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Teaching the United States: Past, Present, and Future Visions

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Foreword

Teaching the United States 20.21: A Foreword

Ingrid Gessner

This foreword takes stock of the history and current state of the field of American Studies and its contributions to an educational mission in the past, present, and in the future. Besides its interdisciplinarity, American Studies is characterized by its combination of scholarship and activism. The articles collected in this issue take us from the global protests against systemic racism and state violence in the summer of 2020 after the murder of George Floyd to the violent attack on the U.S. Capitol by Trump supporters on January 6, 2021. Focusing on the repercussions of #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter, two contributions present innovative digital teaching solutions. Further articles deal with presidential elections in the social media age, migration and immigrant histories, civil disobedience, conspiracy theories, theater about climate change and the American family, and the popular TV series The Americans*. Finally, individual contributions assess transition processes, the implementation of a remedial summer school, and the role of self-efficacy beliefs in teaching in inclusive settings.*

Dieses Vorwort zieht eine Bilanz der Geschichte und des gegenwärtigen Standes der Amerikanistik und widmet sich ihrer Bedeutung für den damaligen, heutigen und zukünftigen Bildungsauftrag. Neben ihrer Interdisziplinarität zeichnet sich die Amerikanistik durch die Verbindung von Forschung und politischem Engagement aus. Die Artikel dieser Ausgabe spannen den Bogen von den weltweiten Protesten gegen systemischen Rassismus und staatlicher Gewalt nach dem Mord an George Floyd im Sommer 2020 zum gewaltsamen Angriff von Trump Anhängern auf das US-Kapitol am 6. Januar 2021. Zwei Beiträge zu Auswirkungen von #MeToo und #BlackLivesMatter stellen innovative digitale Unterrichtslösungen vor. Weitere Artikel befassen sich mit den Präsidentschaftswahlen im Zeitalter der sozialen Medien, dem Thema Migration und Einwanderungserfahrung, zivilem Ungehorsam, Verschwörungstheorien, Theater über die amerikanische Familie und den Klimawandel sowie mit der bekannten Fernsehserie The Americans*. Abschließend wird in drei Einzelbeiträge vom Übergang von elementarpädagogischen Einrichtungen zur Grundschule, von der Organisation und Konzeption der Sommerschule 2020 und über die Rolle von Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen beim Unterrichten in integrativen Settings berichtet.*

Introduction

Learners of English as a foreign language and students of American Studies are interested and increasingly well-informed about the United States. This tendency has been reinforced by an intensive global media reporting in the wake of the 2020 U.S. elections, protests against systemic racism and police violence after the killings of Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, and many others under police custody, as well as the (mis)handling of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Yet, how much do our students really know about the United States as they glean their information from an increasingly diversified media landscape? More importantly, how can we – as their teachers – answer their questions, fill historical gaps, and teach them about the future visions of the oldest continually existing democracy? How are we teaching challenging issues; how are we addressing our students' often emotional responses to these topics and materials? How do we teach the controversial issues of social and political injustice that are intricately intertwined with American settler colonialist and contemporary U.S. American history since the American Revolution?

The forum on "Teaching the United States: Past, Present and Future Visions" in this issue of *F&E Edition* connects Foreign Language Education, History and Political Education with American Studies scholarship. Within the forum section of the present issue, readers are given valuable recommendations about how to introduce the United States into the secondary and tertiary level classroom.

The Beginnings of American Studies in the United States and Europe

Since the 1990s American Studies has been a trailblazer in the advancement of multicultural education, and it seems worthwhile to revisit the field's

politically motivated beginnings. The beginning of the discipline was marked by seminars offered at Yale, Harvard, and the University of Pennsylvania in the 1930s. The goal of these seminars was to bring together literary studies and history, which led to more interdisciplinary courses and programs. Studying the cultural history of texts enabled scholars to go beyond the perceived restrictions of literary studies and historiography and contributed to a wide-ranging spirit of experimentation and innovation. By 1945, 60 colleges and universities in the United States had begun to offer degree programs in American Studies.

After the end of World War II, cultural re-education programs lead to the birth of American Studies in Europe. In 1947, the first ever Salzburg Seminar was held at Schloss Leopoldskron. It was meant as an introduction to American Studies and included workshops on literature, art, cultural history, politics, sociology, anthropology, and economics. U.S. intellectuals and scholars like cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead instructed fellows (see fig. 1). During the months of July and August, the seminar brought together twenty Americanists and over ninety participants from eighteen European countries. Later, the first Salzburg Seminar was hailed by many as the beginning of American Studies in Europe.

Besides Mead, American Studies scholar F.O. Matthiessen, and literary critic Alfred Kazin were key players in establishing American Studies in postwar Austria. In 1953, the European Association for American Studies was founded at Schloss Leopoldskron; the Amerika-Institut in Innsbruck followed in 1956, and the Austrian Association for American Studies (AAAS) was established in 1974.

From the late 1940s through the 1960s, the first theoretical paradigm of American Studies evolved. Henry Nash Smith, whose book *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (1950) became the basis of the History of American Civilization course at Harvard University, propagated comprehensive, contextual, collective representations of 'America.' He was interested in ideals, values, images, and the characteristics of an American national identity; in other words, how the United States might be distinguished from other nations. In this sense, Nash did not support a new critical intrinsic analysis of literary style – popularized by



Figure 1: Margaret Mead at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies (1947), Salzburg Global Seminar CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.

John Crowe Ransom and his students Allen Tate, Cleanth Brooks, and Robert Penn Warren – but advocated an extrinsic analysis of the culture that produced a particular literary work.

With his book and his essay "Can American Studies Develop a Method?" (1957), Smith advocated influential objectives and methodological views for American Studies as a field. Smith provided the basis for the 'Myth and Symbol School' because what he called "collective representations" were intellectual constructs that were not limited to a specific author or work but representations that expressed and merged "concept[s] and emotion[s]" shared and recognized by many within American culture (Smith, 1950, p. v). His, and other Americanists' goal was, as Leo Marx formulated it, to understand the "meaning of America" and the "American experience" (Marx, 1964, pp. 3–4).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s criticism of the Myth and Symbol School was brought forward. Opponents argued that it did not recognize or include the more empirical social sciences properly. Myth and Symbol-scholars were too interpretative, too qualitative and too subjective. Sometimes naive links between images and politics were established, and critics questioned that a causality existed. Most alarmingly, they argued, it only reiterated the message of "American exceptionalism."

Proponents of "American exceptionalism" presume that America's values, political system, and history are unique and worthy of universal admiration, like John Winthrop's "city upon a hill" (1630). American exceptionalism also implies that the United States is both destined and entitled to play a distinct and positive role on the world stage. Critics against the Myth and Symbol school and its implicit propagation of American exceptionalism decried the lack of room for multiple and diverse readings, neglecting opposition and dissent and seeking consensus.

The new focus on American Culture Studies in the context of the 1960s and 1970s came out of the social protest and ethnic empowerment movements. New theoretical views on "culture" emerged. But the new inclusiveness did not mean consensus or looking for the smallest common denominator, but rather comprehensiveness regarding the multiplicity of perspectives. All in all, the tendency towards a more critical analysis of American ideologies was at the center. The historian Robert Sklar demanded "a whole cultural history of the U.S." (Sklar, 1970, p. 601) which not only claims to be comprehensive, but which *is* comprehensive. The central concerns and questions now were:

- How can we interpret the individual ways in which meaning is constituted and understanding is constructed?
- Which ideologies are at the basis of each individual field of study, perspective, and approach?

In other words, total objectivity was dismantled as a myth. Instead, an awareness of diverse experiences in order to assess and understand specific phenomena was needed.

Elizabeth Duclos-Orsello, Joseph Entin, and Rebecca Hill summarize the development of the discipline since the 1990s in the following way: "In the 1990s, at the time of the last wave of the academic culture wars, American Studies announced itself as a champion of multicultural education and called for American Studies curricula to cast off American exceptionalism, become transnational, explicitly connect academic and community-based work, and consider the relationship between the field's history and US imperialism" (Duclos-Orsello et al., 2021, p. 2).

Teaching American Studies in Vorarlberg

What makes American Studies so special for me are the seemingly endless ways of approaching and teaching this field. Working in an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary field that explores context and culture on a local and global level opens up new perspectives on everyday life. Americanists attempt to identify and decipher connections between cultural systems and texts. A text contains much more than the written word and ranges from cave drawings to buildings and machines to videos and hypertext.

I understand American Studies also as a way of thinking, a "cognitive style" as Jay Mechling calls it (2011, p. 1), or a certain "habit of mind," as Adam Golub refers to it (2012, p. n.p.). At PH Vorarlberg, I am not only interested in teaching what American Studies is and what its aims are, its topics and contents, but also how to think like an Americanist.

Applying my scholarship, practice, and teaching to confront anti-BIPOC racism, and addressing and actively engaging in issues of environmental, social, racial and gender justice has become more urgent than ever. As scholars, we need to critically assess what and how we are teaching, to transfer the knowledge produced in the "ivory tower" to our immediate environment, and to support social, cultural, and political change, especially during challenging times. I believe that in this era of "post-truth" and "alternative facts," the role of a critical, future-oriented pedagogy for the preservation of democracy is paramount.

The original goal of this forum collection was to provide a few concrete resources for those teaching American Studies in the broadest sense, from their function as teachers of English as a foreign language in the secondary school classroom to those educating future teachers of English, History, Religion, Art History, Geography, Economics, and the Political Sciences at universities and other tertiary institutions. What I did not expect was the quantity and quality of responses that emerged from a simple call for papers. The articles that emerged from these responses now lie in your hands, if you are reading a print copy, or they are at your fingertips, if you are perusing the online edition of *F&E* "Teaching the United States."

Past, Present, and Future Visions

The global protests around racism and state violence in the summer of 2020 prove the importance and power of an interdisciplinary approach in teaching the United States. Education and protest have led to the removal of Confederate statues, which Erika Doss takes as a starting point of her article. Taking up the call for papers' cue to consider past, present and future visions in American thought, as well as our teaching of it, Doss examines how and why many Americans today take historical accountability, such as for the history of slavery, and mix it with immediate social concerns (inequality and unaddressed institutional racism) as a trigger to practice a form of 'cultural vandalism' by damaging and removing public art in pursuit of a future vision that includes alternative forms of social and political purpose and identity. The richly illustrated article invites teachers and their students to research and then discuss possible and feasible ways to deal with problematic and historically charged public art. The exploration could range from controversial local monuments, such as the history of and possible future scenarios for the Lueger monument and Lueger-Platz in Vienna's 1st district to American memorials or vice versa (see, for example, *Marble. Bronze. Responsibility.*, 2021, p. n.p.).

In their contribution, Luisa Alfes and Katharina von Elbwart use historical and contemporary visions of American art as means to foster visual literacy of and critical thinking about the United States past and present. Beginning in the late nineteenth century with *John Gast's American Progress* (1872) and continuing in the 1930s with Frida Kahlo's *Self-Portrait Along the Borderline Between Mexico and the United States* (1932) the authors' overview concludes with the famous yellow and blue mural depicting George Floyd at the murder site in Minneapolis. The area soon known as George Floyd Memorial Square and its surroundings became the site of public protests and amassed an extensive collection of protest art. People continued to come to the memorial site for town meetings, food drives, open-air piano concerts, and neighborhood movie nights. During the winter months, an ice-skating rink was operated, and volunteers removed trash and took care of the various artworks and left mementos. Elsewhere, Erika Doss has aptly pointed out, that temporary memorials "remind us of our social responsibility" (2010, p. 71), something that is truly the case at the corner of 38th Street and Chicago Avenue in Minneapolis.

After the U.S. Capitol insurrection, the violent attack on January 6, 2021, by Trump supporters that raised global concerns about the future of American democracy, a snapshot of a man storming the Capitol and wearing a sweater ostensibly propagating Third Reich ideology went viral. Klara Stephanie Szlezák weaves her article around this and other pictures to show that anti-Semitism in the United States is, in fact, an issue of the present as much as the past. She thus convincingly argues for the inclusion of anti-Semitism education in the EFL and American Studies classroom.

While Szlezák with the Capitol insurrection touches upon Trump's violent move to stay in power, Magdalena Paulus in her article also traces his rise to power that is ultimately connected to the accelerated evolution of the Religious Right since the 1970s. Paulus describes the development of White American Evangelicalism to Christian Nationalism, from its early roots in the nineteenth century awakenings, the fundamentalism of the early twentieth century, to its conflation of values and lifestyles of different groups in the course of the twentieth and first decades of the twenty-first century.

Especially in the context of the modularized and constantly evolving study programs, and the digital Covid-19 semesters, self-directed digital learning by students is becoming increasingly important. In fact, the key to successful secondary and tertiary education lies in a double perspective of clearly structured, motivating, and interactive knowledge transfer on the one hand and the promotion of independent learning processes on the other, for example through research- and problem-oriented learning techniques (Pfaff, 1996; Price, 2005) and task-based language teaching (Ellis, 2003). Two articles focus on these recent challenges and offer intriguing solutions. Building on the successful integration of distance teaching as a mandatory element in foreign language teacher training, Sandra Stadler-Heer's contribution introduces a set of online lessons created by pre-service teachers that explore the complex topic of structural racism. The article by Regina Holze and Florian Zitzelsberger reads recent examples of hashtag activism (#MeToo, #BlackLivesMatter etc.) as collaborative storytelling practices and as digital political communication. By carefully walking readers through their innovative interdisciplinary project that combines big data analytical tools with cultural studies scholarship, Holze and Zitzelsberger enable teachers to promote information and media literacy (IML) in the EFL classroom.

The articles by Brian Trenaman and Florian Bassa revolve around U.S. presidential elections. While both focus on the election cycle that saw Donald Trump elected as the 45th President, Bassa begins with an overview of the system of a presidential democracy to compare it with the parliamentary system in Austria. In his article, Bassa not only provides instructors with a teaching concept but provides helpful charts and informative text boxes to further explorative learning. His contribution includes an article about the special affordances and questionable practices (e.g., supported by Cambridge Analytica) of campaigning in the digital and social media age. Trenaman's contribution may serve as a companion piece to Bassa's for teaching a unit on U.S. American elections.

Migration and immigrant histories and experiences are only a few of the curricular foci that can be found in the articles. Nils Jaekel and Elizabeth Fincher revisit the positive perceptions of early waves of immigration and provocatively ask whether the 'melting pot' myth still reflects the cultural diversity of Americans as well as the current climate of political denigration of some minorities. The authors offer counternarratives and discussion questions to be used in the classroom to further empathy and strengthen skills of critical cultural awareness. The case of a specific group of immigrants is taken up by Klaus-Dieter Gross. He calls German and Austrian immigrants of the early twentieth century who introduced the Naturfreunde/Nature Friends movement to the United States "socioecological pioneers." In his article, Gross traces their bumpy history using the examples of two major clubhouses from their foundation in 1910 and 1912 until today. The contribution may function as a springboard for teachers to discuss diverse issues ranging from immigration, the labor movement,

and the McCarthy era to environmental sustainability and the introduction of a Green New Deal in the United States.

Other key issues of the EFL and American Studies classroom as represented in this forum include teaching the origins of civil disobedience, the handling of conspiracy theories, and a media approach to the Cold War. Stefan Hiebler presents a lesson sequence in which he introduces students to the fundamentals of civil disobedience in texts such as the Declaration of Independence and Henry David Thoreau's essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" (1848). In a second step, students explore the history and origin of conspiracy theories. The goal is to enable students to understand where civil disobedience ends and other forms of protest begin, so that they can critically examine conspiracy theories and form their own opinions. In their article, Christian Ludwig and Elizabeth Shipley, introduce the popular TV series *The Americans*, which features the lives of Soviet secret agents in the United States, as an excellent way to engage students in the history of the Cold War and in questions of American identity, as well as strengthen their analytical and critical media skills.

Inspired by the performative turn in cultural studies and recent innovative studies in drama pedagogy, Angelika Ilg and I undertook a research and teaching project to "enact America in the classroom." The seminar-based concept combines the exposure to literary texts and academic writing practices with the invaluable insights students gain in a professionally taught drama workshop. The ensuing article encourages university teachers to carry out similar projects.

The last section of the present volume assembles three individual contributions outside the general topic of the Forum section. Regina Lins provides an overview of her mixed-methods study that critically assesses the transition process from nursery school to primary school. The first Austria-wide implementation of a so-called 'summer school' due to Corona-related school closures after the 2019/20 school year is at the center of Pia Frick, Elke Kikelj-Schwald and Simone Naphegyi's qualitative evaluation study. Finally, Petra Hecht and Christoph Weber's contribution presents the results of a longitudinal study that assesses students' attitudes, self-efficacy beliefs, and subjective attitudes towards inclusion as predictors of willingness and relative success to teach in inclusive settings.

In their entirety, the contributions in the forum section and the general section of the volume help inform students and teachers, including EFL teachers and American Studies practitioners, about the best ways to respond to an ever-changing social world in their classrooms.

Dedication

I work at an institution where teaching is a major activity of what I and most of my colleagues do. We teach K12, that is, primary and secondary education, and we offer pre-service teacher-training for the primary and secondary level as well as provide continued educational programs and trainings for primary and secondary school teachers. Students and teachers, in addition to interested members of the public and the scientific community, make up F&E Edition's core readership. It is with pride and great pleasure that I am dedicating this issue to all teachers!

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Forum: Teaching the United States - Past, Present, and Future Visions

Public Art and Racial Reckoning in Twenty-First Century America: Symbolic Capital and Cultural Vandalism

Erika Doss

How does public art, including monuments and memorials, guide American thinking today about racism and racial justice? In recent years, public art has been at the epicenter of demonstrations in the United States (and around the world) protesting White supremacy, systemic racism, and police brutality. This article considers how and why many Americans today aim to reconcile historical accountability (such as the history of slavery), immediate concerns (inequality and unaddressed institutional racism), and national futurity (aspirational goals) through practices of 'cultural vandalism': damaging and removing public art to legitimate alternative forms of social and political purpose and identity. These practices raise questions about the permanence and responsibility of public art. Are monuments eternal: do they or should they last forever? Does public art have an ethical or moral obligation to serve or contribute to a common good? What should happen to public art that Americans consider troubling or problematic?

Wie beeinflusst öffentliche Kunst, darunter Denkmäler und Gedenkstätten, das amerikanische Denken über Rassismus und Gerechtigkeit? In den Vereinigten Staaten (und auf der ganzen Welt) stand öffentliche Kunst in den letzten Jahren im Mittelpunkt von Demonstrationen gegen weiße Vorherrschaft, systemischen Rassismus und Polizeibrutalität. Dieser Artikel untersucht, wie und warum viele Amerikaner heute versuchen, historische Verantwortung zu übernehmen (u. a. für die Geschichte der Sklaverei), unmittelbare Probleme zu lösen (soziale Ungleichheit und ungelöster institutioneller Rassismus) und ehrgeizige Ziele für die nationale Zukunft zu erreichen, indem sie ‚kulturellen Vandalismus' begehen: die Beschädigung und Entfernung öffentlicher Kunstwerke, um alternative Möglichkeiten der sozialen und politischen Zielsetzung und Identität zu legitimieren. Diese Praxis wirft Fragen zur Permanenz und Verantwortung von Kunst im öffentlichen Raum auf. Sind Denkmäler für die Ewigkeit? Halten sie oder sollten sie ewig halten? Hat öffentliche Kunst eine ethische und moralische Verpflichtung dem Gemeinwohl zu dienen oder zu diesem beizutragen? Was sollte mit öffentlicher Kunst geschehen, die als belastet oder problematisch angesehen wird?

Introduction

My pedagogy as an art historian and American Studies scholar centers on how visual and material cultures inform various perspectives on the United States. Much of my teaching and writing focuses on public art, analyzing what monuments and memorials mean to different audiences and why today they have become contested battlegrounds over American concepts of history, memory, identity, and national purpose. Recognizing that the term "America" extends to countries in North and South America, my use here references the United States, parsed in terms of its imagined unity and its multiple inconsistencies.

In recent years, public art has been at the epicenter of heated American debates about who and what to remember, and to honor, in American public life. Multiple monuments, memorials, statues, and other forms of public art have been denounced, defaced, and/or removed from American parks, plazas, courthouse lawns, and other public sites. This essay considers how and why many Americans target public art through practices of cultural vandalism in order to reconcile historical accountability (such as the history of slavery), present-day concerns (including inequality and unaddressed institutional racism), and national futurity (aspirational goals).

Public Art

Public art is presentist: typically made to conform to the feelings and beliefs of patrons and audiences at the time it was made. Broadly defined as

"art in the public realm," public art is diverse and wide ranging, from sculptures and fountains to sculptures, murals, memorials, and monuments. It is made out of multiple materials, from bronze and marble to concrete, wood, mosaic, plastics, and new media including digital art, computer graphics, and AR (augmented reality). Some public art is temporary, like the 7,500 saffron-colored fabric gates that were made by Christo and Jeanne-Claude and installed in New York's Central Park in February 2005. Some public art features figurative statues of generals on horseback, the stuff of 'statue-mania' in the nineteenth-century. Other forms of public art include abstract forms and experiential spaces that invite public participation in modern times. "Open to artists of all stripes," Jack Becker writes, public art has no "predetermined rules or a mutually agreed upon critical language" (Becker, 2004, p. 5).

What public art shares, of course, is public response. Public art is art made for the public, usually through a public process. Unlike art in museums or in private collections, public art exists for public audiences. It depends, in fact, on the public spaces it occupies and the public responses it generates. Following the public murder of George Floyd, a 46-year-old Black man, by White police officers in Minneapolis on May 25, 2020, widespread protests against police violence and racial inequality targeted monuments erected throughout the United States that symbolized White supremacy. In Birmingham, Alabama, a statue of Charles Linn, a Civil War era industrialist and captain in the Confederate States Navy, was toppled in a city park. In Nashville, Tennessee, a statue of Edward Carmack, a White supremacist newspaper publisher and politician who in 1892 incited a mob to firebomb the office of journalist and civil rights activist Ida B. Wells, was toppled from its pedestal in front of the state capitol. In Philadelphia, a huge bronze statue of Frank Rizzo, a former mayor and police commissioner who was a virulent racist and homophobe, was pulled down from where it had been prominently placed in 1999, in front of the city's Municipal Services Building (fig. 1).



Figure 1: Statue of Frank Rizzo, Philadelphia, PA, dedicated 1998. Photo 2007. Courtesy Creative Commons.

And in Saint Paul, on the grounds of the Minnesota state capitol, a ten-foot statue of Christopher Columbus was pulled down by local Native American activists (fig. 2). "It was the right thing to do and it was the right time to do it," said Mike Forcia (Anishinaabe), a member of the activist group the American Indian Movement. Forcia added: "People don't realize that systematic racism, slavery, White supremacy and genocide created America and having symbols representing that genocide is a continuous reminder of the atrocious history people continue to celebrate" (Forcia qtd. in Pfosi, 2020 and in Thompson, 2020). Charged with felony destruction of property, he stated: "I'll accept it fully […]. Whatever has happened to me is of little consequence compared to the conversation the state needs to have about this" (Forcia qtd. in Sawyer, 2020). Lt. Governor Peggy Flanagan, a member of the White Earth Band of Ojibwe, agreed with him, commenting: "I can't say I'm

sad the statue of Christopher Columbus is gone. I'm not. All Minnesotans should feel welcome at the Minnesota State Capitol, and our state is long overdue for a hard look at the symbols, statues, and icons that were created without the input of many of our communities." On social media, Flanagan added: "I will not shed a tear over the loss of a statue that honored someone that by his own admission sold 9- and 10-year-old girls into sex slavery. So, let us start there" (Flanagan qtd. in Nesterak, 2020).



Figure 2: Statue of Christopher Columbus, Saint Paul, MN, toppled on June 10, 2020. Photo courtesy Darren Thompson, Native News Online.

Cultural Vandalism

Statues, monuments, and other kinds of public art are the physical markers of social, political, and economic interests. They are highly visible stakeholders in historical memory, and as such possess enormous influence in terms of shaping public opinion. Their "symbolic capital," following French theorist Pierre Bourdieu, helps to legitimize certain social, cultural, and political concepts and guide public perceptions of social order, political transition, and national identity (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 114–120). In addition to their presentist origins, public art is processual: dependent on a variety of cultural and social relationships and subject to the volatile intangibles of multiple audiences and their fluctuating interests and preferences (Doss, 2016, p. 403).

When public art contradicts or violates currently held beliefs and values or represents histories and politics that Americans find aberrant and inappropriate, or embodies 'negative' symbolic capital, it may be subject to cultural vandalism: damaging and removing public art for sociopolitical reasons related to changed understandings of national identity and purpose. Cultural vandalism articulates struggles over self and state during critically transformative sociopolitical moments, such as declarations of independence and civil war. Importantly, it is distinct from cultural heritage vandalism, also called "Elginism," which refers to acts of looting and illegally exporting cultural treasures as "spoils of war" or for financial profit, such as Lord Elgin's plundering of the Parthenon Marbles in Athens in 1801.[1]

Monuments are not permanent. Although some assume they are everlasting, or eternal, monuments are vulnerable to the same realities as all bodies, all things. Indeed, Americans have a long history of destroying public art, from defacing and toppling statues to removing monuments and memorials that they deem oppressive, shameful, and 'out of sync' with presentist values and interests, both personal and shared. Cultural vandalism has been a regular practice in the United States.

On July 9, 1776, for example, General George Washington organized a public reading of the Declaration of Independence in New York (Marks, 1981). Inspired by words encouraging them to "dissolve the political bands" of tyranny and seek "unalienable rights" of life, liberty, and happiness, the crowd responded by toppling a large equestrian statue of King George III, modeled on a Roman statue of Marcus Aurelius. Since the nation's founding, in other words, Americans have practiced cultural vandalism as an act of political resistance. Defacing and removing despised examples of public art legitimates claims to, or desires for, new forms of social and political authority.

