream – she wanted to play football in Europe. One day it happened: She was given the opportunity to play with the Cameroon national women's team in France....

Enter suddenly ANNA M.

ANNA M.: But in France I escaped. At the time of returning home to Africa, when I was at the airport, I went to the bathroom and later escaped. I took a taxi back to the hotel and begged the porter to pay the bill.

JOKER: And then...

ANNA M: Later I escaped again and took a bus to any direction until I met some African youngsters and explained my case. For an African girl on the run in a big European city it is not easy. It's not easy at all.

Exit ANNA M.

JOKER (Explains and arranges some simple furniture):

Anna Massidi's story continued from Paris to Rome...

This is the CARITAS office in Rome.

And Anna's case has reached Signor Pecorelli, who is on the phone.

PECORELLI (on the phone):

I know it is unusual but it is a genuine case.

Yes, I already explained that. Anna Massidi was taken from Paris to Rome by her cousin, an ex-nun. Anna phoned her and true to her word, her cousin met her in Paris and took her to Rome... Excuse me a moment, please.

(A SECRETARY COMES IN WITH A FILE)

SECRETARY: This is Anna Massidi's complete file, Signor Pecorelli. You asked for it yesterday.

PECORELLI: Thank you (back on the phone).

I have the file now. I'll look into all details and phone you back. We must help her. A piu' tardi.

PECORELLI opens the file: Freeze Frame

JOKER: Anna's story is intriguing....

ENTER ANNA

In Rome, some African men invited me to work as a prostitute on the street. And then I got pregnant by a young man with whom I made friends. He refused to admit that we had been together. The thought of abortion came to my mind...

PECORELLI IN ACTION AGAIN

Please sit down, Anna. Sit down.

I am glad you came to Caritas. Who referred you to us?

ANNA M.: My cousin the nun... the ex-nun. She now lives with a man and has her own life and also, a child from this man. I don't want to be in their way.

PECORELLI: We have an elderly Italian lady who wants to see you.

She would like to help you....

ANNA M.: Does she know I am with child?

PECORELLI: Yes, she is also ready to support the child.

PECORELLI gets up from the desk

This could be a turning point, Anna.

Caritas will work on providing you with proper papers. In the meantime, I will

fix a meeting with Signora Santucci. She is a wonderful lady.

Exit PECORELLI & ANNA M.

Enter JOKER to the sound of Turkish music

JOKER: The woman who will now appear before you is from a village in East Anatolia and she had to emigrate to Ankara....

(FX TURKISH MUSIC UP)

WOMAN enters as if in a "DANCE" held by two men. She is fettered by two ropes.

WOMAN: I am a woman but for a long time I did not belong to myself. I belonged to my father and then I belonged to my husband, who abducted me as his second, unofficial wife.

STYLISTED "DANCE" movements

WOMAN: I was kidnapped by my husband when I was seventeen. He took me to his elder sister's house and kept me there for six months. He gave many gifts to my father and my family. But he took away the only gift I wanted for myself: my freedom.

JOKER: From the documents I have read (produces some paper), this woman was not allowed any education. She was a prisoner first in her father's house and then a prisoner of her husband, who rented two apartments, one for her and one for his official wife. Even in Ankara, her husband kept her in a prison. A big city meant only four walls to her. He locked all doors and she was not even



allowed to go out to buy milk. She was locked away for ten years. Her liberation came when her husband died of cirrhosis. She was free – scarred, traumatised, still afraid but physically free in Ankara.

("DANCE" sequence as WOMAN frees herself from the ropes. The two MEN fall to the ground, symbolically)

WOMAN: So I became free. But my imprisonment has left deep marks. My father, my brothers and my husband did not allow me any education.

Educated people are different from animals. If you have no education, (she picks up the ropes in anger), if you are denied education, you have no value in the eyes of other people. No value, I say....

(WOMAN goes out in defiance)

TURKISH music up & mixed with Greek music

Enter JOKER with a book, a Dictionary of Psychology. Reads.

JOKER: Schizophrenia is a condition which manifests itself in various ways, including social withdrawal and inappropriate feelings in certain situations. In serious cases it leads to hallucinations and delusions which relate to split personality.... etcetera... etcetera....

Now, ladies and gentlemen: is there such a thing as cultural schizophrenia or linguistic schizophrenia?

Enter EKATERINI DIMOPOULOU

JOKER takes a stool & sits down

JOKER: Please, you can start with your grandparents.

EKATERINI: I was born in Germany and sent to Greece as a baby, to my grandmother. My parents, from Thessaloniki, came to work here for two years or a little more. They sent me to Greece as a baby, intending to return to their homeland again soon. My grandparents were my family. And my parents were strangers.

JOKER: Then your parents decided to stay in Germany....

EKATERINI: Yes. But they came to Thessaloniki and took me back with them. It was very, very bad for me in Germany. A gloomy time in November, tall dark buildings. No sun.

JOKER: Living in a one-room-apartment....

EKATERINI: Living with my parents and my younger sister. I was often alone. My parents worked long hours and I had to take care of my sister after school. Anyway, slowly I made progress and I got recommended for the gymnasium in the fifth year.

JOKER: But you still had to attend Greek school?

EKATERINI: Yes, once a week.

JOKER: And that was the start of the cultural schizophrenia....

EKATERINI: Excuse me?