Cultural vandalism in America today is sparked by incessant episodes of racist violence and the enduring visibility of Confederate symbols. In

2016, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) identified over 1,500 monuments, memorials, statues, schools, streets, parks, military bases, historical markers, and more honoring the Confederate States of America: a coalition of Southern states that believed in White supremacy and started a Civil War to preserve (and perpetuate) the institution of slavery, which it depended on for labor and profit (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016).[2] The Confederate states seceded from the United States in 1861, waged war against the United States from 1861 to 1865, and lost. Despite its defeat, the Confederacy promoted a 'Lost Cause' mythology justifying its racist ideology and its secession from the Union on noble and heroic terms, explaining that it started the Civil War to save and protect a 'Southern' way of life. It paid homage to White supremacy in multiple monuments and symbols erected from the later decades of the nineteenth century to today, from statues of Confederate generals located in Southern town squares to Confederate flags displayed in front of Southern County Courthouses (fig. 3). And for decades, the rest of the United States allowed the defeated traitors of the Confederacy to display its racist monuments and symbols, and even replicated them, suggesting that racism in America was hardly contained in the South but was, in fact, widely shared.



Figure 3: Robert E. Lee Monument, Richmond, VA, dedicated 1890. Photo 2013, courtesy Martin Falbisoner, Creative Commons.

The Symbolic Capital of Confederate Monuments Then and Now

At the same time, monuments honoring the Confederacy did not go unchallenged. African Americans recognized them as instruments of White power and, historian Karen Cox writes, "participated in a tradition of protest against Confederate monuments and the Lost Cause since the late nineteenth century" (Cox, 2021, p. 25). In 1870, Frederick Douglass warned:

> Every monument built in memory of the Confederacy will perpetuate that which it would be more creditable in the actors to desire to have forgotten. […] If it is not to reawaken the conflict, by cultivating hatred against the Government, that these monuments are built, there is little or no purpose in their erection. Monuments to the 'lost cause' will prove monuments of folly, both in the memories of wicked rebellion which they must necessarily perpetuate, and in the failure to accomplish the particular purpose had in view by those who build them. It is a needless record of stupidity and wrong. (Douglass, 1870, p. 3)

Likewise, in 1890, when a huge equestrian statue of Robert E. Lee was dedicated on Monument Avenue in Richmond, multiple African American journalists protested including a writer at the Louisville, Kentucky newspaper *The Champion*:

> No such scenes as transpired in Richmond, Virginia upon the unveiling of the monument of Gen. Robert E. Lee Thursday, would be permitted in any other country under the blue expanse of heaven. […] [T]hey were defeated. They hold their lives by the mercy of the nation they attempted to destroy, and this rehabilitation of the infamous cause of the Confederacy is rank treason. (Voice of the Colored Press, 1890)

In 1931, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote that the text panels on Confederate monuments should more appropriately read, "Sacred to the memory of those who fought to Perpetuate Human Slavery" (Du Bois, 1931, p. 279; see also Cox, 2021, p. 67).

In the twenty-first century, protests against Confederate monuments have exploded. In the wake of the July 2013 acquittal of George Zimmerman in the fatal shooting of Black teenager Trayvon Martin seventeen months earlier, the social and political movement Black Lives Matter (BLM) was organized. Leading demonstrations against racially motivated violence and police brutality, BLM has been instrumental in encouraging tens of thousands of Americans to recognize and protest against systemic racism and excessive police force, and to advocate for policy and behavioral changes dedicated to racial justice in multiple institutions. Black Lives Matter may be the largest social justice movement in U.S. history: in 2020, in 550 cities across the country, over 26 million citizens participated in more than 4,600 demonstrations against America's "racial caste system" (Glenn, 2021).

Since its inception, BLM's anti-racist activism has spurred many Americans to protest against public art that promotes racist injustices and White supremacy. From the murder of nine black parishioners in Charleston, South Carolina in 2015 by a Neo-Nazi who wanted to "start a race war" (qtd. in Mosendz, 2015) to the murder of George Floyd in 2020 by Minneapolis police, millions of Black Lives Matter protesters have taken to the streets to demand the removal of multiple monuments, memorials, and statues that promote racist figures, histories, and ideologies. The SPLC estimates that from 2015 to today, more than 300 Confederate symbols have been removed from American public spaces, including 170 monuments (Vinson, 2021). In June 2021, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill to remove statues and busts from the U.S. Capitol that honor men who upheld slavery or fought for the Confederacy.

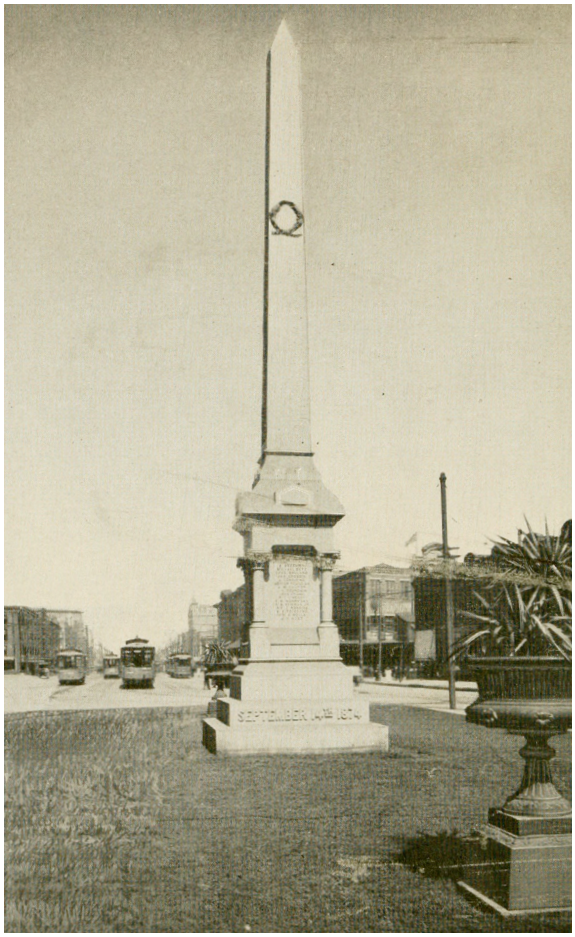


Figure 4: Liberty Place Monument, New Orleans, dedicated 1891. Photo c. 1912. Courtesy Wikipedia Commons.

In New Orleans, four Confederate monuments were removed in spring 2017 after the City Council declared them a "public nuisance" (Wendland, 2017). These included the notorious Liberty Place Monument, a 35-foot stone obelisk erected in the middle of Canal Street in 1891 to commemorate a Reconstruction Era coup d'état called the "Battle of Liberty Place," a racially motivated riot of Confederate veterans in 1874 against recently elected Black politicians (fig. 4). A statue of Jefferson Davis was erected in New Orleans in 1911, on the fiftieth anniversary of his inauguration as the President of the Confederate States of America. Prior to their removal, these and other Confederate monuments were repeatedly defaced with graffiti, including statements such as

"SLAVE OWNER," "NAZI SCUM," "BLACK LIVES MATTER," and "TAKE 'EM DOWN" (fig. 5). New Orleans mayor Mitch Landrieu orchestrated their removal, remarking, "There is a difference between remembrance of history and reverence of it." He added:

> These statues are not just stone and metal. They are not just innocent remembrances of a benign history. These monuments purposely celebrate a fictional, sanitized Confederacy; ignoring the death, ignoring the enslavement, and the terror that it actually stood for. […] To literally put the Confederacy on a pedestal in our most prominent places of honor is an inaccurate recitation of our full past. It is an affront to our present, and it is a bad prescription for our future. (Landrieu, 2017)



Figure 5: Statue of Jefferson Davis, New Orleans, dedicated 1911. Photo 2004, courtesy Bart Everson, Creative Commons.

Likewise, in August 2017, Baltimore Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake and members of the city council authorized the removal of four Confederate memorials just days after the deadly "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, during which a Neo-Nazi intentionally rammed his car into a crowd of counter-protesters, killing one woman and critically injuring dozens of other people. The "Unite the Right" rally was specifically held on Saturday, August 12, 2017, to protest the Charlottesville City Council's decision to remove the city's Confederate memorials, and to rename a park honoring Confederate General Robert E. Lee "Emancipation Park." On the night before the rally, White supremacists held a "Blood and Soil" rally in Emancipation Park, holding torches, chanting racist and anti-Semitic slogans referencing racial purity, and surrounding a towering equestrian statue dedicated to Lee.

Many Americans watched these events in horror, making the connections between public art, racism, and violence in the public sphere. Within days, Confederate monuments all over the United States were vandalized and pulled down. In cities ranging from Annapolis (Maryland) to Austin (Texas) and including Daytona Beach (Florida), Durham (North Carolina), Franklin (Ohio), Gainesville (Florida), Helena (Montana), Los Angeles (California), Madison (Wisconsin), New York (New York), San Diego (California, St. Louis (Missouri), St. Petersburg (Florida), and Worthington (Ohio), Confederate monuments, memorials, and statues were defaced and removed from public spaces and places. Some were toppled by crowds of protesters determined to destabilize and destroy their offensive symbolic capital. Others were ordered removed and placed in storage in undisclosed locations and city-owned warehouses by mayors and other city officials worried about public safety and potential civil lawsuits.

In Baltimore, public protests had been mounted for years against the city's Confederate monuments, including a double equestrian statue of Confederate generals Lee and Stonewall Jackson that was designed by Laura Gardin Fraser and

dedicated in 1948 – more than eighty years after the secessionist forces of the Confederate States of America were defeated in the Civil War (fig. 6). As the SPLC determined, the majority of Confederate monuments in the United States were erected long after the war ended and, more specifically, during the era of Jim Crow – from the 1890s through the 1920s – and then again after World War II, during the era of Civil Rights. In each of these time periods, Confederate monuments were not erected as "somber postbellum reminders of a brutal war" (Drum, 2017), which is how they are often defended today, but as symbols of intimation: as deliberate, physical assertions of White power and racial terrorism directed against people of color.[3]



Figure 6: Lee-Jackson Monument, Wyman Park Dell, Baltimore, dedicated 1948. Photo 2015, courtesy C. Ryan Patterson for the Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments. Monument removed August 16, 2017.



Figure 7: Roger B. Taney Monument, Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore, dedicated 1887. Photo 2015, courtesy C. Ryan Patterson for the Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments. Monument removed August 16, 2017.

The monuments removed in Baltimore on August 16, 2017, included a statue of U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney, a Maryland native who authored the infamous 1857 Dred Scott decision ruling that African Americans were not and never could be citizens of the United States (fig. 7). Taney's notorious defense of slavery and the non-citizen status of slaves is widely considered the worst decision ever made by the Supreme Court, if not the worst in the history of American jurisprudence. Maryland governor Larry Hogan called the removal of Taney's statue and Baltimore's Confederate monuments "the right thing to do," adding: "The time has come to make clear the difference

between properly acknowledging our past and glorifying the darkest chapters of our history" (qtd. in Chappell, 2017).

Growing numbers of Americans today reject the symbolic capital of racist monuments because they recognize that public art honoring White supremacists is offensive and untenable in a racially diverse nation that endorses civil rights. They further understand that removing Confederate monuments not only has tremendous cathartic value for communities but upholds the nation's dominant democratic interests in advancing racial equity, and its commitment to racial justice.

Public art is an important national touchstone today for reconsidering the complexities and contradictions of American history. Grounded in historical precedence, today's protests over public art highlight nationwide debates about structural racism, White privilege, public agency, civic responsibility, and the difficulties of representing traumatic legacies. Recent and widespread incidents of cultural vandalism, most often erupting after similarly widespread incidents of racially motivated murders and police brutality, indicate that contemporary Americans are resolute about removing public art that violates their beliefs and does not correspond to core national values.

Concluding Remarks and Outlook

Questions remain about what Americans should 'do' with problematic public art. Some propose contextualizing egregious public art with plaques and text panels, or 'adding' to and expanding its historical overview. In 2016, for example, lengthy descriptive plaques were added to Baltimore's four Confederate monuments, each concluding in their final paragraph, "this

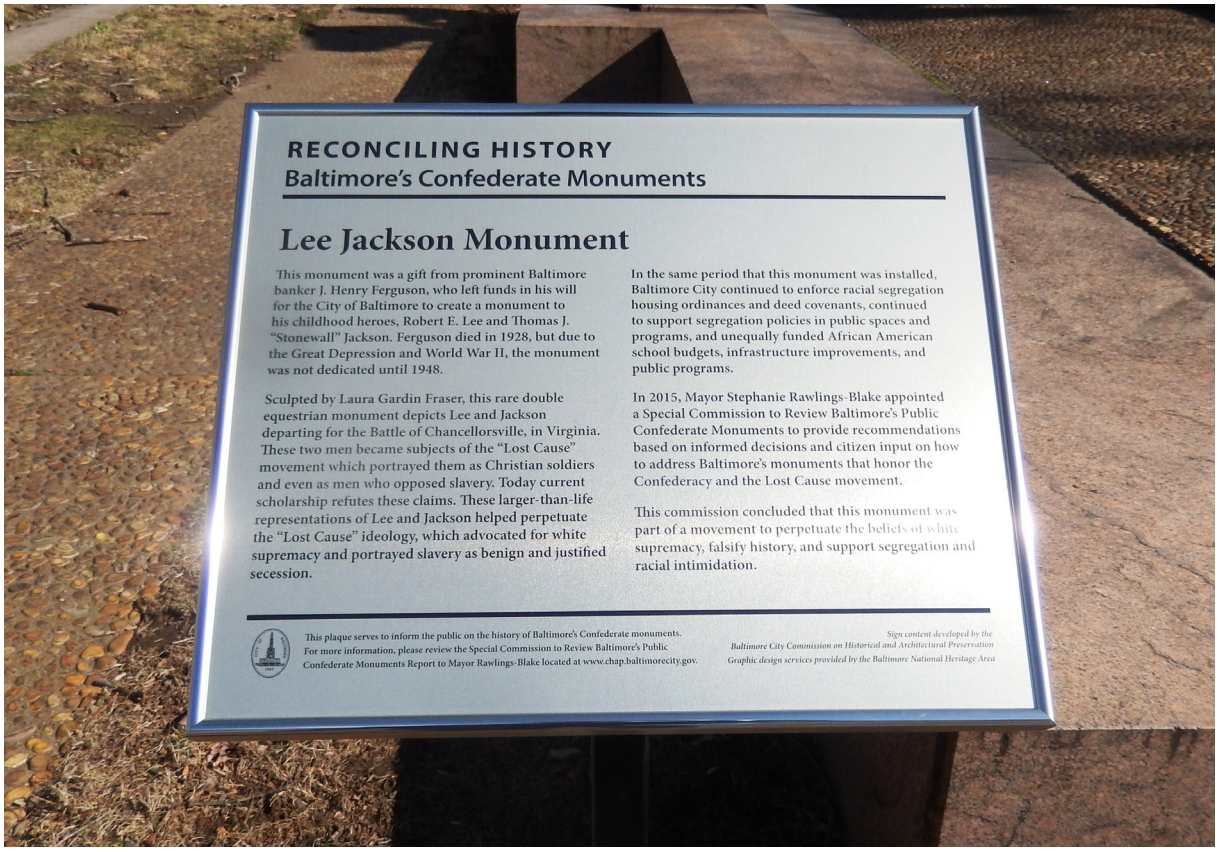


Figure 8: Lee-Jackson Monument plaque, added to monument in 2015. Photo August 19, 2017, courtesy Don Morfe, taken after removal of monument.

monument was part of a movement to perpetuate the beliefs of White supremacy, falsify history, and support segregation and racial intimidation" (fig. 8). Yet keeping Confederate monuments in place keeps the Confederacy's racist ideology of White supremacy in place: on a pedestal, visible in the public sphere. As historian Daniel Sherman notes, contextualization of public art "begs the question of who determines what context is appropriate" (Tear Down, 2017).

Nor are plaques and text panels a match for the visual and physical authority that many Confederate monuments and memorials command or used to command. Richmond's equestrian statue of Lee was 61-feet tall, weighed twelve tons, and dominated the center of a very large grass island – Lee Circle – at the terminus of Monument Avenue, the main street in a Whites-only real estate development where property could not be sold "to any person of African descent" (Levin, 2020). The huge statue's imposing size and space lent it considerable authority: more than 150,000 people attended the dedication of the Lee Monument in 1890, and thousands more flocked to it over the following decades, attending rallies that paid tribute to the leading general of the Confederacy and its racist ideology.

During Black Lives Matter demonstrations in June 2020, Lee Circle became a major hub of public protest. The pedestal of the Lee Monument was covered in spray-painted slogans and colorful graffiti, and the statue was lit up at night with projected images of Harriet Tubman, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., and George Floyd (fig. 9). On July 1, 2020, Richmond Mayor Levar Stoney ordered the removal of the Lee Monument and other Confederate tributes on Monument Avenue, remarking: "These statues, although symbolic, have cast a shadow on the dreams of our children of color. Let me be clear, removing these monuments is not a solution to the deeply embedded racial injustices in our city and nation, but is a down payment" (Ebrahimji et al., 2020). In summer 2021, plans were finalized regarding the removal of the Lee Monument to an undisclosed location (Rankin & Lavoie, 2021).



Figure 9: Robert E. Lee Monument, Richmond, with projection of Harriet Tubman, designed by Dustin Klein and Alex Criqui, June 16, 2020. Photo courtesy Kevin M. Levin and @FreePressRVA.

Some suggest moving problematic public art like Richmond's statue of Robert E. Lee to art or history museums. "We need to move, not destroy, Confederate monuments" Holland Cotter stated in 2017, arguing that "truth-telling institutions" can best preserve and present them "as the propaganda they are" (Cotter, 2017). Yet the modern museum's operational mission as trophy gallery and cultural guardian begs the question of what Confederate monuments venerate: secession from the nation based on slave holding, "toxic nostalgia" for White privilege (Emba, 2017). Moving disgraced monuments to museums may simply "bestow the same value and authority upon them that they 'enjoyed' as 'standalone' monuments, or even worse – further aggrandizing them – even if we contextualize them in more complicated ways." Their "very monumentality" could "spark an even fiercer form of physical intimidation when squeezed into the

small space of a standard museum building" (Bryant et al., 2018). Museum curators and directors remark that they do not have the space, time, funding, or personnel to take on these public art problems. Sheffield Hale, president and CEO of the Atlanta History Center observes, "Most of us have said we're not interested [...] they're toxic" (Wright, 2020).

A more viable solution might be the development of 'disgraced memorial parks,' following the examples of monuments and memorials that have been removed and then dumped in 'unwanted heritage sites' in the former Soviet Union. These include Muzeon (also called the Fallen Monument Park) in Moscow and Memento Park in Budapest, Hungary, both of which feature statues of Lenin, Marx, Stalin, and other formerly celebrated historical figures. Similarly, Coronation Park in Delhi, India features a graveyard of British colonial statues, including those of Queen Victoria, King George V, and various British viceroys. In Taiwan, the Cihu Memorial Sculpture Park features hundreds of statues of Chiang Kai-Shek, the former dictator who ruled the nation from 1945 to 1975 and whose 'cult of personality' was perpetuated in thousands of statues erected in schools, government buildings, and popular shrines. Removal paired with ruination distances these monuments from their dominant power and authority, vanquishes their representative ideologies, and permits audiences opportunities for reconsidering their symbolic capital on entirely different terms.

Ruins – from the Latin word ruere, for 'to fall' – are the appropriate context for the collapse of core values that publics deem aberrant. Worries that disaffected Americans might gather in disgraced memorial parks full of Confederate monuments and statues of White supremacists are offset by the fact that defaced, vandalized, and otherwise 'failed' monuments are humiliating and shameful, not honorific or triumphant. Reckoning with problematic public art in America today might begin, then, by re-imagining it as ruins: and using its physical degradation and decay as a prompt to rethink and reset the nation's social and political priorities.

Endnotes

[1] While serving as British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in the early nineteenth-century, Thomas Bruce, the 7th Earl of Elgin, stole over half of the original marble frieze of the Parthenon, the ancient Greek temple built on the Athenian Acropolis. In 1816, he sold the sculptures to the British Museum where, nicknamed the "Elgin Marbles," they remain today.

[2] In recent years, the SPLC increased that estimate to over 2,000 public symbols.

[3] On the findings of the Southern Poverty Law Center see https://www.splcenter.org/20160421/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy.

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Painting America: Teaching U.S.-American History and Fostering Visual Literacy through Art in EFL Classrooms

Luisa Alfes & Katharina von Elbwart

In our contemporary multimodal world, works of art serve as meaningful resources of cultural memory to understand a nation's identity. Accessing paintings from an art educational perspective, this article explores avenues through which art can teach students both historical and recent cultural aspects of the U.S.-American past. For this, two paintings, John Gast's American Progress *(1872) and Frida Kahlo's* Self-Portrait Along the Borderline Between Mexico and the United States *(1932), and one mural depicting George Floyd at the memorial site in Minneapolis, drawn by the community artists Cadex Herrera, Greta McLain, and Xena Goldman in 2020, were chosen. By analyzing these paintings through an educational lens, different ways of implementing art in foreign language classrooms are shown. In doing so, we recognize the potential of art in EFL settings, which provides a meaningful channel to engage students with American history and present-day controversies, promotes students' cultural awareness, and ultimately fosters their visual literacy in foreign language education.*

In unserer heutigen multimodalen Welt dienen Kunstwerke als aussagekräftige Quellen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses, um die Identität einer Nation zu verstehen. Dieser Artikel untersucht Gemälde aus kunstpädagogischer Perspektive und erforscht Wege, wie Studierenden und Lernenden durch Kunst sowohl historische als auch aktuelle kulturelle Aspekte der US-amerikanischen Vergangenheit vermittelt werden können. Dazu werden zwei Gemälde, John Gasts American Progress *(1872) und Frida Kahlos* Self-Portrait Along the Borderline Between Mexico and the United States *(1932), sowie ein Mural (Wandbild), das George Floyd darstellt und von den Community-Künstlern Cadex Herrera, Greta McLain und Xena Goldman im Jahr 2020 an der Gedenkstätte in Minneapolis gemalt wurde, ausgewählt. Durch eine Analyse dieser Bilder aus pädagogischer Perspektive werden verschiedene Möglichkeiten der Implementierung von Kunst im Fremdsprachenunterricht aufgezeigt, die das Potenzial von Kunst in EFL-Kontexten verdeutlichen. Die Kunstwerke bieten den Studierenden und Lernenden einen wertvollen Zugang zu amerikanischer Geschichte und gegenwärtigen Kontroversen, fördern das kulturelle Bewusstsein der Lernenden und letztendlich ihre visuelle Kompetenz im Fremdsprachenunterricht.*

Introduction

"A people without knowledge of their past history, origin, and culture are like a tree without roots." – Marcus Mosiah Garvey

The United States is a nation of diverse peoples that have been bound together by a constitution and a wish to live together in a shared place. Controversies over racial inequality, cultural diversity, and political decisions regulating this shared existence have dominated and continue to shape contemporary U.S.-American life and culture. This is best illustrated by current political and social upheavals: Derek Chauvin's conviction for murder following the killing of George Floyd, demonstrations against social inequality, structural racism,[1] and police brutality, the resurgence and expansion of the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM), and the migration crisis at the U.S.-Mexican border are just a few recent examples. All these events, experiences, and movements combine questions of race and belonging that have been at the core of a long history of divides and struggles over U.S. cultural and national identity.

Looking at U.S.-American history, it becomes evident that these issues have persisted ever since the mass appropriation, dispossession, and impoverishment of the lands, territories and resources of indigenous peoples through the practice of settler colonialism. The continuous and parallel existence of various cultures and ethnicities in one

place has opened room for discussions on migration and identity in past and present-day American society. However, a number of historical processes, i.e., conquests, colonialism, a slave trade, territorial acquisition, but also voluntary international migrations have sustainably influenced U.S.-American demographics (Gerber, 2011). "Who are we?" has become a question that is continuously revisited and reassessed by America's people, who have migrated from every corner of the globe (Gerber, 2011).

One way of dealing with and negotiating individual reactions to this question is mediated through art. In our contemporary multimodal and increasingly diversified world, art serves as a meaningful resource of cultural memory to understand and embrace a nation's identity. While works of art usually depict the individual perspective of the artist on cultural movements in a society, they nevertheless help to understand common characteristics that are shared by a society in a given place and time. Thus, the significance of art in a society cannot be overestimated. Furthermore, art depicts the social and political actions, needs, and expectations of a society at a specific point in time while simultaneously evoking a wide range of feelings in its audience. Because art is in constant interaction with society, paintings play a fundamental role in promoting cultural values and prevalent forms of identity while oftentimes breaking with societal norms and barriers (DeMarrais & Robb, 2013).

Transmitting cultural values and manifesting social integration can be seen as two fundamental functions of education in general and of foreign language classrooms in particular (Barkan, 2011). By combining art education with EFL teaching, advantages from both fields are integrated into the foreign language classroom: authentic and historically relevant paintings are used to discuss present and past realities in the United States among learners which allow them to participate in the social lives and cultural memory (Assmann, 2006) of the English-speaking population. We will argue that using art in foreign language classrooms educates EFL learners about aspects of the U.S.-American society and helps them to develop intercultural awareness; this contributes to fostering their visual literacy in foreign language education. In doing so, two paintings (John Gast's *American Progress* (1872) and Frida Kahlo's *Self-Portrait Along the Borderline Between Mexico and the United States* from 1932), and one mural (George Floyd's portrait at the memorial site in Minneapolis from 2020) will first be historically and socially contextualized to underline the common bond among the selected works of art. Using historical paintings to teach the present U.S. reality allows learners to further their understanding of the dynamic processes existing in a culture. We will also present our understanding of visual literacy (Wileman, 1993), an ability to read visuals (e.g., paintings) in educational settings. Against this background, it will be shown that methods from art education (i.e., percept, writing a museum label) serve as useful means of teaching EFL students about U.S.-American cultural diversity, migration, and historical events to foster both visual literacy and intercultural communicative competence in EFL settings as demanded by current core curricula in Germany (e.g., MSW NRW 2014; ISB Bayern 2009).

The State of the *Art*

Ever since America's independence was declared in 1776, the nation has been faced with enormous changes that have affected all levels of society, politics, and culture. These include technological and societal advances, political conflicts leading to war, and changes in immigration patterns affecting the ethnic and cultural composition of the U.S. population. Due to voluntary and involuntary international migrations from various parts of the world, the U.S., just like the migration patterns themselves, is in constant flux (Gerber, 2011) and continuously adapts to the political and social circumstances. So-called push and pull factors have prompted people being pushed away from their home countries and pulled towards the United States, oftentimes as a result of oppressive governments, wars, discrimination and a wish for material security, property ownership, and religious freedom (Bayor & Bayor, 2011), respectively.

Due to the large numbers of migrants who annually come to the U.S. from all parts of the world, the country has always been ethnically diverse and brings together White or European Americans, African and Asian Americans as well as Hispanics/Latinx people in different ratios. Based on the latest population estimates from 2019, White[2] Americans form 60.1%, Black or African Americans account for 13.4%, Native Americans for 1.3%, Asians for 5.9%, Native Hawaiians for 0.2%, and Hispanics for 18.5% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). In addition, 2.8% self-identify as mixed race, a combination of two or more races and ethnicities, which again highlights the nation's diverse and dynamic ethnic composition. While this diversity has generated numerous innovations, a strong work force, and profound changes in U.S. society, discussions on the quotas of admission began to arise when immigration numbers peaked in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Gerber, 2011, p. 35). Currently, the laws governing immigration limit the numbers of migrants legally allowed into the country although contemporary immigrants bring to the United States needed skills, labor, and a desire to fit into the U.S.-American lifestyle (Bayor & Bayor, 2011, p. xxiv). Past and present regulations have elicited public discussions and nativist concerns over immigration among American citizens on the one hand and constant (re)negotiations of belonging to the mainstream society among immigrants on the other hand, the latter being tied to questions of identity, race, and ethnicity.

Respectively, these issues have been taken up by artists who deal not only with their experiences of migration and identity formation, but also with complex changes and movements in U.S. society. These key topics form a common bond between the artworks discussed: the two painters, John Gast and Frida Kahlo, both migrated to the United States and lived there for an extended period of time. While Gast never returned to his home country of Germany after his emigration in the 1870s, Kahlo went back to Mexico in 1934. In understanding the BLM movement as a direct consequence of sustained immigration, racial injustice and inequal treatment based on skin color, the George Floyd mural completes our discussion by picking up current changes in U.S. society that are rooting in questions of migration, ethnic diversity, and identity formation. Both the interpretation and discussion of artworks ask for a consideration of the social conditions that define the meaning of the pictures to help understand the present through the past.

Introducing Visual Literacy in Learning Contexts

Today, "human experience is more visual and visualized than ever before" (Mirzoeff, 2009, p. 1), but although visualization has become part of everyday life, it "does not mean that we necessarily know what it is we are seeing" (Mirzoeff, 2009, p. 2). Especially in the context of the twenty-first century, where visualizations have become a vital part of our everyday lives and seem to be available and accessible everywhere, the necessity to learn with and about visuals is even more evident. Visual literacy addresses the issue of how to see visuals and is generally defined as "the ability to read, interpret, and understand information presented in pictorial or graphic images" (Wileman, 1993, p. 114).[3] The call for learning how to decode visual images in (foreign) language education has been increasing in recent years (cf. Gessner, 2005; Hebel & Moreth-Hebel, 2003), and can be observed in a current growth of the publication of teaching material. For instance, major German EFL journals have published special issues on *Visual Literacy* (2007), *Photography* (2019), *The State of the Arts* (2018) or *Mit Bildern lernen* [Learning with Pictures] (2012).[4] Further, the idea of learning how to read images has been discussed in many academic contributions in the field of (foreign) language education such as Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (2006), Lieber's *Lehren und Lernen mit Bildern: Ein Handbuch zur Bilddidaktik* (2013) or Hecke's and Surkamp's *Bilder im Fremdsprachenunterricht* (2015).

For the proponents of using pictures in class, reasons are as abundant as the works themselves. Pictures hold a high potential for accessibility and provide manifold learning and teaching materials

(Rymarczyk, 2003, p. 120). The use of pictures in the classroom not only fosters students' visual literacy but also stimulates their active learning processes and communicative competence (Rymarczyk, 2005, p. 15). Furthermore, visual input in class can provide scaffolds for learners as "the visual is a vastly [more] efficient mode for carrying and 'processing' great amounts of information […]" (Kress, 1998, p. 55). As pictures can provide valuable learning and teaching resources for students (Romeik, 2017, p. 10), they are of great importance in the field of language education. However, the manifold functions and opportunities of learning with visual input is yet to be examined from an empirical point of view (cf. Hallet, 2015, p. 30). Visual input is often discussed and compared against textual input (e.g., picture books) in EFL contexts. In light of this article, we explicitly make works of art teaching and learning objectives, as "a visual decoding competence and critical viewing abilities are underdeveloped and not taught systematically" (Hallet, n.d.). Even though visuals are often considered to be very motivating for students (cf. Breidbach, 2015, p. 6; Freese, 2015, p. 239), they have not found their key roles in EFL classrooms yet.

This underrepresentation of pictures as key learning objectives can be observed when looking more closely at visualizations from the educator's point of view. Students' textbooks are full of visualizations; however, these are rarely taken up in the learning process and often have a predominantly illustrative function (Hallet, 2013, p. 215).

However, to foster students' visual literacy, visualizations must play an important role in the learning process and should not only serve a decorative purpose (see typical visualizations used in EFL settings in fig. 1).

As the term visual literacy aims at learning how to read visualizations, this graphic depiction (see fig. 1) is solely designed to give a first overview of the various forms of visualizations in the EFL classroom and should not be evaluated empirically. In the context of this article, we set a focus on the value of paintings in EFL education. Many paintings are a product of cultural, political, social and economic time and place and, therefore, serve as meaningful resources for learners in EFL education. Consequently, it is not surprising that visuals are suggested in the curriculum i.e., the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). Here, "arts (painting, sculpture […])" have been recommended input for students in foreign language education to foster the learner's sociocultural knowledge (CEFR, 2001, p. 104) and continue to be suggested resources – especially in mediation contexts – in the companion volume (cf. CEFR, 2020, p. 221-224). However, it is not enough to embellish students' textbooks with visualizations, but rather it is important to make these visualizations the learning objectives in the foreign language classroom.

In the following, we suggest the use of visual art for EFL education and present activities for all three paintings during different phases of a lesson. These activities combine (classical and contemporary) works of art with meaningful communicative tasks. Two paintings, John Gast's *American Progress* (1872) and Frida Kahlo's *Self-Portrait Along the Borderline Between Mexico and the United States* (1932), and the mural depicting George Floyd at the memorial site in Minneapolis (2020) serve as the basis for the following two steps: (a) an analysis of the graphic representations of the United States as a culturally diverse nation and (b) a provision of teaching ideas for EFL settings.

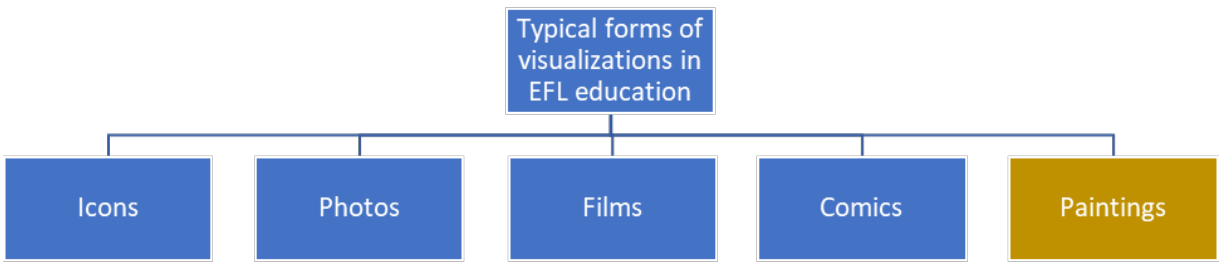


Figure 1: Typical forms of visualizations in EFL education (authors' illustration).

Analyzing Paintings about U.S.-American History

John Gast, *American Progress* (1872)

American Progress is a painting by John Gast and was created in 1872 (see fig. 2). Today, the painting, which is rather tiny in size and measures 12,75 x 16,75 inches, is held by the Autry Museum of the American West (cf. The Autry Museum online). *American Progress* can virtually be separated into two halves: it shows elements of the American industrial progress on the right side and the darkened landscape on the left, which depicts more traditional aspects of American history, such as Native Americans with hunting equipment, bison, horses, and a traditional covered wagon. Both parts are divided by a floating woman in the center of the painting who is hovering westward and above the crowds. With her long blond hair, the golden star on her forehead and her light white dress, the female carries a book in her right arm and a black cable, an extension of the power lines, in her left hand. The book's title is partly shown and the letters "schoo" and "book" can be seen – "the emblem of education and the testimonial of our national enlightenment" (Crofutt qtd. in Sandweiss, n.d.). She is an allegorical female representing 'America' who is leading pioneers westward.

Gast's painting from 1872 emerged during a period which was marked by technological innovation and a continuous industrialization in the United States. Concomitant with these two aspects came a switch from being a predominantly agricultural nation to a focus on manufacturing and urbanization. These drastic changes brought along new modes of transportation, i.e., an elaborated and transcontinental railroad system,



Figure 2: American Progress *(John Gast, 1872). Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. Digital ID ppmsca 09855 http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.09855.*

and allowed Americans a westward expansion to settle on land previously inhabited by Native Americans. The so-called closing of the frontier, announced by the U.S. Census Bureau in 1890, meant that there were at least two White inhabitants per square mile (U.S. Census, 2012). Gast's painting reveals significant aspects of the U.S.-American past: The railroad, shown in the background of the picture, allowed people to travel long distances, and White settlers who proceed westward and at the same time "Indians flee from progress, unable to adjust to the shifting tides of history" (Sandweiss, n.d.). As can be gathered from this example, viewers of this painting receive historical information about the diverse heritage of U.S.-Americans. Sandweiss describes *American Progress* as a "historical encyclopedia of transportation technologies" with the depictions of technological progress from simple Indian travois, to covered wagons, overland stage and railroad lines (Sandweiss, n.d.). She further states that this "painting hints at the past, lays out a fantastic version of an evolving present, and finally lays out a vision of the future" (Sandweiss, n.d.). *American Progress* therefore is well-suited for the foreign language classroom as it expresses the historical belief of manifest destiny and the cultural meaning of America's westward expansion.

Learning with *American Progress*

The painting allows visual approaches to U.S.-American history and can be included in EFL classrooms to teach U.S.-American culture and history. The following suggestions are inspired by an art educational teaching perspective and

Table 1: Teaching Suggestions for American Progress.

Phase	Method	Explanation	Instruction for students
Introduction	The painting's title[5] (I)	Students see the painting, but the title is not revealed yet. They are required to come up with a title that they find suitable for the painting and explain their choices.	Have a look at the painting. What could be the painting's title? Take notes and explain your ideas.
Analysis	Picture-profile[6]	Students write a profile of the painting. They research data about the painting and explain important aspects depicted in the painting.	Imagine you are the painter of this painting and write a profile of *American Progress*. Consider the following aspects: • What are the facts about this painting: When was the painting created? What is the size of the painting? Where can it be seen? • What are the most important elements depicted in this painting? Describe and explain.
Conclusion	Picture expansion	Students expand the painting. They a) add notes (e.g., pros and cons about the historical developments depicted in the painting). or b) draw further developments in the U.S. American history from today's point of view.	Expand the picture. You can either add textual or visual ideas. a) textual ideas: add notes regarding pros and cons about the historical developments depicted in the painting) or b) visual ideas: draw further developments in the U.S. American history from today's point of view.

imply the idea of learning with *American Progress* to foster students' visual literacy. Students not only learn about the country's cultural, social, and linguistic diversity but also about the near extinction of Native Americans, the colonial (dis)empowerment and the downsides of 'progress' such as the disadvantages of industrialization and unlimited growths. For each phase of a lesson, a method is introduced that picks up the painting's content in a meaningful and communicative way to foster the students' visual literacy.



Figure 3: Self-Portrait Along the Borderline between Mexico and the United States *(Frida Kahlo, 1932).*

Frida Kahlo, *Self-Portrait Along the Borderline between Mexico and the United States* (1932)

Self-Portrait Along the Borderline between Mexico and the United States is a painting by the Mexican artist Frida Kahlo. She created this self-portrait that is relatively small in size (12,5 x 13,75 inches) in 1932. The painting can be divided into two halves, the U.S.-American part on the right and the Mexican part on the left, separated by a pink-dressed Frida Kahlo, who is holding a Mexican flag in her hands. Following the economic prosperity during the 1920s, the painting encompasses the aftermaths of the 1929 stock market crash which led to the Great Depression during the 1930s. While the economic downfall originated in the United States, it soon developed into a worldwide depression which was characterized by high unemployment rates, poverty, and a universal distrust in governments and banks (Crafts & Fearon, 2010). The United States put a halt to Mexican immigration, and Mexican Americans born in the United States were forced to return to their home country; between 1929 and 1935, almost 500,000 Mexicans were deported (García, 2011, p. 1505). Admission to the United States had already become significantly more difficult after the Immigration Act of 1924 (García, 2011, p. 1495); it nevertheless encouraged illegal crossings of the Mexican American border. The painting depicts drastic differences between the two cultures that become apparent in the borderlands between the two countries; Kahlo's painting reveals the historical – but still ongoing – conflicts along the U.S.-Mexican border.

Learning with *Self-Portrait Along the Borderline between Mexico and the United States*

This painting provides a stimulating input for students in the foreign language classroomas it not only shows differences between two countries that share the same border, but it also depicts historical aspects of ongoing disparities between the United States and Mexico. Again, the following teaching suggestions are inspired by art education and aim at fostering student's visual literacy.

Xena Goldman, Cadex Herrera, Greta McLain, Photograph of People Grieving in front of Mural Dedicated to George Floyd (2020)

The last example is a photograph which shows people mourning at the George Floyd memorial site at the intersection of 38th Street and Chicago Avenue in Minneapolis in front of a street art painting (George Floyd Memorial, Photo by Bebeto Matthews, AP, https://www.euronews.com/2021/03/30/witnesses-say-they-saw-george-floyd-slowly-fade-away). The mural in the background was created in 2020 to remember George Floyd's death caused by a police officer in Minneapolis which resulted in worldwide protests against racially motivated

Table 2: Teaching Suggestions for Self-Portrait Along the Borderline between Mexico and the United States.

Phase	Method	Explanation	Instruction for students
Introduction	Interview with the painting[7]	Students see the painting and conduct an interview.	Have a look at this painting and imagine the painting is your interview partner: what would you want to know? Note down questions (first step) and find the answers by conducting an online search (second step). The following sample question might help you: • Why does the woman separate the painting in two halves (USA & Mexico)?
Analysis	Imaginary journey[8]	Students identify with the depicted situation by imagining the time and place of the painting.	Imagine you live in the borderland between Mexico and the USA in the 1930s. Explain the depicted atmosphere, time, and place.
Conclusion	Comparing journeys and discussing ideas.	Students compare and discuss their imaginary journeys.	Compare your imaginary journeys with those of your fellow students.

police brutality and structural racism. The viewer can see people standing in front of the street art painting, where many flowers are laid. Some of them are embracing each other in their shared grieving. On the left, there is a poster with the sentences "If you really understood the situation and still kept on failing to act, then you would be evil. And that I ~~refuse to~~ believe." Originating in the United States, the Black Lives Matter movement, which condemns racially motivated brutality and inequality, gained worldwide attention under the social media hashtags #BLM and #BlackLivesMatter. It was initiated in 2013 following the acquittal of George Zimmerman, who fatally shot Trayvon Martin while patrolling his neighborhood in Florida. Supporters of the movement perceived Zimmerman's acquittal as a failure of justice and started organizing nationwide demonstrations asking for social and racial justice for African Americans. After the killing of George Floyd by Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin on May 25, 2020, the movement gained new momentum; millions of people in the United States demonstrated against police brutality and made their voices heard against racist structures deeply anchored in U.S. society. Using the George Floyd mural as a present-day work of art depicting current societal and cultural changes is thus of great significance to students dealing with American culture and politics in EFL classrooms and elsewhere. The photograph of people grieving in front of the street art painting illustrates problems of racism in the USA after ongoing police violence against people of color.

Learning with the Photograph of People Grieving in front of the Mural Dedicated to George Floyd

This photograph of the mural is another example of how to combine (historical) developments in the USA with contemporary visualizations in the foreign language classroom. The photo supports students' comprehension as it not only shows a portrait of George Floyd, but also many people from different ethnic backgrounds standing in front of the street art painting grieving together. The people in front of the mural of whom we only see their backsides, are calmly facing the painting. This street art reveals George Floyd's name and his portrait, which is embedded in a huge sunflower icon. Inside the lettering of George Floyd's name, there are blue figures

Table 3: Teaching Suggestions for George Floyd's memorial.

Phase	Method	Explanation	Instruction for students
Introduction	Percept[9]	Students see the photograph and verbalize their first impressions.	Briefly answer the three key questions: • What can I see? • What do I think? • How do I feel?
Analysis	Dialogues[10]	Students imagine that the people shown in the photograph (in front of the mural) talk to each other and/or to George Floyd. They write dialogues.	Imagine the people grieving in front of the street art painting are talking to each other and/or to George Floyd. What would they say? Write a dialogue.
Conclusion	Role plays	Students act out the dialogues in role plays.	• Act out your dialogues.

raising their clenched fists. This graphic depiction of people raising their fists shows a strong reference to the iconic picture of athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos showing their gloved fists at the Summer Olympic Games in Mexico City 1968 – a gesture with a long history (cf. Spata, 2020).

Discussion and Conclusion

The methods presented here, borrowed from art education and transferred to EFL contexts, offer various options to be used in class: identifying the painting's title, conducting an interview with the painting or verbalizing first impressions through percepts can be used as introductory activities to work with art in class. To thoroughly analyze the paintings during the body of a lesson, students stay on task by composing a profile, developing an imaginary journey, or writing dialogues among people in the picture. Finally, picking up the students' results by comparing initial and final thoughts in a last phase of the lesson allows for the integration of changing perspectives on art after an in-depth examination and rounds off the topic.[11]

In sum, paintings offer various learning opportunities for students to foster their visual literacy in the foreign language classroom. Methods of fine art education can help students to learn how to see those visualizations. Results from the essay illustrate that these paintings, along with many other paintings which capture aspects of U.S.-American history, are suitable for EFL education: they not only depict elements from the nation's history but can also be adapted to recent developments in a given society. By teaching historical culture through art, students can connect past with present (cultural) movements and understand art as a key aspect of negotiating meaning in a society while being exposed to authentic material. This way, learners are enabled to develop intercultural communicative competences through meaningful tasks taken from the realities of the target language and culture (DeMarrais & Robb, 2013). While the students practice their English language skills and interact with their peers in the target language when analyzing and discussing the art works, they also foster their visual literacy to ultimately learn how to read visuals (cf. Mirzoeff, 2009, p. 2).

Although the art selection presented here is just a small sample of the various choices of paintings available and by no means representative, it nevertheless offers a culturally diverse and critical view on U.S.-American historical and contemporary societal movements. By choosing artists from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds (John Gast, Frida Kahlo, and the artist group Cadex Herrera, Greta McLain, Xena Goldman), we aim at providing a diverse cast of people representing a cross section of U.S.-American society. Questions of cultural diversity, structural racism, ethnic identity and migration

among the U.S.-American population illustrated by the BLM movement, the policies that have led to Central American migrants seeking asylum in the United States causing a migration crisis along the U.S.-Mexican border, and the subjugation and discrimination of Native Americans in U.S. society, again underline the topicality and importance of connecting history with contemporary experiences. By fostering cultural and racial awareness through historical paintings, we recognize cultural movements of contemporary U.S. society, for which a solid knowledge of the past is the basis. In modern societies, art allows people to "remake themselves and their worlds, while commenting on their values and beliefs" (DeMarrais & Robb, 2013, p. 7). Thus, art establishes a reciprocal relationship to culture: it forms culture and has an impact on its individuals, but it is also influenced by and cannot exist without the larger society. As paintings are one way of fostering visual literacy and teaching historical aspects of a country which are still relevant today, they allow individuals to participate in society and become sensitized towards material culture.

Nevertheless, the examples presented here can only serve as a starting point to broaden students' visual literacies and should be regarded as initial ideas to inspire teachers to deal with paintings in foreign language education. As long as students, as much as other individuals, are confronted with omnipresent pictures and images in their daily life, they need to be able to understand what they perceive. Future (empirical) studies could set out, for instance, to investigate questions such as the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of art in EFL settings, the (measurable) benefits and potentials visual literacy provides, and/or a multimodal experience of authentic material, in which paintings are one way of providing visual input.

Endnotes

[1] For a discussion of task-based online lessons on U.S. structural racism see Sandra Stadler-Heer's article in this issue.

[2] The U.S. Census defines a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa as White.

[3] In the context of this article, we would like to draw a line between visual literacy and multiliteracies. While visual literacy focuses solely on the ability to decode visual modes, the concept of multiliteracies refers to the idea that students negotiate multiple meaning-making modes (such as text, image, sound, gesture, object and space) in social, cultural, and domain-specific contexts (Cope & Kalantzis, 2015, p. 3).

[4] *Der Fremdsprachliche Unterricht Englisch: Visual Literacy* (2007) and *Photography* (2019), *Praxis Englisch: The State of the Arts* (2018) and *Englisch 5-10: Learning with Pictures* (2012).

[5] This method refers to Schoppe's teaching suggestion originally entitled "Titelsuche" (2014, p. 49).

[6] This method refers to Schoppe's teaching suggestion originally entitled "Bild-Steckbrief" (2014, p. 107).

[7] This method refers to Schoppe's teaching suggestion originally entitled "Interview mit dem Bild" (2014, p. 59).

[8] This method refers to Schoppe's teaching suggestion originally entitled "Fantasiereise" (2014, p. 93).

[9] This method refers to Schoppe's teaching suggestion originally entitled "Percept" (2014, p. 60).

[10] This method refers to Schoppe's teaching suggestion originally entitled "Bilddialoge" (2014, p. 100).

[11] While these methods can be used interchangeably and according to the teaching context, they can also be stretched over more than one lesson.

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Anti-Semitism in the United States: Past – and Present?

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Over the past years and months, and especially so after the reignition of the armed conflict in the Middle East in May 2021, Western countries including the United States have registered an alarming increase in anti-Semitic prejudice and verbal and physical assaults. This trend is particularly concerning in the context of the United States, where anti-Semitism had appeared to have largely subsided, as its resurgence threatens to harbinger radical changes in the society's value system. Including a discussion of both historical backgrounds and current events, and individual case studies, this article argues for the necessity to thematize anti-Semitism in the United States within the secondary- and tertiary-education EFL/American Studies classroom.

In den vergangenen Jahren und Monaten, insbesondere nach dem Wiederaufflammen des Nahostkonflikts im Mai 2021, ist in westlichen Ländern einschließlich der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika eine alarmierende Zunahme antisemitischer Ressentiments und Übergriffe zu verzeichnen. Gerade im Kontext der USA, wo der Antisemitismus weitestgehend abgeebbt schien, ist diese Entwicklung bedenklich, da sie größere Umbrüche im Wertesystem der Gesellschaft anzukündigen droht. Anhand historischer Hintergründe, tagespolitischer Entwicklungen und individueller Fallbeispiele zeigt dieser Aufsatz die Notwendigkeit auf, Antisemitismus in den USA im USA-zentrierten Unterricht der Sekundarstufe II und des Tertiärbereichs zu thematisieren.

Introduction

The recent eruption of violence between Israel and Hamas in the Gaza Strip, claiming numerous victims on both sides and resulting in enormous destruction, made daily headlines in early and mid-May 2021. As concerning as these headlines are, the ones that come in their wake are no less, if not more, alarming – headlines that report on manifest and violent anti-Semitism in Europe, involving not only anti-Semitic slogans but the burning of Israel's flag as well as attacks on Jewish institutions, including synagogues. Likewise, the recently reignited conflict in the Middle East has triggered verbal and physical attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions in the United States, where "at least 26 instances of antisemitism have been reported across the United States, from Los Angeles to New York" (Harris & Shammas, 2021, para. 2) within only two weeks in May 2021.

Even prior to the latest armed conflicts between Israel and Palestinians, a rise in anti-Semitism has been observable over the past few years, with incidents such as the murders of Sarah Halimi and Mireille Knoll in Paris, France; the attack on the synagogue in Halle (Saale), Germany; as well as the Tree of Life synagogue shooting in Pittsburgh, USA, standing out as deplorable culminations of what appears to be a frighteningly widespread and broiling trend throughout the Western world. The exploration of manifestations of, consequences of, as well as potential reasons for resurfacing anti-Semitism in the United States, which is home to the world's largest Jewish population in total numbers and to the second-largest portion of the worldwide Jewry (Vital Statistics: Jewish Population of the World, 2021), is thus a topical issue in American Studies, and particularly so in Transnational American Studies, as these incidents are neither contained to one nation or continent nor unilaterally traceable in their historical roots. As such, they also deserve thematization in the EFL and American Studies classroom, where the discussion of rising anti-Semitism serves not only to sensibilize students to the current political developments and their societal reverberations but also to enable them both to place anti-Semitic offenses in a historical and contemporary context and to cultivate informed opinions about such offenses and diverse responses to them.

The treatment of anti-Semitism is not explicitly mentioned in the curricula of German or Austrian secondary school English education,[1] pos-

sibly either because it is not a phenomenon specific to the English-speaking world or because it is not considered or recognized as a problem worth discussing with students in the EFL/American Studies classroom. This article therefore argues that despite its lack of exclusiveness to the English-speaking world, or the United States specifically, and even though anti-Semitism historically has not taken on the same virulence there it has taken on in other countries of the Western world, particularly Germany, anti-Semitism is a growing problem in Western, including American, society and therefore deserves thematization in the EFL/American Studies classroom. After briefly sketching historical dimensions of anti-Semitism in the United States, the article will present three case studies from 2017, 2018, and 2021 with the help of which secondary- and tertiary-education teachers and their learners can discuss anti-Semitism in the EFL/American Studies classroom.