JOKER: Sorry, I mean, you had some problems, being Greek and German at the same time?

EKATERINI: Yes. I did not want to speak Greek. I did not want to do anything Greek. That was very bad for my parents. They wanted a Greek girl and now I became German. They spoke Greek, I spoke German. Their thinking was Greek, mine was German.

Enter EKATERINI's MOTHER

MOTHER: Ekaterini, Lilia phoned. She said go to her house to do Greek crochet.

EKATERINI: I don't want to go to Lilia to crochet. I want to go out with my German friends.

MOTHER: They're up to no good.

EKATERINI: I want to go to their parties. Do the things they do.

MOTHER: You know your father does not allow that.

EKATERINI: I am no longer a child.

MOTHER: But you are Greek. You should learn how to embroider and knit and dance and sing in Greek....

EKATERINI: And marry a Greek man?

MOTHER: Yes, of course!

EKATERINI: Who will behave like my father?

MOTHER: Ekaterini!

EKATERINI: No thanks!



(Exit EKATERINI)

JOKER: (aside to the public) So that's how cultural schizophrenia can develop. Eventually, Ekaterini's parents returned to Greece. She was determined to stay behind in Germany, relishing her new, acquired culture. In time, she found a German partner and lived with him and had his child. And then, one day, she got news that her grandmother had died.

(STING OF GREEK MUSIC)

And that was another psychological upheaval, as we shall see later....

CHORUS

ALL: What we have left behind is clouded in shadows. Among strangers we build our hopes. We build our dreams.

MAN: In the interval of dreams walk the shadows.

WOMAN: Beyond our reality there is an absence.

ALL: We live in the presence of memories, of shadows and histories. Obscured in our brain cells we have our stories.

And we can never forget.

We whisper for a name.

We whisper for a shadow.

We have turned the page.

But we still remember.

JOKER: We are coming to the end of our show. But before you go to your usual business, dear ladies and gentlemen, let us have a hint about what happened to our protagonists in the countries which received them. Let them tell us.

(HE produces a list from his pocket and calls the names):

Tarik Obilic from Bosnia–Herzegovina.

TARIK: I arrived in Salzburg from Croatia in May 1993. I had no means at all and charities helped me with some money. After a few months of language courses I started to work as a nurse in Salzburg. My medical diploma had to be ratified and I took four more exams. My dream is to do something creative. Help the community, even in a religious way, so to speak. I am very religious.

JOKER (calls): Amina from Iran....

AMINA: My mother followed me in Germany, three years after I fled from Iran. I cannot imagine living in Germany without my mother. Our relationship is very strong and emotional. I no longer have a family in Iran. But my husband's family is still there. My husband could not even attend his father's funeral. Such things are very painful and will stay with us forever.

JOKER: I call now Anna Massidi from Cameroon....

ANNA M.: In Rome I met the Italian elderly woman, a lay nun. As she had promised, she helped me and my child in every way. I call her my second mother. My daughter is now 13 years old, very good at school and with music and sport.

In Rome I did not attend a language school but I learned almost perfect Italian just speaking with my second mother. She introduced me to the Catholic Church and I became active in a prayer group.

And I did join a female football team in Rome. For the past 10 years I have worked in a Social Cooperative. I support my family back in Africa and I visit them once a year with many presents.

JOKER (calls): The woman who emigrated to Ankara....

WOMAN: Time has closed some wounds and eased the pain of my abduction and humiliation. After the death of the man who kidnapped me as his substitute wife, I started to work as a cleaner with the Dünya Newspaper. My fears stayed with me for a long time and I was afraid to work with men. Slowly I got used to a mixed-sex environment.

My dream is to receive a proper education, even if I am now 51 years old. The worst enemy for women like myself is a suppressed mentality. Ignorance and patriarchy are the other crucial enemies.

What I did not have I tried to give to my three daughters. They are all graduates from high school. They are not my legal children, since I was not the official wife of the man who abducted me. But I love them with all my heart and I am proud of them.

JOKER (calls): And last but not least, Ekaterini, the immigrant from Greece....

EKATERINI: Something very deep happened to me when I received the news that my grandmother in Greece had died. Something started moving slowly inside me, digging inside me. Something was moving and wanted to erupt. It was my Greek roots wanting to break through. I started to change dramatically and, my German ex-husband could not handle the change. My Greek nature

appeared on the surface. After so many years of denying my roots, the Greek nature in me was reborn at the death of my grandmother. She was the catalyst – her death gave me my new birth as a Greek woman. Since she died I have also started dancing. Her death and dancing go together. I don't dance for money and I don't dance as a hobby. I dance to discover my Greek roots.

I remembered my childhood. The black dress of my Greek grandmother was the lap that kept me warm. Everything that was black was my warmth.

The search for my roots continues, with intensity and trust.

I want to grow old in Greece, but not give up Germany. They are different homelands, both of them.

JOKER: So dear audience, dear friends, you have lived with us some honest moments of truth. And we salute you with a final message:

Enter CHORUS

ALL: Thank you, dear friends, for listening to us. Thank you for trying to understand our complex stories. We have come from strange lands but we don't feel among strangers. In the interval of our dreams we have found good hearts, in spite of all the problems.

And we have found you.

Thank you.

MUSIC TO END



LEGAL NOTICE

Title: PASS – Influence on personal access to education for people with a migrant background – A Sokrates, Grundtvig 2 project

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