Anti-Semitism in the United States: Past and Present

In the *Encyclopedia of American Studies* (2018), a useful resource for American Studies researchers and educators, the entry on "Anti-Semitism" is comparatively short, which may signify to some readers that anti-Jewish sentiments have not taken center stage in the United States, past and present. Evelyn Beck's overview of American anti-Semitism recapitulates major stages in its historical development.[2] In nearly four centuries of Jewish presence in what is today the United States, institutionalized forms of anti-Semitism, such as quotas for college and university admission, ranged beside such tragic climaxes as the lynching of Leo Frank in 1915 and the attacks on Jews following Father Coughlin's broadcasts of hate during the 1930s. The literary scholar Philip Joseph refers to the renowned historian John Higham when he states that

> virulent anti-Semitism surfaced most powerfully in the American 1890s in three relatively marginal contexts: among patrician intellectuals like Henry Adams and Henry Cabot Lodge, among the urban lower classes, and among certain segments of the agrarian protest movement […]. For most reading Americans, however, anti-Semitism was best kept outside the public discourse, limited to the elite clubs, vacation resorts, and private schools where cultural homogeneity had always been a given. In the 1890s, the emergence of a Jewish middle class was making such homogeneity hard to maintain quietly. […] [T]he American business classes continued to distinguish exclusive social practices from openly bigoted rhetorical formulations, and the de facto segregation of Jews and gentiles in civic society from anti-Semitic governmental legislation. (2002, p. 5)

The fact that the exclusion of Jews from certain areas of American public life and the anti-Semitic sentiment fueling such practices were "kept outside the public discourse," however, does not mean they did not exist. In 1913, "a time when American Jews […] were experiencing deep-seated bigotry," the Anti-Defamation League was founded, a U.S.-based Jewish NGO dedicated to its mission "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people, and to secure justice and fair treatment to all" (Anti-Defamation League, 2021). It was not until the mid-twentieth century, when the full extent of the atrocities committed against Jews during the Third Reich became known to a large portion of the American public and general prosperity augmented, that anti-Semitism in the United States, while not disappearing, lessened (Beck, 2018).

Despite the obstacles Jews have faced since their arrival on American soil, the bottom line of Evelyn Beck's encyclopedia entry is that, while anti-Semitism in the United States "flourished" in the past and "survived" well into the twentieth century, by the end of the twentieth century it was continuously abating (2018, para. 5). Similarly, in the early 2000s the literary historian Jules Chametzky looked back on the 1970s, noting the disappearance of institutionalized anti-Semitism and the decline of "isolated incidents of anti-Semitism" (2001, p. 979) in the United States in the wake of the civil rights movement.

Such observations seem to suggest a linear development from the 1890s to the present day that is marked by a gradual decrease in anti-Semitic bias and discrimination in the United States. Yet, recent attacks perpetrated against Jews and corresponding statistics on anti-Semitic incidents in the United States reveal how treacherous this assumption is. Anti-Semitic protests during the riots at Charlottesville, VA, in 2017 were followed by a fatal shooting at a synagogue in Pittsburgh, PA, in 2018. Since the Anti-Defamation League started keeping record of anti-Semitic assaults in 1979, the most incidents within one year occurred no earlier than 2019, amounting to "over 2,000 acts of assault, vandalism, and harassment" (Schumacher, 2021, para. 1). More recently, in May 2021, anti-Israel anger about the latest violent clashes in the Middle East translated into anti-Jewish aggression in the United States (Harris & Shammas, 2021). And still, whereas conflicts between Israel and Gaza have often unleashed anti-Semitic violence in the United States, experts "are worried that the recent attacks were evidence of a worrisome trend that has been accelerated" by the events in the Middle East (Harris & Shammas, 2021, para. 7). From this angle, the confrontational politics in the Middle East is not the sole reason for recent anti-Semitic harassment and assaults, but instead only the catalyst for tendencies that were already on the rise, but less conspicuous before. In this latter scenario, the contexts in which anti-Semitic sentiments and the increased readiness to translate them into hate crimes need to be placed exceed the focus on current affairs in the Middle East and require the consideration of the political climate in the United States prior to May 2021, particularly "the ascendency of right-wing populism in the United States and its concomitant anti-Semitism" (Kaplan, 2020, p. 224).

Within the context of American Studies teaching, be it in the institutional framework of secondary or tertiary education, it is particularly notable and relevant for students that, according to the Anti-Defamation League's recent data, "anti-Semitism continued to increase at schools and universities" and was founded on the school children's and university students' actual or assumed links to Israel (Schumacher, 2020, para. 6). Students on this side of the Atlantic can be encouraged to ponder and discuss, not least from a comparative perspective, what it means that Jewish school children and university students are harassed and attacked in their learning environment merely based on the fact that they are Jews.

Contemporary Anti-Semitism in the EFL/ American Studies Classroom

Rather than proposing a detailed lesson plan for how the topic could be taught in the classroom, this article aims to provide food for thought in the form of three examples of visual materials that could be used to broach the subject in the classroom and to unfold a discussion that involves the consideration of transnational historical developments, current affairs, and universal ethical principles, such as tolerance, (religious) freedom, and equality. In order to make this difficult topic more accessible, working with recent photographs is recommended, not least for motivational purposes.

The first[3] photograph (fig. 1) was taken during the demonstrations at Charlottesville on August 11 and 12, 2017, which were "suffused with anti-black racism, but also with anti-Semitism" (Green, 2017, para. 3).[4] During the so-called "Unite the Right" rally, White supremacists and related alt-right groups gathered not only to prevent the removal of a statue of the Confederate general Robert E. Lee but also to demonstrate for a unified White nationalist political agenda. The description and analysis of the photograph can serve as an entry into a discussion of what happened at Charlottesville, what its cultural reverberations were, and why the happenings were so significant with a view to anti-Semitism in the United States. Students asked to describe the photograph may quickly realize that the scene shows a demonstration, as they can see several men standing or marching together in the middle of a street in an urban setting. Vans and antennae in the background suggest that

the events are happening in a political context and on a larger scale and are therefore reported about and broadcast on the news. They may notice that the demonstrators are all white and male. The demonstrators are equipped with various kinds of flags, two of which may require explanation, according to the learners' previous knowledge about U.S. history and culture: three of the flags are Confederate flags, evoking the formerly slave-holding southern states' values wrapped up in the notion of the "Old South." The two yellow flags are Gadsden flags, inscribed with the words "Don't tread on me," making reference to the American Revolution and connoting the claim for gun rights and a limited federal government.

The flag at the very center of the image, however, will not require any explanation. The flag with the black swastika in a white circle surrounded by red unmistakably evokes Nazi Germany and with it the systematic persecution and murder of millions of Jews. Framed by two kinds of flags whose immediate context is American history, the swastika flag makes reference to an ideology that, while it is associated with Nazi German history, is readily adopted by American Nazis in the twenty-first century. The anti-Semitic symbolism of the flag was reinforced during the rally by chants that reiterated the slogan "Jews will not replace us" as well as by marchers wearing clothes that explicitly referenced Adolf Hitler (Green, 2017).

While the complexities of the interconnections between anti-Semitic imagery and paroles exhibited during the Charlottesville rally and historical anti-Semitism on both sides of the Atlantic may overtax lower-level students (for the lack of language skills and/or background knowledge), its exploration with the help of further material can offer intriguing perspectives to more advanced students.[5] But even if some students may not delve to the bottom of all the implications, the interpretation of the photograph, alongside background information provided by the teacher, will allow those students to uncover the tangible connection between a historically grown transnational anti-Semitism and current trends in the United States. Starting from this point of departure, they can engage in discussions about the reasons for, the dangers of, and possible remedies for his trend.

The second photograph that this article proposes as material to thematize anti-Semitism in the EFL/American Studies classroom was taken in the aftermath of the Pittsburgh synagogue shooting in late October 2018, "the deadliest act of anti-Jewish violence in American history" (Rosenfeld, 2019, para. 1). On October 27, 2018, Robert D. Bowers, in an act of anti-Semitic rage, killed eleven people at the Tree of Life synagogue in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood at Pittsburgh. The 29 charges brought up against Bowers thereafter include "eleven counts of obstruction of exercise of religious beliefs resulting in death and eleven counts of use of a firearm to commit murder during and in relation to a crime of violence"; the charges as well as his anti-Semitic posts on social media prior to the attack made hate and conspiracy paranoia as his motive unambiguous ("Pittsburgh synagogue gunman suspect," 2018).

Rather than providing students with these and many other facts about the happenings of that day, the teacher could present the learners with the press photograph discussed in the following first (fig. 2).[6] After describing what they see in the picture, students can be asked to draw conclusions and formulate hypotheses about the context in which the picture was taken. The cues in the picture that help lead students in the right direction can be expected to be universally comprehensible: the yellow barricade tape makes clear that what is pictured is a crime scene; the numerous bouquets of flowers and the many lit candles indicate that several people lost their lives in this incident; students with an eye for detail will also notice the ambulance parked on the curbside on the right margin of the photograph, on which the words "Pittsburgh – Emergency Medical Service – Ambulance" are discernible; the height of the building in the background as well as its stained windows may

make it recognizable as a house of worship; finally, the man who is lighting the candle can be identified as a man who is mourning and based on his clothes as a Jew. As this connection between clothing and religious affiliation may not be immediately clear to students,[7] zooming in on the building to enlarge the Hebrew letters written on the building, alongside their English transcription "Tree of Life," can help them reach this insight.

In a second step, depending on the learners' level of proficiency and age, the photograph's aesthetic composition and its effects can be examined. Students may identify the bright yellow police tape that splits the image horizontally into two halves as the salient element that not only directs the viewers' attention toward the aspect of crime, violence, and the gravity of the events, but also draws attention to the aspect of "splitting/separating/dividing" itself: to the ultimate dividing line between light and dark, survivors and victims, life and death, the worldly and the otherworldly, life's tumults and pain and the afterlife's peace and quiet, but also to the deep chasm that runs through the contemporary United States. The blue and black nighttime skies symbolize the darkness of the events and the gloom and dejection that set in once the business and brightness of the day are gone.[8] The angle and shot size with which the photograph is taken makes the synagogue, steeped in darkness, appear to be ominously towering over humans and the mementos of those violently taken from their side.

From the observations made during the first step, students can deduct that the photograph was taken after a crime, that this crime claimed several lives, that it happened in or just outside a synagogue and triggered mourning among Jews in particular, and that it was thus targeted at Jews and motivated by anti-Semitism. After the students' hypotheses are gathered, compared, and checked for their validity, facts about the happening can be provided, for instance in the form of a newspaper article. Alternatively, students can be given the task to research online and gather information themselves. As shootings, especially those in which people are killed, are an emotionally taxing topic, it is vital that educators treat this photograph and the circumstances from which it emerged sensitively, allowing students space and time to process the troubling information, to ask questions, and to formulate and utter their individual responses.

The third photograph that can be used to take on contemporary anti-Semitism in the EFL/American Studies classroom was taken during the attacks on the U.S. Capitol following then President Trump's speech to his supporters in Washington, D.C., on January 6, 2021. Trump followers had forced their way into the building, threatening staff and delegates, and leaving a trail of destruction in their wake. In contrast to fig. 2, fig. 3[9] is not a press photograph but a snapshot that was taken during the insurrection inside the Capitol and that circulated widely throughout social media. The photograph shows a group of rioters posing to have their picture taken by a fellow Trump supporter. When asked to describe what they see, students will talk about the people's outer appearance, their facial expressions and clothing, and will at some point mention the bearded man to the left, who wears a black hoodie on which a white skull is surrounded by the words "Camp Auschwitz" and "Work brings freedom."

While the photograph offers little in terms of aesthetic composition, it opens up at least two significant points of departure for class discussions. Firstly, since students will have heard both of Auschwitz concentration camp, liberated by Soviet troops on January 27, 1945, and of the Nazis' slogan "Arbeit macht frei," connections can be established between historical and present-day anti-Semitism on both sides of the Atlantic. Students can be encouraged to ponder questions like the following: What ideas, convictions, and aims motivate a person to wear such a sweater? What does it signify in its historical and cultural context when an American man in the twenty-first century wears a sweater ostensibly propagating Third Reich

ideology while storming the U.S. Capitol? How do history and the present interact when such choices are made and are made for people to see? Do students see this as an instance of an individual's poor judgement, "just" an offensive sweater, or is this representative of a collective set of choices, the product of White supremacist ideology, fueled by the then president and scapegoating Jews? Secondly, as the photograph of "the man in the Camp Auschwitz hoodie" circulated widely in a broad range of media, students can be stimulated to reflect on the influence that modern media, and social media in particular, have on the dissemination of such pictures, on the frameworks within which they can be placed, as well as on people's reception of and responses to them (Jacobo et al., 2021). Digital literacy and the competence to passively consume and actively use social media with responsibility and discernment are educational goals, ever more pressing since the 2020/2021 school lockdowns, that need to be tied up with the larger ethical questions connected to the treatment of anti-Semitism in class. Seeing how easily prejudice, intolerance, and hate, which lie at the bottom of reinvigorated anti-Semitic sentiments, are spread through certain channels, it is crucial that students gain an awareness of the interconnectedness between rising ant-Semitism and the increase of social media usage.[10]

The three photographs presented here can be used as alternative or complementary materials. They serve to bring learners in touch with concrete examples of the forms in which anti-Semitism surfaces in the contemporary United States. To prevent learners from developing a reduced or false image of Jewish life in the United States, examples of how Jewish culture flourishes in the United States should also be taken into consideration, without, however, suggesting that the examples discussed here were merely isolated incidents of bigotry. Referring to the January 6, 2021, insurrection, the latest of numerous manifestations of a partly violent anti-Jewish mindset, Oren Segal, the vice president of the Anti-Defamation League's Center on Extremism, concluded that the riots were "not so much a tipping point" for anti-Semitism but "the latest explicit example of how [it] is part of what animates the narratives of extremists in this country" (qtd. in "Anti-Semitism Seen in Capitol insurrection," 2021, para. 4).

Concluding Remarks

This article has tried to demonstrate that the recent resurgence of anti-Semitism in the United States and elsewhere in the world signals the need for American Studies educators to openly address this development in their classrooms. In order for students to be able to contextualize current events and trends, it is vital they know about backgrounds both in United States and world history. Students can be confronted with historical discourses that questioned Jews' status as "marginal white populations" and proposed that "Jewishness like blackness constituted a racial and cultural exception" (Joseph, 2002, p. 5), and they can be encouraged to uncover connections between these historical attitudes and present-day anti-Semitism, which rose simultaneously with the surge of White nationalism during Trump's candidacy and administration. Drawing on students' knowledge about the Shoa and detailing the circumstances under which the state of Israel was founded, teachers can support students in their efforts to grasp transnational trajectories.

What some might consider arguments against the inclusion of the topic into American Studies education – its non-specificity to the United States as well as its (presumed) marginality in comparison to other societal problems – are in fact reasons why the treatment of anti-Semitism has a rightful place in the EFL/American Studies classroom: The very fact that it is so widespread makes it an apt topic for an interdisciplinary approach, which is both a key feature of American Studies as a scholarly discipline and an explicit desideratum of numerous school curricula. Synergies aiming to explore the roots and spread of, reasons for, and activism against anti-Semitism could be created among diverse

school subjects such as English, French, German, History, Geography, Religious Education, and Social Sciences. Moreover, discussing anti-Semitism as a smoldering rather than a fullblown problem of our day allows educators to help learners become historically as well as culturally (more) sensitive, equipping them both with the knowledge necessary to recognize dangerous tendencies early on and with a sense of civic responsibility in the face of budding discrimination, bigotry, or violence.

Rabbi Zsolt Balla, the recently appointed first official Jewish military chaplain to the German Bundeswehr, stated in an interview following his historic appointment that anti-Semitism will never be eliminated completely from society (Balla: "Können Antisemitismus nie komplett eliminieren," 2021, para. 1). If we share Balla's grim but probably realistic outlook, it becomes all the more evident that this is a topic learners should be educated about and that this task is not restricted to the History classroom, just like the phenomenon is not restricted to history. This contribution has explicated and emphasized this desideratum. Exploring photographs taken in different contexts of present-day anti-Semitism in the United States, it has proposed ways in which these and/or comparable photographs could be employed in the EFL/American Studies classroom so that, after decades of de-thematization, the discussion of anti-Semitism more palpably enters the EFL/American Studies classroom.

Endnotes

[1] Point of reference is the Bavarian "Lehrplan Plus." A discussion of anti-Semitism could be well placed within the following areas prescribed for grades 10, 11, and 12: "current events and developments" ("aktuelle Ereignisse und Entwicklungen"); "living together of ethnic groups in the UK and the U.S. […], life in a multicultural society" ("Zusammenleben ethnischer Gruppen im UK und in den USA […], Leben in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft"); "religion, values, and norms" ("Religion, Werte und Normen"). Cf. https://www.lehrplanplus.bayern.de/schulart/gymnasium/inhalt/fachlehrplaene?w_schulart=gymnasium&wt_1=schulart&w_fach=englisch&wt_2=fach
The Austrian "Lehrplan der allgemeinbildenden höheren Schulen" is very open when it comes to contents and topics to be discussed in the EFL classroom. Yet, its guiding parameters in the realm of general educational objectives include, among others, such desiderata as "unbiased cultural encounters" ("vorurteilsfreie Begegnung der Kulturen"), "enabling students to develop informed opinions" ("Befähigung zur sach- und wertbezogenen Urteilsbildung"), and "the assumption of social responsibility" ("Übernahme sozialer Verantwortung"), which allows for or even encourages the thematization of anti-Semitism in the EFL/American Studies classroom. Cf. https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=Bundesnormen&Gesetzesnummer=10008568

[2] More extensive useful sources on the history of anti-Semitism in the United States include, among many others: Dinnerstein, 1994; Perry, 2007; Lipstadt, 2019.

[3] The three photographs are treated in the chronological order of the events that they represent.

[4] Fig. 1: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unite_the_Right_rally#/media/File:Charlottesville_'Unite_the_Right'_Rally_(35780274914)_crop.jpg; 17 June 2021.

[5] Emma Green's article in *The Atlantic* offers a very readable and informative take on the events and their backgrounds.

[6] Fig. 2: https://www.ocregister.com/2018/10/28/authorities-name-the-11-killed-in-the-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting/; 17 June 2021.

[7] One of the reasons why this connection may not be immediately graspable to many students is certainly the relative invisibility of Jews in German society. Traditionally clad (orthodox) Jews are not a very common sight in Germany and students, especially younger ones, may therefore not be familiar with it. Why this is may be related to an official statement that Felix Klein, Germany's Federal Government Commissioner for Jewish Life in Germany and the Fight against Anti-Semitism, made in May 2019 and that drew much public attention. In this statement,

Klein said he could not recommend that Jews in Germany wear a kippah at any time or place, implying that it is unsafe for Jews to make their Jewishness openly visible ("Antisemitismus-Beauftragter").

[8] Advanced students may establish an association with Elie Wiesel's novel *Night*.

[9] Fig. 3: https://nypost.com/2021/01/08/camp-auschwitz-sweatshirt-seen-at-capitol-riot-sold-by-nyc-site/; 17 June 2021.

[10] See also Gavriel Rosenfeld on the exploitation of allegedly humoristic anti-Semitic posts and memes pervading the Internet for neo-Nazi propaganda.

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„Make America White Again“: Der Weg der weißen Evangelikalen in den USA zum christlichen Nationalismus

Magdalena Paulus

Christian Nationalism is a new political ideology that uses Christian symbols and language. It conflates values and lifestyles of different groups like White evangelicals with alt-right-extremism, nativism, White supremacy, patriarchy, and heteronormativity, along with authoritarian control and militarism. It fuses patriotism with discipleship, Americanism with Christianity, the political with the prophetic, and the American Dream with the Kingdom of Heaven. The Christian Right has provided the political and theological underpinnings of this along with the faith in a divine calling for the “salvation of America.” The conflation of the political and the religious became visible in the Capitol insurrection on January 6, 2021. This article describes the development of White American Evangelicalism to Christian Nationalism, from its early roots in the nineteenth century awakenings to the fundamentalism of the early twentieth century. It traces the evolution of the Christian Right in the 1970s and its slide into an apocalyptic doomsday scenario that rendered evangelicals vulnerable to the erosion of democratic institutions by a strong ‘bully’ like Donald Trump prone to erode democratic institutions in order to “save America.”

*Der christliche Nationalismus ist eine neue politische Ideologie, die sich christlicher Symbole und Sprache bedient. Er verschmilzt unterschiedliche Gruppen wie die weißen Evangelikalen mit ultrarechten Extremist*innen und ihren Werten: Fremdenfeindlichkeit, White Supremacy (weiße Vorherrschaft oder Überlegenheit der Weißen), Patriarchat, Militarismus und Heteronormativität. Er verquickt Patriotismus mit christlicher Nachfolge, Amerikanismus mit Christentum und setzt die Nation mit dem Reich Gottes gleich. Dazu hat ihm die christliche Rechte die theologischen Fundamente geliefert wie den Glauben an die göttliche Berufung zur „Rettung Amerikas“. Diese Verschmelzung von Politik und Religion wurde bei der Erstürmung des Kapitols am 6. Januar 2021 sichtbar. Dieser Artikel beschreibt die Entwicklung des weißen amerikanischen Evangelikalismus zum christlichen Nationalismus, von seinen Wurzeln, den Erweckungsbewegungen des 19. Jahrhunderts, bis zum Fundamentalismus des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts. Er schildert die Entstehung der christlichen Rechten in den 1970er Jahren, ihr Abgleiten in ein apokalyptisches Untergangsszenario, das Evangelikale anfällig machte für die Aushöhlung der demokratischen Institutionen durch einen starken „Beschützer“ wie Donald Trump, der Amerika „retten“ soll.*

Der christliche Nationalismus

Am 6. Januar 2021 versammelten sich Tausende Trump-Anhänger*innen nach der verlorenen Präsidentschaftswahl zur einer „Save America“-Demonstration vor dem Kapitol in Washington. Trump hatte sie gerufen. In seiner Rede wiederholte er seine Unterstellung des Wahlbetrugs und forderte die Menge auf, mit ihm zum Kapitol zu marschieren (Associated Press, 2021). Rund 800 gewaltbereite Trump-Anhänger*innen stürmten das Kapitol, wo Kongress und Senat zusammengetreten waren, um die Wahl Joe Bidens formell zu bestätigen. Der Mob bedrohte Abgeordnete, wollte die demokratische Oppositionsführerin Nancy Pelosi und den Noch-Vizepräsidenten Mike Pence hängen, attackierte Polizeikräfte, randalierte, zerstörte Inventar und stahl Laptops und Rednerpulte. Fünf Menschen starben, zahlreiche wurden verletzt. Draußen vor dem Gebäude hatten Tausende die – zahlenmäßig völlig unterlegenen – Polizeikräfte und Metallbarrieren überrannt.

Unter den Kapitol-Stürmern waren Angehörige der ultrarechten White Supremacists und Proud Boys und andere weiße Vorherrschaftsbewegungen, wie Jacob Chansley, der „QAnon Schamane“ aus Arizona, der sich als wahrer „Patriot“ nach Washington gerufen fühlte (US-

Justizministerium, 2021). Die meisten der Demonstrant*innen aber waren keine Angehörigen der Rechten. Sie kamen aus der Mitte der Gesellschaft: 40% waren Firmen- oder Geschäftsinhaber*innen, gut verdienende IT-Expert*innen, Ärzt*innen, Rechtsanwält*innen und Steuerberater*innen (Herrmann, 2021). Viele waren gläubige Christ*innen, wie die zahlreichen christlichen Symbole, Gebete, Bibelverse, Lautsprecher-Predigten und Jesus-Flaggen und Flaggen mit „Jesus Is My Savior, Trump Is My President" zeigten. Dieser religiöse Kontext und die Motive der Belagerung waren keine Randerscheinung. Für viele der Beteiligten war dies der eigentliche Beweggrund ihrer Teilnahme an der Demonstration.

Diese Vermischung ist wesenseigen für den christlichen Nationalismus, dem sich evangelikale Trump-Wähler*innen geöffnet haben. „Seit den 1990er Jahren bewegte sich der amerikanische Evangelikalismus auf den christlichen Nationalismus zu, indem er Patriotismus mit christlicher Nachfolge verschmolz, Amerikanismus mit dem Christentum, das Politische mit dem Prophetischen und den Amerikanischen Traum mit dem himmlischen Reich Gottes", kritisiert der evangelikale Geistliche Robert L. Schenk, Leiter des Dietrich Bonhoeffer Instituts in Washington sein eigenes Lager (Schenck, 2020). Der christliche Nationalismus verschmilzt die christliche mit der amerikanischen Identität, nur Christ*innen seien gute Amerikaner*innen (Edsall, 2021); er maßt sich die Definition über das Markenzeichen wahrer „Amerikaner" an und die Deutungshoheit über die Bestimmung Amerikas, so Paul D. Miller, Professor für Internationale Beziehung an der Georgetown-Universität (in: Edsall, 2021).

Der christliche Nationalismus ist eine neue politische Ideologie, die sich der christlichen Symbole nur bedient. Unterschiedliche Gruppen verschmelzen darin ihre Werte und Haltungen: Fremdenfeindlichkeit, weißes Vorherrschaftsdenken, Patriarchat, Militarismus und Heteronormativität. Die derzeitge Politik benachteiligt aus ihrer Sicht traditionelle Familienwerte, die Mittelschicht und Heterosexuelle. Christliche Nationalist*innen glauben an ihre göttliche Berufung (Whitehead & Perry, 2020), die auch Gewalt rechtfertigt (Whitehead, 2021). So sahen sich die Kapitol-Eindringlinge als Vollstrecker des göttlichen Willens: In der Kammer des US-Senats knieten einige nieder zum Gebet (Manseau, 2021). Sie meinten, Gott habe sie ermächtigt, die Führung der amerikanischen Nation den gottlosen Machthabern zu entreißen und wahren Patrioten und Patriotinnen anzuvertrauen, die bereit sein müssten, Blut zu vergießen für Gott und für das Land (S. L. Perry in: Edsall, 2021).

Nach Umfragen sehen weiße Evangelikale sich nicht als Rassist*innen, aber den christlichen Nationalist*innen geht es vor allem um das weiße Amerika; sie verfolgen eine weiße Identitätspolitik, so Paul D. Miller (Edsall, 2021). „In der Geschichte Amerikas hat das Christentum lange als Deckmantel gedient für eine rassistisch politische Agenda", formuliert Robert Jones, Autor und Gründer eines gemeinnützigen Umfrageinstituts. „Die Normen der White Supremacy haben die weiße christliche Identität tief infiltriert und wirken unterhalb der Bewusstseinsschwelle, so unauflöslich sind sie in die Gene der amerikanischen Christenheit eingebettet" (Edsall, 2021).

Ein Hauptgrund für die Grenzverwischung zwischen der christlichen Rechten und den Ultrarechten ist das gemeinsame Narrativ über die Geschichte Amerikas und deren göttliche Sendung. Philip Gorski, Professor für Soziologie und Religionswissenschaft an der Yale University sieht es so:

> Amerika wurde von weißen (evangelikalen) Christen als christliche Nation gegründet. Weiße Christen brachten dem Land Macht und Wohlstand. Die Gesetze der Nation und die Gründungsdokumente beruhten auf christlichen Prinzipien [...] oder wurden direkt von Gott selbst inspiriert. Amerikas Macht und Wohlstand beruhen auf seiner Frömmigkeit und seinem Gehorsam. Und dem Land wurde eine Mission anvertraut – der Auftrag, dem Rest der Welt Freiheit, Wohlstand oder Kapitalismus zu bringen, wenn nötig mit Gewalt. Diese Mission ist

> gefährdet durch die wachsende Anzahl Nicht-Weißer und Nicht-Christen und Nicht-Amerikanern auf amerikanischem Boden. Das heißt, dass weiße Christen Amerika wieder zurückgewinnen müssen, wenn Amerika wieder groß werden soll. (Orson, 2021)

Weiße Evangelikale sehen diejenigen, die eine diverse Bevölkerung als Bereicherung betrachten als feindlich Gesinnte ihrer Vorstellung von Amerika: „Globalisten und Sozialisten" (S. L. Perry in: Edsall, 2021), darunter die Demokratische Partei und liberale Richter*innen. Obwohl Präsident Joe Biden praktizierender gläubiger Katholik ist, ist Franklin Graham, der prominente Pastor und Chef der christlichen Hilfsorganisation Samaritan's Purse davon überzeugt, dass die Demokrat*innen dem christlichen Glauben ablehnend gegenüberstehen. Im Herbst 2020 hatte er für den Fall einer Wahlniederlage Trumps prophezeit: „Ich glaube, dass der Sturm kommt. Das Christentum wird bekämpft werden; man wird Kirchen schließen; Menschen des Glaubens werden von Hass verfolgt werden." Graham sieht in Trump den Messias: „Gott hat ihn in dieses Amt gestellt, damit er die westliche Kultur so wie wir sie kennen verteidigt" (Manseau, 2021). Aus seiner Sicht verteidigt Trump die Christ*innen gegen die Säkularisten (Farley, 2021). Am Morgen der Kapitol-Erstürmung richtete Graham sich auf Facebook an seine zehn Millionen Follower: „Ich glaube, dass Gottes Gericht bevorsteht, denn die Sünden unserer Nation sind groß und sind ein Gestank in der Nase unseres Schöpfers" („I believe God's judgment is coming, for the sins of our nation are great and they are a stench in the nostrils of our Creator"; Manseau, 2021).

Der Bestsellerautor und Trump-Anhänger Eric Metaxas sieht Amerikas Christ*innen in einer kosmischen Schlacht zwischen Gut und Böse. Bereits im November 2020 versprach er Trump in seiner Radio-Show: „Ich wäre glücklich, in diesem Kampf zu sterben […] Es geht um alles. Gott ist mit uns!" Bis heute glaubt er an Wahlbetrug (Green, 2021). Trumps geistliche Beraterin, die Predigerin Paula White sah nach der Wahl „dämonische Pläne und Bündnisse" zugunsten Bidens am Werk. Auf einem Gebetsmarathon in Orlando, Florida, rief sie vor hunderten Gläubigen den Allmächtigen an: „Gib, dass wir jeden gegen dich gerichteten Feind zu Boden schlagen und schlagen […] [and strike, and strike, and strike […]]. Du wirst uns den Sieg geben" (YouTube, 2020).

Der Evangelikalimus mit seiner christlichen Rechten, die sich in den 1970er Jahren als ihr politischer Arm formierte, hat zu dieser Entwicklung beigetragen. Zu lange, so der Soziologe Andrew Whitehead, habe die weiße evangelikale Bewegung den ultrarechten Extremismus toleriert und ihm die politischen und theologischen Fundamente geliefert und der Anarchie freien Lauf gelassen (Dias & Graham, 2021). So lieferte er dem christlichen Nationalismus die biblische Sprache mit dem kosmischen Bedrohungsszenario, die er zur Mobilisierung brauchte und beförderte, dass weiße evangelikale Christ*innen diese Ideologie mit dem christlichen Glauben verwechselten. So konnte Donald Trump ernten, was die christliche Rechte säte.

Die Tradition des Evangelikalismus

Wie viele Evangelikale es in den USA gibt, lässt sich nur ungefähr durch Meinungsumfragen ermitteln. Danach bezeichnen sich rund 25% der US-Bevölkerung als „born again/evangelical" (Pew Research Center, 2019), d. h. etwa 82 von 328 Millionen. Damit stellen die Evangelikalen die größte religiöse Gruppierung Amerikas (Gerson, 2018).

Evangelikale versammeln sich in unterschiedlichen religiösen Gemeinschaften - von völlig autonomen Ortsgemeinden bis hin zu Megakirchen mit wöchentlich über 40.000 Besucher*innen, die sich sämtlich über Spenden finanzieren. Viele Evangelikale fühlen sich mit unabhängigen Fernseh- oder Radiopredigern wie Eric Metaxas, Jimmy Swaggart, Joyce Meyer, Beth Moore oder den Wohlstandspredigern Creflo Dollar und Paula White verbunden.

Es gibt keinen nationalen Dachverband, sondern in allen protestantischen Denominationen – darunter Mennoniten, Holiness Gruppen, Pfingstkirchen, die Dutch Reformed Church und Baptisten – gibt es Gläubige, die sich als „evangelical" oder „born again", bezeichnen. Der Evangelikalismus hat eine „interdenominationelle Dimension", wie der Soziologe Jean-Paul Willaime schreibt (Huber & Stolz, 2017). Eine Ausnahme bildet die mächtige und einflussreiche Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), die größte protestantische Konfession der USA mit 14 Millionen Mitgliedern und rund 47.600 Ortsgemeinden (2020), die dogmatisch ganz evangelikal ausgerichtet ist (vgl. die Baptist Faith & Message 2000). Ansonsten ist der Evangelikalismus eine Bewegung mit unscharfen Rändern und fließenden Übergängen zum Mainstream-Protestantismus und selbst zum Katholizismus und zur Orthodoxie, wenn man sich Phänomene wie den Evangelical Catholicism vor Augen führt, so Michael Hochgeschwender (2017).

Die evangelikalen Strömungen und Gruppen haben trotz einiger theologischer Unterschiede eine breite Basis deckungsgleicher Überzeugungen. Sie sind Teil des reformatorischen Protestantismus, ihre Glaubensinhalte umfassen den protestantischen Glaubenskonsens. Jean-Paul Willaime beschreibt den Evangelikalismus als „Konversionschristentum" und hebt fünf Punkte hervor:

1. Den Glauben an die göttliche Inspiration der heiligen Schriften zur Legitimierung der mehr oder weniger ‚direkten' Auslegung des Bibeltextes;
2. den aus der individuellen Bekehrung hervorgehenden persönlichen Glauben;
3. die zentrale Stellung von Jesus Christus im Leben der Gläubigen;
4. die starke Betonung der Evangelisierung oder Mission;
5. die interkonfessionelle Dimension (Huber & Stolz, 2017, S. 275–276).

Speziell für den US-Evangelikalismus ist als weiterer Punkt zu ergänzen:

6. der Glaube an die in naher Zukunft bevorstehende Wiederkunft Jesu Christi in der Form des Prämillennialismus, weil dieser dem christlichen Nationalismus als Anknüpfungspunkte dient.

Zu den konservativeren Abstufungen gehört der Fundamentalismus, der aus zwei Gründen Aufmerksamkeit verdient: zum einen finden sich z. B. in der „Baptist Faith & Message 2000", den Glaubensgrundsätzen der Southern Baptist Convention, zahlreiche fundamentalistische Positionen, zum anderen bezieht der christliche Nationalismus seine theologischen Fundamente und endzeitliche Sprache vom fundamentalistischen Evangelikalismus. Aus dieser Nähe ergibt sich eine höhere Anfälligkeit fundamentalistischer Evangelikaler für den christlichen Nationalismus, der fundamentalistische Haltungen für seine Ideologie adaptiert. Kriterium ist hier das Ausmaß der Absolutheit, mit dem der Biblizismus, der Glaube an die Irrtumslosigkeit und göttliche Inspiration der Heiligen Schrift und ihre „direkte" bzw. „wortwörtliche" Auslegung vertreten werden, die für die persönliche Lebensgestaltung wenig eigenen Ermessensspielraum lassen. Zu beobachten sind:

- theologische Intoleranz: u. a. der Absolutheitsanspruch im Blick auf die richtige Interpretation der Bibel sowie eine angemaßte Deutungshoheit über die Qualität und Echtheit des Glaubens Andersdenkender;
- der wissenschaftliche Anti-Modernismus, u. a. die Historizität und Irrtumsfreiheit der Bibel, auch bezüglich der Schöpfung und der Wunder;
- der sexualethische Anti-Modernismus
- mit einem vormodernen traditionellen Familien- und Gesellschaftsbild: Ablehnung der Gleichberechtigung der Frau und konservatives Rollenverständnis vom Mann als Haupt der Familie und der Unterordnung von Ehefrau und Kindern;
- mit einer vormodernen Sexualethik: Sexualität ist ausschließlich der Ehe vorbehalten, von Jugendlichen wird absolute Enthaltsamkeit erwartet – mit Keuschheitsringen oder schriftlichen Keuschheitsversprechen;
- mit der Ablehnung der Abtreibung und dem Kampf dagegen auf allen gesellschaftlichen Ebenen;
- mit der Ablehnung von Homosexualität und LGBTQ-Lebensformen generell bei gleichzeitiger Befürwortung von sogenannten Konversionstherapien;
- apokalyptische Weltsicht, in der die Gegenwart als anbrechende Endzeit und aktuelle Ereignisse als Zeichen der unmittelbar bevorstehenden Wiederkunft Christi gedeutet werden.

Der Zorn der Kapitolerstürmer*innen über die Machthabenden in Washington, ist nicht zu verstehen ohne die kulturelle Entwicklung des evangelikalen Autonomieverständnisses, dass selbstverständlich von der örtlichen Kirchengemeinde auf die politischen Angelegenheiten ihrer Dörfer und Kleinstädte übertragen wurde. Es hat sich verbunden mit einer grundlegenden Skepsis gegenüber allen großen staatlichen oder religiösen Institutionen, so dass auch die nationale Gesetzgebung aus Washington oder höchstrichterlicher Rechtsprechung wie im Fall von Abtreibung und Homosexuellen-Rechten schnell als Eingriff in das Recht auf Selbstverwaltung und Religionsfreiheit empfunden werden.

Wurzeln des Evangelikalismus

Die Wurzeln des Evangelikalismus reichen zum kontinentaleuropäischen Pietismus des 17. Jahrhunderts zurück. Dieser löste bis ins 19. Jahrhundert verschiedene Erweckungsbewegungen aus, die sich wellenartig verbreiteten und ganze Landstriche und Länder erfassten. Er inspirierte die „Evangelical Revivals“ im England des 18. Jahrhunderts, die ihrerseits die Great Awakenings in Amerika beeinflussten: die Erweckungsbewegung in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts und das Second Great Awakening vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis ca. 1840 sowie eine dritte Welle in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Für jene Bewegungen wurde der Begriff „evangelical“ erstmals gebraucht. Der evangelikale Glaube von der Notwendigkeit der Bekehrung für die Rettung des Menschen und seine Beziehung zu Gott hat hier seinen Ursprung.

Erweckungsversammlungen fanden oft im Freien auf öffentlichen, frei zugänglichen Plätzen statt und zogen Tausende an. Im Mittelpunkt standen anschauliche biblische Predigten mit dem Aufruf zur persönlichen Bekehrung, zur Erneuerung des Glaubens und zur Heiligung, d. h. zur Änderung der persönlichen Lebensführung. Eingeleitet wurde diese Umkehr häufig mit subjektiven Bekehrungserlebnissen Einzelner, die sich von Gott unmittelbar ergriffen fühlten, was oft zu einer radikalen Kehrtwende im Leben führte.

Etablierte Kirchenstrukturen gab es vorwiegend in den zur Union gehörenden Bundesstaaten im östlichen Teil der USA. Noch in den 1840er Jahren gehörten die ausgedehnten Gebiete vom Mittleren Westen bis nach Kalifornien zu den dünn besiedelten „territories“ oder wurden als „frontiers“ ohne staatliche Strukturen bezeichnet. In diesen Grenzgebieten predigten vor allem reisende Wanderprediger, die als theologische Laien eine einfache, volksnahe Religion verkündeten und damit einen anti-intellektuellen – oder bildungsfeindlichen – Strang in den Evangelikalismus einführten (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 4). Im Kielwasser ihrer Erweckungsversammlungen entstanden kleine lokale selbstverwaltete protestantischen Gemeinden, oft als einzige soziale Ordnungsmacht. Hier entstand ein bis heute fortwirkendes Autonomieverständnis der Region gegenüber bundesstaatlichen Regulierungen.

Die Awakenings hatten Auswirkungen auf alle protestantischen Denominationen und lösten einen enormen Reformeifer aus. Man baute Asylheime, Schulen für Hörgeschädigte und geistig Behinderte, Tuberkulosen-Krankenhäuser, reformierten das Straf-/Gefängniswesen und organisierten eine Fülle weiterer Sozialprogramme. Allein in Philadelphia engagierten sich 5.000 Freiwillige aus Kirchen und sozialen Organisationen (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 45).

Das Hauptaugenmerk galt der Abschaffung der Sklaverei, für die sich besonders der Pfarrer und Erweckungsprediger Charles Finney einsetzte. Die Südstaaten freilich widersetzten sich der Abschaffung der Sklaverei, was zur ersten Spaltung im amerikanischen Protestantismus führte. 1845 trennten sich die Baptisten der Südstaaten von denen des Nordens und organisierten sich fortan in der Southern Baptist Convention.

Kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Umbrüche 1860 bis 1920

Die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, das sogenannte „Evangelical Empire“, war eine Periode protestantischer Vorherrschaft in allen kulturellen Institutionen wie öffentlichen Schulen und Universitäten. Universitäten wie Harvard in Cambridge, Princeton und Yale waren protestantische Grün-

dungen. Trotzdem war dies kein goldenes Zeitalter, denn neue Erkenntnisse und Entwicklungen führten zu einer weiteren Spaltung der Protestant*innen, die bis heute fortwirkt.

Industrialisierung und Urbanisierung lösten in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft einen enormen Transformationsprozess aus. Waren die USA gegen 1860 noch überwiegend ein Agrarland, lebten um 1920 mehr als die Hälfte aller Amerikaner*innen in Städten. Großunternehmer wie Carnegie, Rockefeller und Vanderbilt verdienten unerhörte Geldsummen, während Millionen ihrer Arbeiter*innen, darunter viele Frauen und Kinder, sechzig bis siebzig Stunden in der Woche für Mindestlöhne arbeiteten. Große Einwanderungswellen führten zu einem Anstieg der Ausländerfeindlichkeit in den Metropolen. Das Zusammenspiel dieser Prozesse beschleunigte die Säkularisierung der amerikanischen Kultur, die sich nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg fortsetzte. Ansteigende Kriminalitäts- und Scheidungsraten und ein Abnehmen der Sonntagsheiligung deuteten auf den schwindenden Einfluss des Christentums hin. Konservative Christ*innen bangten um die Zukunft Amerikas und der Kirchen.

Die Frage, wie auf diesen vielfältigen Wandel zu reagieren sei, spaltete den amerikanischen Protestantismus auf Dauer in Modernisten/Liberale und Konservative. Die Modernisten/Liberalen vertraten ein soziales Evangelium und soziale Gerechtigkeit. Sie setzten sich für Strukturreformen im Konflikt der Arbeiter*innen mit dem Kapital ein. Die traditionalistischen Fundamentalen dagegen meinten, soziale und politische Fragen gehörten nicht zu den Aufgaben der Kirche, der Glaube bzw. die Lehre allein sollten Kirche und Welt reformieren (Longfield, 2000, S. 39). Das Zerwürfnis zwischen den sozialen Lagern werde durch die Bekehrung des Individuums und das Gebet, geheilt (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 4).

In der Theologie tat sich jedoch der größte Graben auf. Neue Erkenntnisse wie Darwins Evolutionslehre forderten die Autorität der Bibel heraus. Das wissenschaftliche Denken zog auch in die Bibelforschung ein. Die aus Deutschland stammende historisch-kritische Methode der biblischen Exegese stellte die Zuverlässigkeit und Historizität der Bibel in Frage. Die Liberalen integrierten die Evolutionslehre und die historisch-kritische Methode in ihre Theologie. Für sie ging es in erster Linie um das Reich Gottes, das sie durch Sozialreformen fördern wollten. Dafür sei die Freiheit der Lehre entscheidend.

Die Entstehung des Fundamentalismus

Dagegen waren für Konservative sowohl die Evolutionslehre wie die historisch-kritische Methode inakzeptabel und galten als Angriff auf die Zuverlässigkeit und Historizität der Schrift, das ultimative Fundament protestantischer Autorität. Die Entstehung des Begriffs „Fundamentalismus“ geht auf eine Schriftenreihe des konservativen Protestantismus zurück: „The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth“, veröffentlicht von 1910 bis 1915. Darin ging es um die wissenschaftliche Widerlegung der liberalen Theologie. Die Irrtumslosigkeit der Schrift, Jungfrauengeburt, das stellvertretende Sühneopfer Christi, seine leibliche Auferstehung und Wiederkunft sowie die Historizität der Wunderberichte wurden zu Fundamenten des Glaubens erklärt und dienten fortan als Handhabe zur Überprüfung derjenigen, die Pfarrämter anstrebten. Aus konservativer Sicht stand mehr auf dem Spiel als die Theologie: Amerika und die Kirche könnte nur gerettet werden, wenn die Bibel die unfehlbare Richtschnur von Glauben und Leben wäre. Die liberale Theologie wurde für die Säkularisierung der Nation und den moralischen Verfall verantwortlich gemacht (Longfield, 2000, S. 38). In der Folge strengten Konservative eine Reihe von – innerkirchlichen – Häresie-Prozessen an und entließen Andersdenkende. Ziel war auch die Aufrechterhaltung ihres Einflusses über protestantische Seminare und andere Ausbildungsstätten. Jedoch schlugen diese Versuche fehl (Gerson, 2018).

Dieses Zerwürfnis entwickelte sich nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg zum Fundamentalisten-Modernisten-Konflikt mit Auswirkungen auf alle protestantischen Denominationen (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 5). Einer der Höhepunkte war der Scopes-Affenprozess in Dayton, Tennessee im Jahr 1925. Der Lehrer John Scopes hatte trotz eines gesetzlichen Verbotes Darwins Evolutionstheorie im Unterricht be-

handelt. Der Prozess wurde zu einem landesweiten Spektakel mit 150 Reporter*innen, die inmitten einer Jahrmarktsatmosphäre der Nation fortlaufend Bericht erstatteten. Für die Fundamentalen endete er in einem Fiasko, obwohl sie formal obsiegten. Fortan war ihr Image das einer bäuerlich-rückwärtsgewandten Bewegung mit einer engstirnigen und reaktionären Sichtweise. Die Unnachgiebigkeit der Fundamentalisten führte in den 1930er Jahre zur Abkoppelung vom kulturellen Mainstream und zum Verlust ihres Einflusses auf protestantische Seminare und Ausbildungsstätten.

In diesem verhängnisvollen Konflikt deutete sich die heute vollends aufgebrochene Spaltung der Nation an: zwischen einem liberalen Gesellschaftsentwurf mit individueller Freiheit und Selbstverwirklichung und einem Culture War der konservativen Christ*innen um die christliche Seele Amerikas und den Fortbestand der Nation, den nur der christliche Glaube sicherstellen könne – bzw. die fundamentalistische Version des Christentums (Stewart, 2020).

Die Entstehung des modernen Evangelikalismus ab 1940

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg erlebte die Religion einen Aufschwung und die Amerikaner*innen strömten in die Kirchen und Synagogen. Prägend für diese Zeit war der aus dem fundamentalistischen Lager stammende baptistische Pastor und Erweckungsprediger Billy Graham. Seinem Einsatz ist es zuzuschreiben, dass der Evangelikalismus weltweit als Bewegung und Domination wahrgenommen wurde. Graham und seine Mitstreiter*innen wollten den Fundamentalismus aus seiner Bedeutungslosigkeit führen und versuchten einen Neuanfang mit der alten Bezeichnung „evangelikal". Diese sollte für alle „wiedergeborenen" (born again) konservativen Protestant*innen stehen (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 5; Gerson 2018).

Die endgültige Institutionalisierung und Etablierung des „Evangelikalismus" als eigener Denomination neben dem Mainstream-Protestantismus geschah 1942 mit der Gründung der National Association of Evangelicals (NAE). Seither wirkt sie als politische Lobby-Organisation mit Sitz in Washington, wo sie als gemäßigte evangelikale Stimme die Interessen ihrer Mitglieder vertritt (National Association of Evangelicals, History).

Die Southern Baptists werden zum „amerikanischen Christentum"

Den Southern Baptists, der Denomination Billy Grahams, kommt im heutigen amerikanischen Evangelikalismus eine führende Rolle zu. Das liegt nicht zuletzt an ihrer Größe (Baptist Press, 2021). Aufgrund ihrer Geschichte ist sie eine der fundamentalistischsten Religionsgruppen, sichtbar an ihren Glaubensgrundsätzen „Baptist Faith & Message 2000".

Die SBC war 1845 als Kirche der Sklavenhalter entstanden, nach dem Bruch mit den Northern Baptists. Bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg war sie das Bollwerk des Südens gegen sozialen Wandel. Sie war die Verfechterin regionaler Unabhängigkeit gegen die Bundesgesetzgebung aus Washington, die Verteidigerin weißer Vorherrschaft und der Überlegenheit der Weißen sowie der bestehenden sozioökonomischen Ordnung. In den Dörfern regierte die Kirche als oberster Richter von Moral, sozialer Ordnung und der Wahrheit des Evangeliums. Die Kirche hatte ein ausgefeiltes System der biblischen Rechtfertigung der Sklaverei entwickelt (Luo, 2020). Auf diesem Fundament beschlossen sämtliche Südstaaten Jim-Crow-Gesetze, die die Rassentrennung detailliert für alle Lebensbereiche normierten und Verstöße mit schwersten Strafen belegten (Bringing History Home, 2005). Für viele Southern Baptists galt die Minderwertigkeit der Schwarzen als erwiesen und die Rassentrennung als göttlicher Plan für die Menschheit. Sie sahen darin keinen Widerspruch zum Christentum und glaubten noch um 1960, diese Theologie sei fest im Evangelium verankert.

Als der Süden nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg aus seiner Isolation auftauchte, wurde die Ausbreitung der Industrie aus dem Norden, Autobahnen und Bundesgesetzgebung als Schock für das System empfunden. Gleichzeitig wuchs die landesweite Macht der SBC, da Baptisten aus dem Süden als

Arbeitsmigrant*innen in den Mittleren Westen und nach Kalifornien zogen. Dort gründeten sie mit Unterstützung der SBC eigene Kirchen. Heute gibt es in jedem US-Bundesstaat Gemeinden der Southern Baptists, was der SBC in Washington Gewicht verleiht (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 7, S. 232). Verhängnisvoll ist, dass der für Rassendiskriminierung blinde Evangelikalismus der Südstaaten damit landesweite Verbreitung fand. Er wurde zur vorherrschenden Ausprägung des amerikanischen Christentums und brachte als Hypothek sein kulturelles Gerüst der weißen Vorherrschaft mit (Luo, 2020), an das der christliche Nationalismus in den 2000er Jahren mühelos anknüpfen konnte.

1954 erklärte der Oberste Gerichtshof die Rassentrennung an staatlichen Schulen für verfassungswidrig. Der Süden war schockiert, da es um die Abschaffung der Jim-Crow-Gesetze ging. Die Weißen in den Südstaaten fühlten sich sowohl politisch wie religiös in ihren Rechten verletzt (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 7). 1956 verfassten 96 Politiker aus den Südstaaten das Southern Manifesto-Protestschreiben und erklärten, die Rassentrennung sei untrennbar verbunden mit der Lebensweise und kulturellen Identität des Südens. Damit war klar: die vom baptistischen Imperium verteidigte Lebensweise war gleich-bedeutend mit weißer Hautfarbe, Baptismus und Militarismus, was bedeutete: Auch der Evangelikalismus des Südens war untrennbar mit dem Rassismus verwoben (Phillips, 2017, S. 3–4).

Die Entstehung der christlichen Rechten

Nach den 1950er Jahren, die von wachsendem Wohlstand und bürgerlichem Konsens geprägt waren, kam es in den USA wie in der gesamten westlichen Welt zu einer liberalen Wende. Die Bürgerrechtsbewegung mit Martin Luther King nahm an Fahrt auf, die junge Generation rebellierte gegen den Vietnamkrieg und definierte neue Werte: Individualismus, Selbstbestimmung (auch für Frauen und Schwarze) und die Suche persönlicher Erfüllung. Sie gründeten Kommunen, experimentierten mit Drogen, mit freier Liebe und Verhütungsmitteln. In der Folge verabschiedete Washington Anti-Diskriminierungs- und Antirassismusgesetze: 1962 erklärte der Oberste Gerichtshof das Schulgebet an öffentlichen Schulen wegen der Trennung von Staat und Kirche für verfassungswidrig, 1964 kam es zur endgültigen Aufhebung der Rassentrennung und 1973 legalisierte der Oberste Gerichtshof im Grundsatzurteil Roe gegen Wade die Abtreibung.

All das erschütterte aus der Sicht vieler konservativer Protestant*innen die Grundlagen der amerikanischen Gesellschaft. Bis heute kämpfen sie um das Schulgebet, gegen die Abtreibung und um Einfluss auf Schulbücher und christliche Lehrinhalte. Auf eine rasche Rückkehr zu bewährten (Südstaaten-)Verhältnissen hofften die konservativen Christ*innen, als 1976 mit dem Demokraten Jimmy Carter der erste „born again" Southern Baptist ins Weiße Haus einzog. Zum ersten Mal befanden sie sich in einer „Position von Respekt und Macht" (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 289). Allerdings machte sich bald Enttäuschung breit. Carter repräsentierte den liberalen Flügel der Baptisten und setzte die Politik der Rassengleichheit und sozialen Chancengleichheit fort. Bei der nächsten Wahl stimmte der Süden in einem epochalen parteipolitischen Bruch für den Republikaner Ronald Reagan, obwohl die Demokratische Partei seit dem Bürgerkrieg die Stammpartei der Südstaaten gewesen war. Politologen nennen diesen Wechsel „The Great White Switch".

Maßgeblicher Architekt des Wechsels war der unabhängige Baptistenpastor Jerry Falwell aus Lynchburg, Virginia. 1979 gründete er die Moral Majority, die schnell zur größten politischen Organisation der christlichen Rechten wurde. Er verstand es, auf landesweiten Kundgebungen die Ängste und Befürchtungen evangelikaler Christ*innen in eine politische Agenda zu verwandeln. Verantwortlich für die „moralische Entartung" der Nation und die Bedrohung der Familie seien die Sexualerziehung, Schulbücher im Geiste des „säkularen Humanismus", die Gleichberechtigung der Frau, der Feminismus, die Legalisierung der Abtreibung, Homosexualität, Pornografie, Drogen und Fernseh-Seifenopern und die Abschaffung des Schulgebets an öffentlichen Schulen (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 294, 306).

Es war Falwell, der die apokalyptische Sprache vom bevorstehenden Gericht Gottes und die Vermischung vom Reich Gottes mit der amerikanischen Nation einführte: Die Christ*innen stünden in einem Kampf mit dem „säkularen Humanismus“, dessen Ziel die Zerstörung des Landes sei. Das Volk habe den Weg des Verderbens gewählt, gefährde so den Bund mit Gott und fordere sein Gericht über die Nation heraus. Käme es jedoch zu einer spirituellen Erweckung, in der das Volk Buße tue und umkehre, könne Gottes Zorn aufgehalten werden. Falwell beschwor das Gefühl ständiger Bedrohung. Er beschwor ein apokalyptisches Weltbild vom Kampf zwischen Licht und Finsternis, das bis heute den Grundton aller evangelikalen Politik bestimmt und die Brücke zum christlichen Nationalismus bildet (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 307).

Wie sehr die Moral Majority den Nerv konservativer weißer Christ*innen traf, beweist ihr Wachstum: Im Herbst 1980 hatte sie nach eigenen Angaben Ortsverbände in 47 US-Bundesstaaten und vier Millionen Wähler*innen registriert (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 294). Falwell trat im Fernsehen auf und wurde von republikanischen Kandidierenden umworben. Ronald Regan, der Präsidentschaftskandidat der Republikaner, entdeckte die weißen konservativen Christ*innen als Mehrheitsbeschaffer und versprach, sich ihrer Interessen anzunehmen, so dass sich Falwell mit der Moral Majority im Präsidentschaftswahlkampf 1980 hinter ihn stellte. Die Organisation schaltete für Reagan Wahlkampfanzeigen im Wert 10 Millionen Dollar (Jones, 2016, Kap. 3) und trug so wesentlich zu Reagans Wahlsieg bei. Eine zuvor randständige religiöse Gruppe war landesweit zu einer bedeutenden politischen Kraft geworden.

Die christliche Rechte und die Republikanische Partei

Dies war der Auftakt zu einer wachsenden Symbiose der christlichen Rechten mit der Republikanischen Partei. Den Platz der aufgelösten Moral Majority nahm die 1989 von Pat Robertson gegründete Christian Coalition ein, die ebenfalls schnell wuchs. Bis zu den Präsidentschaftswahlen im Jahr 1992 belief sich ihr Budget auf 8,5 Millionen Dollar, die Koalition hatte Ortsverbände in 50 Bundestaaten und bildete ihre Mitglieder für den Wahlkampf vor Ort aus (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 420). Während der Präsidentschaft Bill Clintons (1993-2001) wurde die Christian Coalition als größte und politisch wirkungsvollste Organisation der christlichen Rechten für republikanische Politiker*innen endgültig unverzichtbar. Ihre Mitglieder waren in den republikanischen Parteiapparat integriert und beherrschten diesen in 18 Bundesstaaten. Dieser Trend setzte sich 2001 fort unter dem Republikaner George W. Bush, ebenfalls ein „born again“ Christ, der ihnen Zugang zum Weißen Haus verschaffte und ihre Initiativen unterstütze.

Die Symbiose mit der christlichen Rechten machte die Republikaner abhängig von den Evangelikalen und umgekehrt. Für den Großteil des evangelikalen Milieus ist die Wahl eines Präsidenten der Demokratischen Partei emotional unmöglich geworden, selbst wenn ein Kandidat wie Donald Trump in moralischer und charakterlicher Hinsicht das Gegenteil aller evangelikalen moralischen Werte verkörpert.

Demographischer Wandel und Säkularisierung

Der Niedergang der christlichen Rechten begann mit einer Gegenbewegung im Kongress und in der Öffentlichkeit wegen ihrer engen Verbindung zu George W. Bush, der zunehmend an Popularität verlor. In der amerikanischen Öffentlichkeit wurde Evangelikalismus mit der christlichen Rechten gleichgesetzt und unter Evangelikalen wuchs die Sorge, ausschließlich als Teil der Republikanischen Partei wahrgenommen zu werden.

Um 2005 distanzierten sich viele führende Pastoren der „neuen Evangelikalen“ von der christlichen Rechten und kritisierten deren Machtstreben, die Vermischung von Religion und Politik, die Gleichsetzung von Moral mit Sexualmoral und die aggressive Intoleranz. Prominente Pastoren wie Bill Hybels und Rick Warren mit ihren Megakirchen legten neuen Wert auf soziales Engage-

ment als Merkmale echten Christentums. Eine kleine progressive Minderheit hatte schon früher Kritik geübt, darunter Linksevangelikale wie Jim Wallis, Ron Sider und der frühere Präsident Jimmy Carter, die alle seit den 1970er Jahren u. a. mit internationalen Hilfsorganisationen aktiv waren. Sie waren von Rechtskonservativen bisher als Pseudo-Evangelikale übergangen worden.

Die Kritik verhallte ungehört. Um ihren Einfluss zu wahren, ging die christliche Rechte 2012 eine Koalition mit der 2009 gegründeten Tea-Party-Bewegung ein, die zum Sammelbecken rechtsgerichteter Christ*innen geworden war. Für den Parteitag der Republikaner im Jahr 2012 formulierten christliche Rechte und Tea-Party gemeinsam das Parteiprogramm, mit den üblichen Forderungen in Bezug auf Abtreibung und der Begrenzung der Ehe auf Mann und Frau (FitzGerald, 2017, S. 608 f.). Jedoch konnten sie keine konservative Wende einleiten. Im Gegenteil: Die Wiederwahl Barack Obamas mit einem Erdrutschsieg kam 2012 als Schock. Die größte Niederlage fügte ihnen jedoch 2015 das Grundsatzurteil des Obersten Gerichtshofs zu mit der Legalisierung gleichgeschlechtlicher Ehen (Obergefell gegen Hodges) und der Geltung des Urteils für alle 50 Bundesstaaten, eine Entwicklung, die sie seit Jahrzehnten zu verhindern gesucht hatten.

Die christliche Rechte musste sich damit abfinden, dass die Mehrheit der US-Bürger*innen sich weiterentwickelt hatte und Amerika als pluralistische Gesellschaft bejahte. Trotz der überproportionalen Sichtbarkeit der christlichen Rechten nimmt der Anteil der weißen evangelikalen Protestant*innen seit Ende der 1990er Jahre ständig ab. Damals betrug er ca. 25% der Gesamtbevölkerung (rund 70 Millionen), (vgl. United States Population). 2008 waren es 21%, 2014 um 18%, heute 15% (Jones, 2016, 52 Kap. 2). Auch die Southern Baptist Convention verliert seit 2006 jährlich um die 2% ihrer Mitglieder. Ihre Anzahl reduzierte sich von 16,3 auf 14 Millionen 2020 (Smietana, 2021).

Für diese Entwicklung gibt es zwei Gründe: der demographische Wandel und die Abkehr der jüngeren Generation von Religion und kirchlicher Bindung. Nach der Erhebung des Pew Research Instituts stieg die Zahl der Religionslosen zwischen 2009 und 2019 von 17% auf 26%. Während sich 84% der über 75-Jährigen als Christ*innen bezeichnen, folgen 40% der Millennials (die in den 1980er und 1990er Jahren Geborenen) keiner oder einer nicht-christlichen Religion, und selbst der Großteil der christlichen Millennials geht selten zur Kirche (Pew Research Center, 2019). Umfragen ergaben, dass die christlichen Rechte selbst zur Säkularisierung beitrugen: 72% aller Millennials sind der Meinung, dass die Ausgrenzung von Homosexuellen und Lesben junge Menschen abstößt. Sogar junge evangelikale Millennials verlassen ihre Kirche deshalb. 31% der Ausgetretenen gaben als einen der Gründe die abwertende kirchliche Lehre oder Behandlung homosexueller und lesbischer Menschen an (Jones, 2016, Kap. 3&4).

Doch ebenso schwerwiegend ist der anstehende demographische Wandel. Nach Prognosen des US-Zensus wird die ethnische Zusammensetzung der US-Bevölkerung bis 2060 multikultureller: weiße Amerikaner*innen werden nicht mehr die Mehrheit der US-Bevölkerung stellen. Ihr Anteil wird sich bis 2060 von jetzt 61% auf 44% reduzieren, und der Anteil der nicht-weißen Bevölkerung – hispanische, afro-amerikanische, asiatische und andere Personen mit gemischtem ethnischen Hintergrund – wird sich von heute knapp 40% auf 57% im Jahr 2060 erhöhen (Vespa et al., 2018/2020).

Der Weg der Evangelikalen zu Trump und zum christlichen Nationalismus

Gerade das weiße christliche Amerika, das sein Land wieder zu einer christlichen – und weißdominierten – Nation machen will, steht vor einem massiven kulturellen und politischen Bedeutungsverlust. Trotz aller Mühe ist es nicht gelungen, die Säkularisierung und den Kulturwandel der Mehrheit aufzuhalten.

Vier unterschwellige Elemente des weißen US-Evangelikalismus boten Donald Trump Anknüpfungspunkte, diese Wählergruppe zu gewin-

nen, so dass ihm 2016 und 2020 rund 80% ihre Stimme gaben (Smith, 2020). Dazu gehörten der Verfolgungskomplex, die apokalyptische Weltsicht, der Rassismus und der Autoritarismus.

Verfolgungskomplex

„In einem der freiesten Länder der Welt glaubt sich die größte religiöse Denomination der Vereinigten Staaten (die immer noch 25% der Gesamtbevölkerung stellt und die Hälfte der republikanischen Wähler*innen) als eingekesselte und verachtete Minderheit“ schreibt der evangelikale Theologe und Journalist Michael Gerson sinngemäß. „Während sie sich immer verbissener engagierten, fand gleichzeitig ein Entfremdungsprozess statt. In dieser gefühlten Belagerung waren die weißen Evangelikalen äußerst empfänglich für den zornigen Populismus Donald Trumps“ (Gerson, 2018). Trump bestätigte das Bild der bedrängten Minderheit und bot sich als der starke Mann fürs Grobe an. Beschützer des Christentums, so Trump, sei der Job für einen Rüpel (Gerson, 2018). Er war willkommen. Robert Jeffress, einflussreichster Pastor der Southern Baptists sagte: “I want the meanest, toughest SOB I can find to protect this nation. And so that’s why Trump’s tone doesn’t bother me.” – „Ich will den gemeinsten, derbsten Hundesohn, den es gibt, um diese Nation zu schützen. Und ja, aus diesem Grund stört mich Trumps Umgangston nicht“ (Schenck, 2020).

Der Soziologe Philip Gorski schreibt in seinem Buch „Am Scheideweg“:

> Manche Evangelikale vermuten, dass Trump tatsächlich von Gott gesandt ist. Einige wollen in Trump gar eine moderne Reinkarnation von Kyrus dem Großen sehen, dem persischen König, der 538 v. Chr. die Babylonier besiegte und die jüdischen Exilanten aus ihrer Babylonischen Gefangenschaft befreite. Diese (Wahn-)Vorstellung beruht auf dem Gefühl, dass auch sie aus „ihrem“ Heimatland, den Vereinigten Staaten, und „ihrer“ Hauptstadt Washington, D.C., verbannt wurden und dass Gott Trump benützt, um ihnen „ihr“ Land zurückzugeben. (Gorski, 2020, S. 14)

Gorski bezeichnet diesen Trumpismus als säkularen Messianismus (Gorski, 2017). Die Gleichsetzung Trumps mit König Kyros ermöglicht es Evangelikalen, über dessen charakterliche Mängel hinwegzusehen, denn Kyros wurde, obschon „sündhafter“ Heide, trotzdem zum Werkzeug Gottes.

Apokalyptische Weltsicht

Trump traf den Nerv der fundamentalistischen Evangelikalen auch, indem er sich ihrer apokalyptischen Sprache bediente. Wo der Autor Eric Metaxas verkündete „Wir sind dabei, Amerika zu verlieren“ und Franklin Graham erklärte, das Land habe einen moralischen Sprung in die Jauchegrube gemacht, bestätigte Trump: „Das Land geht zur Hölle“, oder „so ein Gemetzel hat die Welt noch nicht gesehen“ (Gerson, 2018). Damit bestärkte Trump die fundamentalistische Sicht, die Endzeit der biblischen Apokalypse sei angebrochen – „und doch ist Christus zu ihrer Enttäuschung bisher nicht wiedergekehrt“ (Gerson, 2018). Dieses religiöse Untergangsszenario ist verantwortlich für die fiebrige Empörung der Trump-Demonstrierenden wegen des angeblichen Wahlbetrugs bei den Präsidentschaftswahlen 2020.

Rassismus

Trump war auf einer Linie mit vielen weißen Evangelikalen, wenn er Amerikaner- bzw. Patriotsein und Weiß-sein gleichsetzte (Phillips, 2017, S. 3). Für manche machte gerade Trumps rassistische Sprache seine Anziehungskraft aus: seine verbale Abwertung mexikanischer Migrant*innen und Muslim*innen sowie seine Unterstützung weißer rechtsradikaler Militaristen, die sie als Christ*innen hätten ablehnen müssen.

Wichtig ist die Feststellung, dass die nicht-weiße Bevölkerung der USA das Narrativ vom Verfall des Landes nicht teilt, wie auch die Wahlergebnisse belegen. Zwar meinen 74% der weißen Evangelikalen, die amerikanische Kultur habe sich seit den 1950er Jahren verschlechtert, jedoch meinen

62% der Afroamerikaner*innen und 57% der hispanischen Amerikaner*innen, die Kultur habe sich verbessert (Phillips, 2017, S. 3). Weiße Amerikaner*innen müssten sich fragen lassen, inwieweit sie das Land zurückführen wollen in die Zeit, in der sie, die weißen konservativen Protestant*innen, an der Macht waren, sagt der Soziologe Samuel L. Perry in der „New York Times" (Edsall, 2021).

Autoritarismus

Weiße Evangelikale befanden sich schon vor Trump in einer Vertrauenskrise zur Demokratie, da sie mit demokratischen Mitteln nicht zum Ziel kamen. Trumps autoritärer Regierungsstil mitsamt der Aushöhlung der demokratischen Institutionen geschah nicht gegen, sondern mit ihrer Billigung. Dazu sagte der Soziologe Gerardo Marti in der „New York Times" sinngemäß:

> Noch bis vor kurzen glaubten die Evangelikalen an persönliche Bekehrung, Buße und spirituelle Erneuerung als Mittel gesellschaftlicher Veränderung: Die Veränderung vieler Einzelpersonen würde zu einem umfassenden gesellschaftlichen Wandel und Amerika zurück zu Gott führen. Nun, angesichts aller vergeblichen Anstrengungen, glauben sie nicht mehr, dass persönliche Überzeugungsarbeit zum Ziel führt. [...] Ihre Absicht ist nun die autoritäre Durchsetzung ihrer Ziele und Regeln durch ihre Amtsträger, demokratisch oder auch nicht demokratisch legitimierte. [...] Erst wenn evangelikale Überzeugungen Gesetzeskraft erlangen, ist ihr Ziel erreicht. (Edsall, 2021)

Trump „belohnte" die Evangelikalen für ihre Wahlunterstützung mit einem ungeheuren Machtzuwachs. 2016 berief er über zwanzig namhafte evangelikale Pastor*innen, Fernsehprediger*innen, Autor*innen und Funktionär*innen in sein „evangelical advisory board" (Banks, 2017). Diese hatten direkten Zugang zum Oval Office und man darf annehmen, dass sie ihren Einfluss besonders bei der Berufung der drei konservativen Richter*innen für den Obersten Gerichtshof durch Trump geltend gemacht haben. Aus ihrer Sicht hatte Donald Trump geliefert, was er den weißen Evangelikalen versprochen hatte, so dass der Machtverlust nach der verlorenen Präsidentschaftswahl 2020 kaum akzeptabel schien und sie sich der Realität wie in einer kognitiven Dissoziation verweigerten.

Fazit

Der Sturm aufs Kapitol zeigt die historische Verschmelzung von christlichem Nationalismus und Evangelikalismus besonders deutlich auf. Anlass zur Sorge gibt der Vertrauensverlust vieler Evangelikaler in die Demokratie. Sie zeigen sich offen für einen starken Führer – Trump oder einen Nachfolger – der ggf. mit Gewalt die demokratischen Institutionen aushöhlt für einen „guten Zweck": die Rückkehr des Landes zum traditionellen Christentum sowie zur weißen Vorherrschaft.

Anlass zur Hoffnung gibt, dass sich eine große Zahl namhafter Evangelikaler, darunter auch Trump-Unterstützer*innen, von den Ausschreitungen am Kapitol distanziert haben (Olmstead, 2021); andere wie Eric Metaxas und Franklin Graham bleiben jedoch bei ihren Verschwörungstheorien.

Problematisch ist die Blindheit des Evangelikalismus gegenüber seinem eigenen Rassismus und strukturellen Ungleichheiten und sein Abgleiten in eine politische Religion. Weiße Evangelikale müssen ihre rassistische Vergangenheit aufarbeiten und in einen demütigen Dialog auf Augenhöhe mit Afroamerikaner*innen treten, so Russell Moore als Präsident der Ethik-Kommission ERLC der Southern Baptist Convention (Phillips, 2017, S. 1), die er jedoch im Mai 2021 verließ. Theologisch müssen evangelikale in Führungspostionen eine deutliche Abgrenzung des Evangelikalismus vom christlichen Nationalismus vornehmen und der Zwei-Reiche-Lehre Martin Luthers wieder Geltung verschaffen. Ein Anfang ist gemacht: Al Mohler, der führende Theologe der Southern Baptists, nannte den christlichen Nationalismus eine verzerrte Theologie und götzendienerische Verschmelzung von Nation und Evangelium. Nationen würden ver-

gehen, nur die Kirche hätte die Verheißung zu überdauern, die wahre Heimat der Christen sei der Himmel.

International ist der Schaden für den Ruf des Evangelikalismus nicht absehbar. Eine Evangelisationstour Franklin Grahams in Großbritannien wurde 2020 abgesagt wegen Grahams homophoben und islamophoben Äußerungen (Picheta, 2020). Es deutet sich an, dass Persönlichkeiten wie Graham in Europa zu sehr polarisieren.

Jedoch gibt es Hoffnung, sollten amerikanische Evangelikale zurückkehren zu ihrer eigentlichen Leidenschaft und Berufung: der Mission und Evangelisation. Amerika könnte wieder erleben, was es in der Vergangenheit groß gemacht hat: dass die Glaubensentscheidung Einzelner auch zur Umkehr der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse führen kann.

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Teaching Current Crises: Designing Task-based Online Lessons on U.S. Structural Racism with the Help of Educational Web Tools

Sandra Stadler-Heer

This article explores the foreign language learning potentials that selected digital tools hold with respect to teaching about U.S. structural racism. Teaching complex topics like structural racism in online learning environments requires highly competent foreign language teachers and high-quality online learning materials. These demands and resulting digital teaching innovations have a significant effect on how university-based (foreign language) teacher training should be structured in the future (Amhag et al., 2019). To address these demands, we have integrated distance teaching as a mandatory element in foreign language teacher training at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt (Stadler-Heer & Böttger, 2021). This article presents exemplary online lessons on the topic of structural racism which were developed, tested, and evaluated by pre-service teachers in two remote university teacher training courses. Drawing on the principles of task-based language teaching, the presented digital lesson materials aim to foster secondary school students' intercultural communicative competence.

*Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Lernpotenziale, die ausgewählte digitale Tools hinsichtlich der Thematisierung von strukturellem Rassismus in den USA im Fremdsprachenunterricht bieten. Um komplexe Themen wie den strukturellen Rassismus in Online-Lernumgebungen differenziert unterrichten zu können werden hochkompetente Fremdsprachenlehrkräfte und hochwertige Online-Lernmaterialien benötigt. Diese Anforderungen und einhergehende digital gestützte Lehrinnovationen haben einen erheblichen Einfluss darauf, wie die universitäre (Fremdsprachen-)Lehrer*innenausbildung in Zukunft gestaltet werden sollte (Amhag et al., 2019). Um diesen Anforderungen gerecht zu werden, haben wir an der Katholischen Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt digital-gestützten Fernunterricht als verpflichtendes Element in die Fremdsprachenlehrer*innenausbildung integriert (Stadler-Heer & Böttger, 2021). In diesem Beitrag werden exemplarische Online-Unterrichtsstunden zum Thema struktureller Rassismus vorgestellt, die von Lehramtsstudierenden in zwei universitären Kursen zur Einübung von digitaler Unterrichtspraxis entwickelt, erprobt und evaluiert wurden. Ausgehend von den Prinzipien des aufgabenorientierten Sprachunterrichts zielen die vorgestellten digitalen Unterrichtsmaterialien darauf ab, die interkulturelle kommunikative Kompetenz von Schüler*innen der Sekundarstufe zu fördern.*

Introduction

In his SAMR-Model, Puentedura (2012) envisaged that learning with technologies would allow for the development of hitherto unthinkable tasks. Since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic and the concomitant impossibility to teach in established face-to-face teaching-learning contexts, aspirations for developing such tasks have gained new momentum in teaching and teacher training. Interest in research in how information and communication technologies can help to redefine tasks in (foreign language) teaching and learning has since grown considerably. Such a redefinition of learning tasks is particularly relevant when it comes to teaching and learning about complex topics online, like the societal crises related to structural racism in the United States. Given the surge in internet use amongst young people in the year 2020 in Germany (Feierabend et al., 2020) and possibly across the globe due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it is high time for school students to learn how to navigate the mass of online information available about topical issues productively by themselves and in teams with the help of educational platforms.

As online student-teacher and peer interaction differs greatly from face-to-face interaction, the move to fully online learning-teaching contexts has also led to a revaluation of what teacher professional competence entails (Stadler-Heer & Böttger, 2021; Stadler-Heer, 2021). Recent research argues that subject- and context-specific

technological pedagogical content knowledge is central for a teacher's ability to select and develop effective learning scenarios for their (future) primary or secondary school learners (Blömeke & Kaise, 2017; Schmid et al., 2020). In the context of foreign language teacher training, this means, for instance, that pre-service teachers can develop interactive web-based tasks that help students learn about complex topics.

This article first debates the benefits of learning design and selected educational web tools (EWT) like Padlet, Lernpfad, or TaskCards in helping to structure complex content through tasks. In a second step, implications for preservice teacher training and implementation of EWTs in foreign language teaching are discussed. Finally, two exemplary foreign language learning designs are presented to provide insight in how complex topics like structural racism in the United States can be taught online.

Effectiveness of Educational Web Tools

In the past fifteen years, several international research initiatives have worked toward making learning design a more prominent topic in research on teaching and teacher education. Learning design is "a methodology for enabling teachers/designers to make more informed decisions in how they go about designing learning activities and interventions, which is pedagogically informed and makes effective use of appropriate resources and technologies" (Conole, 2012, p. 121). Rienties et al. (2017) have developed and tested a taxonomy of task types for language learning contexts which can help in designing innovative technology-enhanced language learning opportunities (see table 1).

Rienties et al.'s (2017) taxonomy is particularly valuable because it works irrespective of learning spaces being online or offline. "Communication" is envisaged in either a "forum or in a face-to-face setting" (table 1). Thus, this taxonomy provides steppingstones towards grasping what Puentedura's (2012) "unthinkable tasks" entail considering the formation of (subject-specific) digital competences as envisaged in the Digital Competence Framework for Educators (Redecker & Punie, 2017).

However, the development of tasks is but one piece in the learning design, the other is the platform through which such tasks are made available to students. EWTs are such digital platforms that make learning designs transparent to learners. EWTs like Padlet, TaskCards or Lernpfad, draw on the principles of concept mapping (Knogler et al., 2018) in their graphic organization and the templates they provide. They allow for "open communication, freedom to share and re-use content and dynamic interactivity among users of varying technical abilities" (Robles, 2013). Previous research found that "students' learning behaviour, their satisfaction of the module, and most importantly pass-rates" (Rienties et al., 2017) depend on learning design. So far, teachers in German Higher Education have mostly drawn on assimilative learning tasks in digital environments leading to a reinforcement of teacher-led instead of student-centered learning activities (Bond et al., 2018). Thus, training in subject-specific pedagogical competence to implement learning designs is crucial (Englund et al., 2017; Kirkwood, 2009; Kirkwood & Price, 2005; Ng, 2012; OECD, 2018).

Remote (Foreign Language) Teacher Education

Internationally, developing digital competences of foreign language teachers has not been the primary focus of university-based (foreign language) teacher education despite persistent calls for integrating training in information and communication technologies (Newhouse et al., 2006; Schuck et al., 2013). Thus, pre-service teachers arguably finished their education without "effective technology integration skills" that would help them process the potentials of mobile technologies and integrate them in their classrooms (Baran, 2014).

One reason for why German pre-service teachers have not been prepared for online learning-teaching contexts is the infrastructural and tem-

poral organization of pre-service teacher training. Both institutions involved in the training, universities, and schools in their vicinity, have been training their students primarily in the established face-to-face mode in allotted rooms or lecture halls on fixed sites and time slots. Research shows that prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, mobile technologies were mainly used as add-ons to conventional teaching practices, i.e. face-to-face lectures, seminars, and student-teacher talk in higher education contexts and school classrooms. Only 23% of German school teachers had been using digital technologies regularly in their classrooms in 2018 (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020, p. 285). Interestingly, university teachers' use of media and digital competence has not been studied extensively in Germany until 2017 (Riplinger & Schiefner-Rohs, 2017). The case study of a German university's teachers' uses of a learning management system (LMS) showed an "overwhelmingly administrative use of the LMS, supporting management rather than learning per se" (Bond et al., 2018, p. 9). Integrated tools in the LMS, like "cliqr (audience response system), Bubbler (micro-blogging tool) or Meetings (video

Table 1: Learning design taxonomy in language learning context (Rienties et al., 2017, p. 6).

Learning type	Original definition	Languages definition
Assimilative	Students read, listen, view information in materials and resources.	Students read listen, view information in materials and resources. Students use receptive skills.
Finding and Handling Information	Students are actively and critically engaged in gathering and manipulating information (e.g.e.g., list, analyzse, collate, plot).	Students are actively and critically engaged in gathering and manipulating information in either L1 or L2.
Communication	Students discuss theories and concepts with at least one other person.	Students discuss theories, concepts or elements of their learning with at least one other person, moving towards communication in the target language. For example, students communicate about the course, specific tasks, and activities on the forum or in a face-to-face setting.
Productive	Students apply their knowledge and skills together or alone in order to create an artefact. This could be a list, a piece of narrative text which answers a question, a reflective account, a report, a video, or a presentation etc.	Students apply their knowledge and skills together or alone in order to create an artefact. This could be a list, a piece of narrative text which answers a question, a reflective account, a report, a video, or a presentation etc., usually in the target language.
Experiential	Students are required to apply their skills, knowledge and understanding in a real-world setting.	Students communicate in the target language with native speakers of the target language, who are not also students, in a real-world scenario. If students are then asked to discuss or reflect the experience this becomes meta-communication.
Interactive/adaptive	Students are required to apply their skills, knowledge and understanding in a simulated setting, receive immediate feedback and are then given the opportunity to adapt their approach.	Students communicate with other students (social rather than cognitive) in the target language in order to practice that language in a simulated setting. This could be a roleplay or on any created scenario. Adaptive communication.
Assessment	Students are assessed on their learning.	Students are assessed on their learning.

conferencing tool), [were] mainly dismissed, with more than 80% of the teachers stating that they did not use those tools in any of their courses" (Bond et al., 2018, p. 8-9). Importantly, although they made comparatively little use of integrated tools, university teachers' perceptions of their value were overall positive. In addition, they perceived web applications enabling "collaborative mind [mapping] (53%), collaborative annotat[ing] (57%) and collaborative reference management […] (61%)" (Bond et al., 2018, p. 9) as positive. Such positive attitudes are central for future engagement with a technology or type of web application as they potentially outweigh inhibitions to use a specific tool. Professional development and teacher training can draw on these attitudes and develop skill- and context-specific learning scenarios for (pre-service) teachers to foster professional teacher competence (Stadler-Heer, 2021). The effectiveness of such an approach has been studied in neighboring disciplines, which found a raise in faculty members' willingness to incorporate e-learning in their teaching from 40% to 78% after completing a well-planned professional development program (Nave et al., 2017).

Arguably, remote learning and teaching contexts are learning arrangements that may be particularly beneficial for developing subject-specific digital learning and teaching skills. After all it is realistic practical training opportunities with real subjects that influence teachers' perceptions and willingness to adapt information and communication technologies (Sugar et al., 2004). Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, distance learning contexts were the exception of the norm, fully accepted only in special contexts and due to specific circumstances, such as for integrating students with special needs or illnesses. When online learning became 'the new normal' due to a worldwide pandemic, established teaching contexts, forms of interaction and approaches had to be revaluated and transformed. Previous reasons for university teachers' hesitance to integrate digital tools, such as a lack of digital skills, systemic problems, and a reluctance to change (Margaryan et al., 2011), no longer sufficed due to the exclusivity of the online learning environments. In response, Heiner Böttger and his team at the Catholic University of Eichstätt moved their foreign language teacher training fully online. Gaining practical experience in teaching (foreign languages) remotely became the focal point of pre-service teacher training (Stadler-Heer & Böttger, 2021). For that purpose, practical training scenarios were conceptualized, conducted, and evaluated that would help pre-service teachers develop their digital foreign language-specific teacher professional competences (Stadler-Heer, 2021).

Approaching Structural Racism through Task-based Language Teaching

Teaching complex topics, like structural racism in the United States, is one such practical training scenario in our pre-service foreign language teacher professional development program. Such content requires for highly professionalized foreign language teachers that are interculturally, communicatively competent and knowledgeable in technologies, pedagogy, and content and related pedagogical content, technological pedagogical and technological content knowledge (Mishra & Köhler, 2006; Stadler-Heer, 2021). The practical training scenario was developed in response to recent calls for skill-specific professional teacher development (Amhag et al., 2019) beginning in the first phase of teacher training.

Within the context of a practical seminar, which was conducted in a blended learning format including both synchronous online face-to-face and asynchronous learning scenarios (Stadler-Heer & Böttger, 2021), foreign-language pre-service teachers had to develop learning materials that could be used in either synchronous online face-to-face lessons or as asynchronous self-study materials. As task-based language teaching (TBLT) is a project-based approach to teaching asking students to solve problems, it was the preferred task format for the learning designs. Ideally the problem that needs solving is highly motivating for students and makes them "forget" that they are in fact learning (Ellis, 2003).

The question why race-related crime continuously occurred in the United States became a hot topic in German English as a Foreign Language classrooms and foreign language teacher education respectively in the aftermath of the killing of George Floyd in May 2020. Intensive news coverage about the Black Lives Matter movement and worldwide protests against police brutality led both foreign language students and pre-service teachers to ask their respective teachers about the events' background thus providing ideal grounds for reflective and critical learning to occur.

For foreign language learners to develop intercultural communicative competence, they have to engage in topics of global relevance (KMK, 2012, p. 12). When leaving secondary education, foreign language learners should be able to:

- recognize, question, put into perspective and, if necessary, revise their perceptions and (pre-)judgements;
- change perspectives and compare and weigh up different perspectives;
- recognize the values, attitudes and positions of their target language communication partners and classify them taking into account their foreign cultural background;
- understand, interpret and evaluate foreign language texts and discourses in their foreign cultural dimension;
- classify their own and other people's values, attitudes, and behavior in relation to international conventions (e.g., human rights (KMK, 2012, p. 20).

Regarding the topic of structural racism in the United States, foreign language teachers, firstly, need to be able to define structural racism and explain terminology using suitable examples. For instance, the Aspen Institute (2004) defines structural racisms as a term that "refers to a system in which public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations, and other norms work in various, often reinforcing ways to perpetuate racial group inequity." Examples for inequality in the United States across race have recently been collected by the journalists Sally Lehrman and Venise Wagner (2019) who found that news reporting on race and ethnicity has reached a new level of complexity requiring fresh approaches to untangling interlocking institutional policies and practices that help perpetuate racial inequalities and privilege (see table 2).

Table 2: Getting your facts right: Inequality in the Unites States across race (adapted from Lehrman & Wagner, 2019, p. 3).

Health:
• African Americans die more often from heart disease and strokes than any other racial or ethnic group.[1] • Infections of HIV have declined among white men[,] [sic] but increased by 20 percent among Latino gay and bisexual men.[2] • American Indians and Alaska Natives have faced a lower health status than other Americans for generations. They succumb at higher rates from multiple causes, including unintentional injuries and chronic lower respi-ratory disease.[3] • Tuberculosis occurs 30 times more often among Asian Americans than among white people.[4]
Education:
• The dropout rate for Latinos is nearly twice that of African Americans and just over three times that of Whites. African American students are nearly twice as likely to drop out as white youth.
Income, wealth, and other resources:
• The United States has the greatest wealth inequality in the world.[5] • Taken as a whole, white people are more likely to earn more money,[6] own homes, and have a higher net worth,[7] even controlling for a college education. African Americans are the most segregated and isolated racial/ethnic group in the United States and are often relegated to the poorest sectors of our society. Even middle-class African Americans experience more financial vulnerability and typically live in more resource-deprived neighborhoods than low-income white Americans.[8]

Taking in the systemic pervasiveness of racism it becomes clear that foreign language teachers must be particularly aware of the fact that the international and societal concept of racism has changed. Loury's (2019) explanation makes this strikingly clear:

> For many of us, when we think of racism we think of chattel slavery, the removal of Native Americans during the westward expansion of the United States, the slaughter of millions of European Jews during the Holocaust, the use of racial epithets, and the racial violence endured by those who dared to challenge "whites-only" schools, neighborhoods, and lunch counters. […] But we must divorce our understanding of racism, particularly structural racism, from a time when such beliefs and actions were social norms, displayed often and widely accepted. In simple terms, structural racism is a complex web of policies and practices that produce and reinforce inequalities by race. Structural racism can exist without the intentionality, hateful rhetoric, and emotional intensity that we associate with past racism. (Loury, 2019, p. 31)

U.S. media tend to draw on telling the story of selected individuals when exemplifying structural racism (Lehrman & Wagner, 2019). Latest findings show, however, that this focus may trick the public into drawing wrong conclusions. While focusing on the individual's effort to achieve what is encapsulated in the concept of the American Dream and "the notion that if any one person puts her mind to it she can achieve anything she wants," one oversees that "individuals, of course, operate within communities, institutions, and society as a whole" (Lehrman & Wagner, 2019, p. 5) and are confined by them. Consequently, "personal responsibility" is more often highlighted as a maxim than "societal responsibility" (Lehrman & Wagner, 2019). Knowledge of these facts is central for understanding the intricacies of structural racism and how we as individuals operate them through interactive communication. Finally, the internet itself is a potential site of structural racism as

> websites focusing on racial issues are visited less often, and are less visible in search result rankings than sites with different, or broader, focuses. This phenomenon is not based on anything that individual website producers do. Rather, it appears to be a product of how users themselves find and share information online, a process mediated mostly by search engines and, increasingly, social media platforms. (McIlwain, 2017)

With this background information in mind, preservice teachers started developing context-specific training scenarios that developed foreign language school students' intercultural communicative competence.

Designing and Evaluating Digital Foreign Language Teaching Materials

Foreign language teachers working towards fostering communicative competence, organize learning materials to reach skill-specific learning objectives. For that purpose, teachers, like journalists, draw on selected materials that serve as case studies within a broader topic. Padlet, TaskCards, and Lernpfad have been selected as EWTs that organize learning. All these web applications are non-institutional learning management platforms that help structure and share learning designs covering complex topics and requiring multiple resources.

1. Padlet.com is a U.S.-based platform that has been criticized in Germany because of it storing data of German users on servers outside of Germany. Consequently, some local federal states and individual schools have forbidden its usage in educational contexts. The EWTs outline is primarily horizontal, i.e., sections are presented in a side-by side tabled manner. All content can be viewed at all times.
2. TaskCards.de is a German equivalent of Padlet that operates within the EU's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and may thus be a context-specific alternative for teachers who prefer working with the learning environments that Padlet has provided.
3. Lernpfad.ch is a Swiss company that woes to collect and share as little data as possible but selected information is stored with other companies (https://lernpfad.ch/datenschutz).

> The outline follows a vertical step-by-step approach with sections to be studied on after the other. All content is available all the time and not revealed step by step.

Depending on whether learners register with the platforms their learning progress can be monitored by themselves and their teachers. The use and storage of data when working with web applications is an important topic, particularly when working with data from underaged learners. Importantly, all applications and learning materials can be viewed and used without the learners registering online. The teacher does, however, have to have a personal account.

Drawing on non-institutional EWTs means that some sort of tracking may occur and depending on the regulations of a local school district or university, (university) teachers must check whether additional parental consent is necessary when they want to use the platforms with their learners. To avoid excluding the usage of innovative non-institutional EWTs, university-based teacher training must address issues of data protection and provide criteria for selecting tools.

Within the practical seminar context, pre-service teachers were first introduced to web applications by the course instructor through practical content-specific learning experiences with the platforms. Exemplary course content, such as teaching materials for online foreign language listening comprehension, was presented via the selected EWT. Further practice opportunities were available in extracurricular tutorials. Here, course instructors supported pre-service teachers in choosing the tools according to foreign language learning objectives and the respective facet of communicative competence that should be trained, for instance listening comprehension or debating. Rienties et al. (2017) learning design taxonomy (table 1) helped conceptualize online learning activities that were both assimilative and interactive but also asked learners to communicate about the information found.

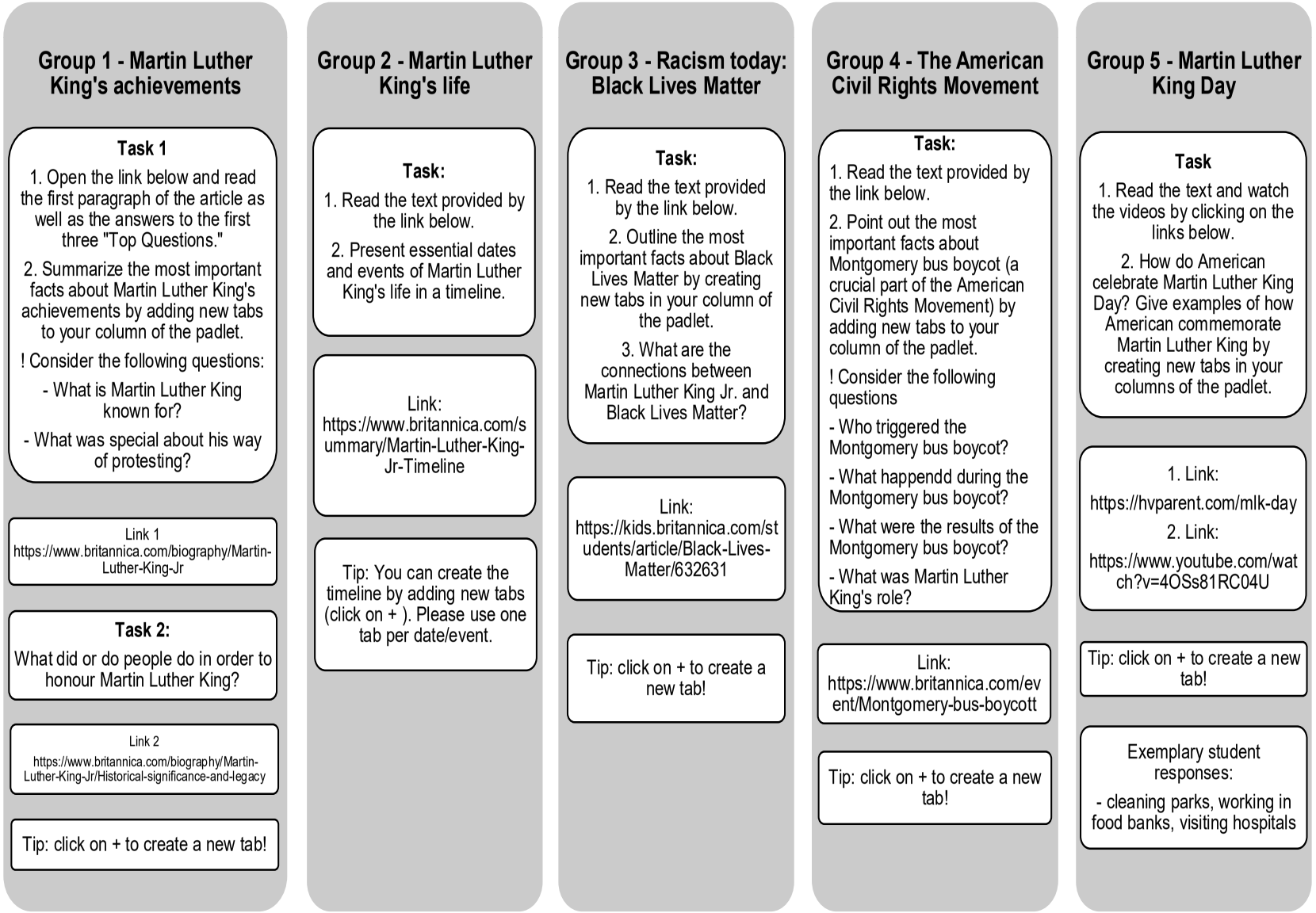
The following two exemplary teaching materials have been planned, conducted, and evaluated by pre-service teachers in teams in summer term 2020 at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt together with B1/B2 level learners of English.[9] The learning designs were selected for this article because they were highly successful in eliciting high student involvement and may thus serve as best-practice examples of digital foreign language instruction. Participating secondary school students (n=20 and n=28) evaluated these designs particularly well regarding motivation and engagement. The topics of these distance teaching lessons were chosen by the pre-service teacher teams after consulting with two in-service teachers who agreed to test these learning designs with their respective group of foreign language learners in secondary school contexts. Both pre-service teacher teams reported that they themselves had a special interest in the topic of structural racism due to the at the time ongoing discussion of George Floyd's death and the Black Lives Matter movement in German media. Moreover, both pre-service teacher teams discussed their materials and the complexity of the topic with pre-service teacher peers and the university course instructor in the seminar context and in individual consultation hours. The university course instructor reviewed the selected materials and gave advice regarding the use of teacher language when debating complex topics and moderating student responses.

Lesson 1: Martin Luther King Day

Learning design by Sissi Möß and Carina Preckur, available from https://padlet.com/carinapreckur/22etdrvxvnyo2a7z [last accessed 01.06.2021]

In their didactic analysis, Möß and Preckur argue that "[t]he groupwork on the Padlet, which the pupils get to know as a new digital tool in the lesson, is intended to stimulate […] motivation and enthusiasm for the lesson topic." Padlet (https://padlet.com/dashboard) was selected by the pre-service teacher team because it allows to assemble the multiple facets and multimedia resources required (fig. 1) to teach a complex topic, on one site, i.e. in one work-

Figure 1: Padlet-based learning design on Martin Luther King Day by Sissi Möß and Carina Preckur.



space. A significant benefit of Padlet is, that all students have access to all information at all times. In the lesson, the pre-service teachers then asked groups of 4 to 5 foreign language learners to attend to a specific section on the Padlet. All groups can work simultaneously in their respective section and access the different online resources provided. In the case of this learning design, the content to answer the tasks is provided through links to websites outside the Padlet. These contents have to be read, viewed or listened to to complete the activities. Task completion is then monitored again on the Padlet, where answers are collected in written form. The constant accessibility and live observation of other groups' actions on the Padlet creates a game-like, maybe even competitive atmosphere amongst the secondary school foreign language learners as they see how fast or slow other groups are working and whether and how elaborate other groups are answering questions. EWTs like Padlet or Lernpfad make mutual exchange and support in case of difficulties possible and visible at any time. The results of the group work are stored on the Padlet and can be checked synchronously or asynchronously in short live oral presentations by selected group members or in the form of recordings. While students first practice digital reading comprehension (assimilative task), oral negotiation (communicative tasks) and writing skills (interactive task) in the first part of the group work, they go on to train digital presentation (communicative task) and listening skills (assimilative task) in the presentation phase of the group work, thereby interacting with a broad spectrum of information on the topic of "Martin Luther King Day" and with multiple media (finding and handling information task). The digital tool thus makes a multifaceted task available for collaborative exploration of a given topic.

Lesson 2: Structural Racism in the United States – Black Lives Matter

Learning design by Jasmin Erlinger and Sarah Wehner, available from https://lernpfad.ch/pfad/lg75yinv7com [last accessed 01.06.2021]

This Lernpfad-based learning design on structural racism in the U.S. aids students in connecting the dots behind a systemic phenomenon and between singular events by assembling multiple media sources. The Lernpfad focuses on finding and handling information and is primarily assimilative in nature when asking students to form ideas about concepts after browsing information and being introduced to the popular young adult novel, *The Hate U Give* by Angie Thomas. Interaction and collaboration are promoted when ideas about what individual racism and Thug Life could mean are collected in a mind map tool outside of the Lernpfad. Lernpfad differs from Padlet regarding its outline being organized in a drop-down menu style allowing to enlarge and hide content of individual sections (fig. 2, fig. 3). All information is available all the time, sneak peaks are possible and encouraged, but content not required for a specific task can be hidden if not immediately needed. Secondary school students have responded particularly positive to the outline of Lernpfad, as they could always and easily locate their learning to a specific section also after returning from an external website.

Conclusion and Outlook

This article showed that EWTs effectively organize a diverse set of learning materials and skill-specific tasks for foreign language learning. Being able to access such diverse textual materials and collaborative activities within one application provides learners and teachers with multiple opportunities to foster communicative competence. Thus, EWTs help present learning designs that engage with complex topics, like structural racism, from different perspectives and enable interactive communicative collaboration.

In the future, empirical research in the reliability or validity of using specific EWTs, such as Padlet and Lernpfad, for foreign language learning and teaching must follow to standardize their use in foreign language teacher training and teaching.

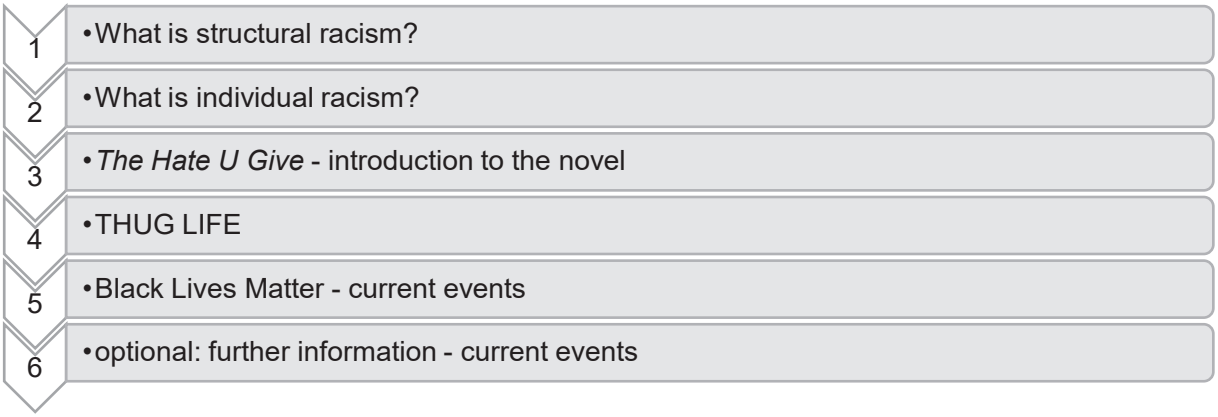


Figure 2: Agenda for a 45- minute self-study introductory lesson on structural racism establishing the new topic.

Moreover, if non-institutional platforms like Padlet, TaskCards or Lernpfad are used in educational contexts, the controversial topic of protecting student's learning data from their commercialization must be addressed in greater detail. Learning analytics researchers, but also traditional schoolbook publishers in Germany, have already started to exploit the potentials of tracking learners' individual engagement in such online learning environments. Meanwhile local governments begin to develop their own EWTs and learning management systems that allow for greater data protection. Arguably, the benefit of getting more insight on students' learning data while using and working on platforms is to better cater to individual learners' needs. Such data-driven developments also have implications for what foreign language teacher professional competence entails and which contents should be integrated in pre-service foreign language teacher education (Stadler-Heer, 2021). In any case, teacher educators' responsibility is to equip future foreign language teachers with skills to continuously innovate and creatively transform technology-enhanced foreign language learning (Redecker & Punie 2017).

Endnotes

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What is structural racism?

Before we dive into our new reading *The Hate U Give* by Angie Thomas, it is important to get familiar with the terminology and the background of the story. Structural Racism is a term we will often come across in debates about this topic. But what does it mean?

Structural Racism in the U.S.:

- normalisation and legitimisation of factors that routinely advantage white people while producing cumulative and adverse outcomes for people of colour
  Factors can be: • historical • cultural • institutional • interpersonal
- Most profound and pervasive form of racism - all other forms of racism (e.g. individual racism) stem from Structural Racism

source: https://www.intergroupresources.com/rc/Definitions of Racism.pdf

What is individual racism?

What do you think individual racism could mean? What does it entail?
Collect your ideas in the Mind Map on MindMeister. Please contribute at least 2 ideas:
https://mm.tt/1553070437?t=6sncMhd1FM

The Hate U Give – introduction to the novel.

Look at the Trailer of *The Hate U Give* to get an impression about our new novel:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3MM8OkVT0hw

THUG LIFE

When Starr and Khalil are sitting in his car together, they are listening to 2Pac's song "Thug Life." Khalil explains what "Thug Life" means. Inform yourself about it:
https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Thug Life

Black Lives Matter – current events

As the BLACK LIVES MATTER movement (BLM) became more prominent in the media again because of the recent terrible events, we can draw some interesting connections to our novel.
To start off this very important discussion, please have a look at these two tweets from Donald Trump's Twitter account. These tweets were a response to protests in Minneapolis, where the national guard intervened (for more information about protests in Minneapolis have a look at the first two links in the next section of this LernPfad).
Questions, you should ask yourself:

- In what way does Trump use specific language in these tweets? How could this be problematic? Pay attention to Twitter's commentary on the second tweet.
- How does Trump use the word "THUGS" in this context?
- How does the U.S. media talk about these protests? How could we get a more well-rounded picture?

source: Twitter @realDonaldTrump 29.05.2020, 6:53

optional: further information – current events

If you are interested, these are some really interesting and thought-provoking sources to get some further background knowledge.
Protests in Minneapolis:

- Zhou, L. (2020, May 27). Photos: Police responses to George Floyd protests vs. anti-lockdown protests. Vox. https://www.vox.com
- Vox. (2020, June 5). Protests aren't what they look like on TV [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=srnA3cNTsXQ

A TED talk by Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie ("We Should All Be Feminists") about why representation and hearing different voices matters.

- TED. (2009, October 7). The danger of a single story | Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9Ihs241zeg.

How privileged are you? Check off all the points on this list that apply to you and your situation while becoming aware of what actually makes you privileged.

- Jha, R. & Wesely, T. (2020, June 13). How Privileged Are You? BuzzFeed. https://www.buzzfeed.com/regajha/how-privileged-are-you?bfsource=bfocompareon

Figure 3: Detailed task descriptions of self-study materials encouraging asynchronous interaction on external mind map tool. Tasks designed by Jasmin Erlinger and Sarah Wehner.

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[5] Allianz. Allianz Global Wealth Map, 2018. Accessed May 31, 2021 from www.allianz.com/en/economic_research/research_data/interactive-wealth-map/

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[9] The author would like to thank Jasmin Erlinger, Sissi Möß, Carina Preckur and Sarah Wehner for sharing their teaching materials in the context of this article

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Teaching as Sharing: Hashtag Activism and Information and Media Literacy

Regina Holze & Florian Zitzelsberger

Looking at recent examples of hashtag activism as collaborative storytelling practices and digital political communication, this article argues that sharing – in the sense of collectively held beliefs and grievances and their potential for creating narrative and social movements on social media – can be seen as operating on an educational level as well. Drawing on Ruth Page's concept of the shared story and an analysis of the #MeToo movement, the article positions hashtag activism as a case study for sharing ideas, experiences, and skills, and the acquisition of information and media literacy. By extension, the paper provides an example of adopting an interdisciplinary approach in higher education that aims at enabling future teachers to retell, adapt, and remix stories and skills for their work in the EFL classroom.[1]

Der Artikel argumentiert anhand aktueller Beispiele für Hashtag-Aktivismus als kollaborative Erzählpraktiken und digitale politische Kommunikation, dass das Teilen – im Sinne kollektiver Überzeugungen und Missstände sowie deren Potenzial zur Schaffung narrativer und sozialer Bewegungen in sozialen Netzwerken – auch auf der Ebene von Bildung operiert. Ausgehend von Ruth Pages Konzept der Shared Story und einer Analyse der #MeToo-Bewegung positioniert dieser Artikel Hashtag-Aktivismus als Fallstudie für den Austausch von Ideen, Erfahrungen und Fähigkeiten sowie den Erwerb von Information and Media Literacy. Infolgedessen stellt der Artikel ein Beispiel für den Einsatz eines interdisziplinären Ansatzes in der Hochschulbildung vor, der es zukünftigen Lehrpersonen ermöglichen soll, Geschichten und Inhalte sowie Kompetenzen im Englischunterricht einzusetzen, situationsangemessen anzupassen und neu zusammenzusetzen.

Media Activism and Social Participation

"Media activism can be defined as two related kinds of activity. One creates media that challenge the dominant culture, structure, or ruling class of a society. The other advocates changes within that society intended to preserve or open up space for such media. Often media activism encompasses both these activities in the same historical moment; or it quickly moves between the two modes of action." (Lasar, 2007, p. 925)

Terms such as alternative facts, deep fakes, and post-truth politics change our perception of and relationship to culture, structure, and class, which are contingent on the centrality of media in political discourse and characterized by the mediatization of real-life politics. This connection at the same time makes clear that citizenship, more than ever, requires a set of skills specifically dedicated to understanding and conceptualizing as well as reflecting on and engaging with various kinds of media. Matthew Lasar's remarks on media activism emphasize that because the media themselves – and with them questions ranging from reliability and trustworthiness to freedom of speech and plurality – are at stake; the skills we need to navigate a mediatized world also become entwined with the political. In his work on convergence culture, Henry Jenkins (2006) reminds us that this development requires and fosters a democratization that sees media consumers assume the role of producers. The possibility for such bottom-up processes to effect media change can facilitate participation in society as well.

Recent moments on social media illustrate this potential (striving for) democratization: #OscarsSoWhite serves as an example of the numerous contestations of biases in the media industry that keep surfacing every year during awards season. Often paired with #OscarsSoStraight and #OscarsSoMale, the phrase becomes a banner under which social media users give voice to their dissatisfaction, anger, and disappointment regarding the Oscars that indeed tend to privilege White, heterosexual, cisgender men over a more diverse representation of the movie landscape, its producers, talent, and viewers. The idea of using

media to open up media for more inclusivity thereby also concerns larger systems of oppression and discrimination in society because media do not operate independently from cultural hegemony. As such, these movements that initially appeared as limited to the film industry translate into symptoms of the devastating realities that led to the formation of global activist movements such as #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo. As we will see in the following, both are examples of hashtag activism, which can be defined as the accumulation of voices online, the formation of discourse around a hashtag, that derive from shared grievances and come together in an activist effort.

This article argues that the skills connected to engaging in this form of online communication become a matter of political education. Information and media literacy (IML), as a provisional label for these skills, is therefore concerned with medial as well as social participation; it prefigures qualities of responsible citizenship that are becoming increasingly more pronounced in the digital age and because of the growing political polarization in the United States and other countries. While one needs to be information-and-media-literate in order to make sense of movements like #MeToo, we suggest that hashtag activism can teach us about IML because understanding its idiosyncrasies requires skills from fields as diverse as linguistics, media and communication, cultural studies, and political science. In this sense, IML is provisional to the extent that its demarcations are malleable and allow for the integration of various perspectives in an interdisciplinary approach.

Adopting Ruth Page's notion of the shared story, in the following we focus on the aspects of "telling" and "sharing" as a way of co-constructing narratives online. In *Narratives Online* (2018), Page defines the shared story as "a retelling, produced by many tellers, across iterative textual segments, which promotes shared attitudes between its tellers" (p. 18). Building on this framework, we place emphasis on the beliefs shared through such stories that create what Benedict Anderson (2006) calls imagined communities in the digital sphere and make hashtag activism a collaborative project. An exemplary analysis of the #MeToo movement will show that telling, sharing, and community building manifest themselves linguistically and perform cultural functions. The co-occurrence of #MeToo and other hashtags like #BlackLives-Matter emphasizes how grievances can be shared within and among minorities and how hashtag activism can provide a forum for expressing solidarity. Yet, since both movements are concerned with bodily integrity and the boundaries of personhood, their relation to lived experience and intersectional oppression cannot be disregarded. In light of Lasar's (2007) argument about media activism working *on* media as much as *with* media, we consider how the results from our

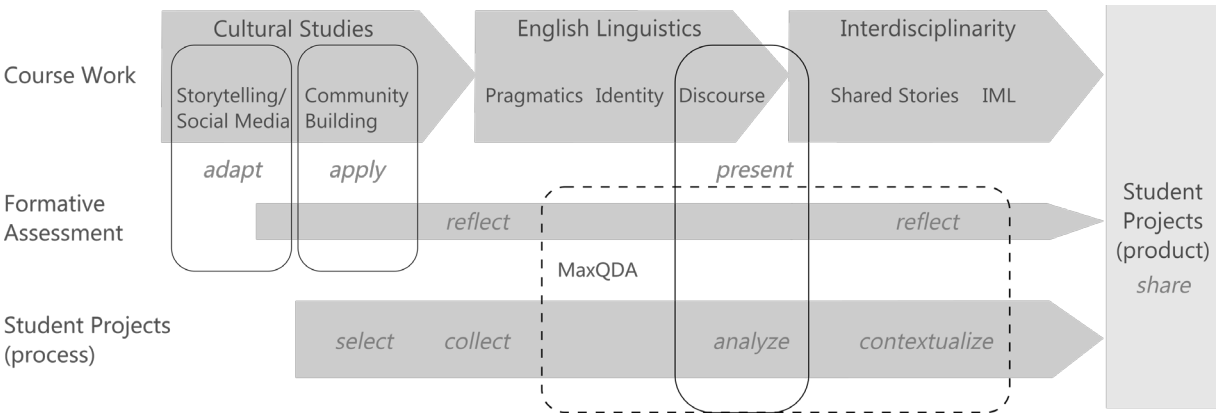


Figure 1: Structure of class, including course work, stages of formative assessment (instructor feedback, peer feedback, and self-reflection), and student project. Centered skills in italics.

analysis, if viewed via the concept of the shared story, can become instructive for approaching IML. We thus argue that sharing also operates on an educational level. Building on our work in the project SKILL.de at the University of Passau, Germany, we outline ways of sharing stories (knowledges, beliefs, skills) in teacher training to enable future teachers to retell, adapt, and remix these stories for their work in the EFL classroom.

Hashtag Activism in Teacher Training

#BlackLivesMatter. #BringBackOurGirls. #EndSpeciesism. #MarchForOurLives. #GeorgeFloydWasMurdered. #LeaveNoOneBehind. #StayAtHome. #TakeAKnee. These are just some of the examples our students chose to work on in their projects examining the mechanics and influences of hashtag activism in the United States and beyond. In his essay "Narrative Agency in Hashtag Activism," Guobin Yang (2016) defines the phenomenon as "discursive protest on social media united through a hashtagged word, phrase or sentence" and highlights the "power of digital activism in shaping public discourse" (p. 13). This basic definition already hints at the necessity of an interdisciplinary framework if one is to acknowledge the specificities of narrative, discourse, or even the hashtags themselves as well as their interplay. In 2020, we collaborated for the class "#Activism and Social Media Movements: Political Communication in the Digital Age" at the University of Passau with the aim of attending to this complexity from the perspectives of English linguistics (Regina Holze) and American/cultural studies (Florian Zitzelsberger). The class was designed for students enrolled in teacher training and adopted an interdisciplinary approach that allowed students to become familiarized with scholarly discourse from a range of disciplines, with excursions leading beyond our primary focus on cultural studies and linguistics. After students created a glossary with key terms in group work – including activism, hashtag, media activism, social media, and political communication – the class entered three successive phases (see figure 1).

The first segment focused on cultural studies and introduced students to theories of storytelling and community building on social media. The second segment, dedicated to a linguistic approach, included modules on pragmatics, language and identity, and discourse. Students were required to fulfill and hand in tasks accompanying their course work in phases 1 and 2 that served as scaffolding for the last segment. As shown in fig. 1, students' projects and their progression regarding course work were supplemented with a feedback process overlapping with both, as well as offering the possibility for self-reflection. Formative assessment proved vital to the overall construction of the class, which was conducted asynchronously due to the COVID-19 pandemic: Students worked independently on course materials, through which they were guided by written commentary, podcasting elements, screencasts, and learning videos produced by us. Their assignments provided them with structure that would therefore also help with the organization of their projects. In this approach, feedback and self-reflection form the basis for the processual acquisition of a critical IML, enabling students to develop competences on their own. We will address implications of this focus on IML and the changing role of the teacher below.

Sharing Stories, Sharing Grievances

Ruth Page's notion of the shared story, which informed the third segment of the class, provides an interdisciplinary framework for engaging with hashtag activism. We will supplement her deliberations with approaches from cultural studies and linguistics that were part of the first two phases outlined above:

1. Hashtag activism is facilitated via social media platforms and therefore allows multiple tellers to co-construct a narrative online. This is possible because social media deconstruct a dyadic model of communication and break down the hierarchies between public and private media (Miller et al., 2016). Social media blur the boundaries between sender and receiver integral to static models of

communication, allowing for a potential open-endedness. In Page's formulation, these stories are constructed both in processes of telling and sharing/distributing, the latter being facilitated by the technical affordances of social media and the hashtag itself.

2. While hashtags originated as a means of collecting metadata, with the hashtag tagging online elements with information about these elements (Mottahedeh, 2015), they have developed into a narrative mechanic of re-telling and continuance. Because hashtags are searchable items that organize and compile posts on most social media sites, they therefore connect various fragments of what, according to Page, forms a shared story. In line with her second criterion – the shared story as a story connected via intertextual references – the hashtag itself becomes a deictic tool that situates a post in relation to the story as a whole or, in other words, within discourse. In this sense, hashtags are also a way of framing content (Xiong et al., 2019; Hon, 2016). The recurrence of a hashtag across segments pertaining to a shared story thereby simultaneously acknowledges, references, and points at previous iterations and opens up a discursive space for future iterations within an already established frame. Applying Gérard Genette's (1997) terminology, this kind of intertextuality can be viewed as a palimpsest, with every post including the hashtag adding another layer to an already layered, because shared, story.
3. What is remarkable about hashtag activism as a form of shared story is the rapid spreadability of hashtags or hashtagged posts that in part stems from the technical affordances of hashtags as searchable items, hyperlinks, and metadata. In addition, hashtag activism as a form of online activism does not operate within a single platform or medium but rather functions as a form of distributed linearity, to apply Page's term, meaning that a specific hashtag can bind elements together that are produced and reproduced across various segments on various platforms. Like any digital story, the shared story makes use of multiple proscenia (Alexander, 2017), which connects hashtag activism to transmedia storytelling. Following Matt Hills's (2019) claim that this kind of transmediality helps establish brand omniscience, in the sense of how disseminating information about a product or brand on various channels enhances recognition and value, we might consider how the omnipresence of a hashtag across various media outlets shapes discourse. The hashtag becomes synonymous with the story it tells/shares; it seemingly becomes co-referential with the collective grievances that are given a voice in hashtag activism.
4. While the previous two points are intimately tied to the storytelling process, one that is characterized by telling and sharing as collaborative practice and therefore differs strongly from linear models of communication, Page's last point, shared beliefs, more overtly focuses on what these stories are about and provides insight into why these stories are created in the first place. Paolo Gerbaudo (2017) uses the term "rhetoric of collection" to designate "the way in which crowd-funded social justice blogs aggregate different examples of a particular social grievance" (p. 140). Hashtag activism can similarly be seen as carving out spaces for the accumulation of responses to the concern of a specific hashtag that reflects grievances in society. The idea of a rhetoric of collection places emphasis on the role of community and collective identity, which speaks to Page's idea of shared beliefs: we might follow Benedict Anderson's (2006) work here, which foregrounds the role of the media in establishing social cohesion via the assumption of shared beliefs, the idea being that the systematic dissemination of knowledge in, for example, newspapers fosters commonly held beliefs available to – and thus potentially shared by – an entire body of people who are subsequently bound to a specific community. Such a community is imagined because "the members of even

> the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 6). This feeling of inclusion, or of membership, also significantly contributes to the willingness of individuals to adopt or learn a new language. Following Pavlenko and Norton (2007), this impacts the EFL classroom as well by reimagining it as a place "of possibility for students with a wide range of histories, investments, and desires for the future" (p. 678). In this sense, shared beliefs do not indicate an imposition of values or norms on students but are linked to teaching and learning as interdependent *social* processes that have the potential to create communities.

This limitation to the actuality of community in the present, which indeed constitutes a rhetorical construct, is of even more importance in the context of hashtag activism because the online realm on the one hand obscures knowledge about members of an imagined community (due to anonymity and a potentially limitless number of members) and on the other hand blurs various boundaries, such as national, regional, ideological, and linguistic demarcations. In this sense, group identity is configured in discursive rather than geographical spaces; the digital world becomes a countersite from which to challenge hegemonic assumptions about identity. Hashtag activism establishes what Michel Foucault (1986) calls heterotopias, those 'other places' that connect spaces – say, the discursive space of #MeToo and the material effects of heteropatriarchy in the United States[2] – but also contest hegemonic spaces against which heterotopias are positioned. This is also why hashtag activism has become (and remains) a productive way of engaging with minority discourse. As countersites, social media provide individuals with a voice society otherwise silences. Hashtag activism brings together individuals from all over the world who share grievances that remain unseen or unheard and performs resistance by amplifying their voices via practices of telling, re-telling, and sharing.

Expressing Solidarity in #MeToo

Our analysis of #MeToo pursues an interdisciplinary approach with a focus on how the linguistic idiosyncrasies of the shared story perform cultural functions that respond to questions of community and identity. We follow Machin and Mayr's (2012) approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, which is dedicated to exploring "underlying discourse(s) and ideologies" (p. 20). Because of the multimodality of shared stories, Machin and Mayr's approach needs to be supplemented with analytical tools specifically relevant for digitized discourses on social media as proposed, e.g., by Marissa Wood (2018). The #MeToo case study served as a model analysis for the students in our class who were gradually guided through the analysis of their individually selected hashtag movements. We employed various techniques of scaffolding, including visual and textual explanations of the different analysis steps, to facilitate imitation learning, which got progressively less detailed to facilitate independent learning. As a data analysis software, we chose MaxQDA.[3]

The corpus consists of 18,865 imported posts from the social media platform Twitter (tweets) ranging from June 4 to 11, thus providing a snapshot of the #MeToo movement at the very time of the class in summer 2020. Similarly, the students' corpora encompass their movements' discourses in a comparably small period of time. The tweets examined are authored by 4,557 different accounts; the maximum number of posts by the same author is 79. Only original posts and replies to them featuring the common hashtag "metoo," both with and without capitalization, are considered for the corpus, while retweets are excluded. This leads to a research corpus consisting of 276,189 tokens altogether. Our findings are presented according to Wood's typology of performative functions of #MeToo (see table 1), combining Assertions and Objections under the superordinate of Declaratives.

Promotion of Solidarity

Tweeting in solidarity as a form of social activism, sometimes called "armchair activism" (Mare, 2016, p. 64), manifests itself in different linguistic

characteristics of our corpus. In our snapshot of #MeToo, there are over 180 counts of variations of "I stand with you" or "I believe you" evoking a feeling of solidarity and togetherness. Corroborated by the pronoun analysis, which shows a distinct division in "us" and "them," the community feeling is also mirrored by the co-occurring hashtags #feminism (56 hits), #women (37), #believeallwomen (33) and #believewomen (32), highlighting the gendered (dis)belief in survivors' stories and especially their strong digital support.

Narration

Performing the speech act of narration and aligning oneself with a large affected group was the original intent behind the hashtag.[4] By sharing their experiences, victims of sexual harassment show the extent of the problem they describe and at the same time expose the underlying toxic culture, just as several victims do in our sample. While some use the opportunity to describe incidents rather unambiguously or name their attacker, e.g., "I'm here to […]

Performative Function	Linguistic Content Criteria
Promotion of Solidarity	• Shows sympathy / empathy, e.g., "I am with you" • Sentiments of togetherness, e.g., "you are not alone" • Sole #MeToo tweets
Narration	• Storytelling: shares details regarding own experience of sexual assault / harassment; also: references to the past without detailed information (i.e., alludes experience is too terrible to tell) • Identifies perpetrator (naming, blaming, shaming the perpetrator)
Declaratives	**Assertions**: call for norm creation • Gives definitions • States norms, e.g., "This is how it should be" • Gives suggestions what to do / how to (re-)act **Objections**: call for norm re-creation • Gives definitions ("is not") • Objects to how things are, identifies unacceptable behavior • Expresses disgust: the way things are is wrong / reprehensible / abhorrent; things should not be that way
Meta-activism	• Speaks about the hashtag itself • Comments on number of #MeToo tweets / activity • Discusses how the movement unfolds • Repertoire of contention: tweets as a tool to spread information
Plug	• Connects #MeToo movement to another movement • Tries to push another idea, story, event, …
Criticism	• Criticizes the movement or the hashtag

Table 1: Typology of Performative Functions of #MeToo Tweets, adapted from Wood 2018.

warn other women about [name of perpetrator]" (@Lex_da_Rex, June 9, 2020), others prefer to stay vague or just state that they are affected, too, without wanting to elaborate:

> "[…] I don't think I'll ever be able to share my story, it hurts too much. But i have forgiven the person who wronged me even tho justice wasn't served" (@NICOLEKIDAMN, June 9, 2020).

This user counts themselves in this group, even though they might not be able to tell their story publicly, creating a shared grievance and strengthening the movement.

Even though 67% of the tweets are written from within the United States, as indicated by the geotags in the metadata of the tweets, two newspaper articles from Japan and India are featured prominently as well, which can be seen in the list of the ten most frequent collocates. "[J]apan s metoo movement" and its parts rank seventh to ninth in most frequent combinations of three words, i.e., 3-grams, and go back to a single headline about a sexual-abuse lawsuit in a work context, which is commented on in 42 cases. This example illustrates the significance of traditional media for a social movement, especially one that is rather widely disseminated due to existing for such a long time. Headlines like the one from Japan keep alive the feeling of urgency and righteousness and combine it with the comfort of internationally shared norms. By addressing this and other similar lawsuits, the media fulfils the demands of the activists for more accountability of perpetrators and at the same time fuels them even more in form of a more radical change of the existing system. However, terms like abuse, victim, rape, harassment, or assault are not within the range of the thirty most frequent words, which might hint at a turn in the movement's focus from sexual assault and workplace harassment to (violent) discrimination on a broader scale.

Declaratives

Assertions with the intention of creating or solidifying a norm or the reiteration of shared beliefs as well as objections calling out unacceptable behavior are frequently found in the data. The assertions and reiterations mostly take the form of suggestions or advice given to victims of sexual abuse but also state unwritten rules for behavior in a work, sports or political environment, whereas objections are more frequent with users challenging unacceptable actions and describing how wrong certain behaviors or social conventions feel to them after #MeToo. The sentiment is predominantly encouraging and supportive towards victims within a solidarity frame. The expression "i'm not" occurs mostly in combination with specifying collocates in postposition, like "AmeriKKKan," "punk," "Democrat" or "Republican" or "an angry white guy", which are connoted negatively in the posts. However, no collocate is mentioned disproportionately often. Nevertheless, the disassociation with specific groups remains problematic as the sentences continue with "but" in 62% of the cases, suggesting an opinion in line with an aspect that is typically ascribed to this group just rejected.

Meta-activism

Meta-activist tweets intend to expand the scope of the social movement by commenting on the hashtag itself, the activity of the movement, or the relevance it has acquired over time. Whereas "movement" is the sixth most frequent word with 1,278 hits, there are only few users in our corpus discussing the width of the #MeToo movement as such. By contrast, various users commented on the irony that after years of #MeToo, two candidates who both had been accused of sexual misconduct were to compete in the 2020 presidential election. An overlap of the previously mentioned functions, particularly the promotion of solidarity and narration, with meta-activism can be found in the co-occurrence of other movements such as #BlackLivesMatter that feature a similar motivation for the activists' anger because of shared grievances, which is indicative of a growing solidarity among minorities and the heightened awareness of the scope and intersectionality of discrimination: "My feminism is intersectional. My feminism is #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo; I believe that every woman and girl should be just as safe taking an evening walk as every man and boy; I believe that it's okay to be trans or non-binary, and I believe in the human dignity of refugees" (@Tsubugs, June 9, 2020).

Plug

Posts connecting #MeToo to a second movement, either as an additional hashtag or in the tweet itself, amount to about one third of the corpus for #BlackLivesMatter (416 hits) and the abbreviated #blm (238).[5] After #MeToo itself, these were the most prevalent hashtags in the corpus. In some cases, #MeToo might have been added to extend the audience, but it seems the primary intention was to make a connection between the grievances of victims of sexual harassment and of Black people as structural problems of society. The murders of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd immediately preceded our time frame. #GeorgeFloyd is the 11th most frequent hashtag in our corpus (45 hits), with #TakeAKnee (38), another movement with the goal of raising awareness of racism and police brutality, and #EnoughIsEnough (39) echoing this sentiment. However, the link between the two social movements can also originate in the illocutionary transformation of the hashtag #MeToo from a marker of specific discourse to its function as a kind of textual like-button, expressing the authors' support of the second movement by validating the experiences with their own stories. #MeToo thus functions as an act of performativity in the Austinian (1962) sense: By adding the hashtag to a post, users align themselves with a given movement – *they, too,* share the grievance of not being listened to, respected, or given agency.

Criticism

Some tweets question the authenticity of stories told around #MeToo and the movement itself. In our dataset, criticism is mostly gathered around the hashtags #AllLivesMatter and #MeTooUnlessItsBiden. "All lives matter" has been a prominent slogan predominantly promoted by Republican party members in reaction to #BlackLivesMatter to criticize the one-sidedness of the latter, implying that its focus on Blacks was racist and also dangerous to police officers or White citizens in general (May, 2016). The combination of #AllLivesMatter with #MeToo (52 hits) suggests that it is rather a reply to the #BlackLivesMatter movement with authors subscribing textually to the denial of structural racism. #MeToo is therefore understood twofold in this context: first in its literal meaning of authors counting their lives under those who matter, and second, in a more pragmatic meaning along the lines of the movement around #MeToo evoking the suggestion that they have been wronged by another person or group and now want to raise awareness.

The second critical hashtag, though less prevalent in the corpus, is #MeTooUnlessItsBiden. Twenty-five users complain about the Democratic Party and affiliated celebrities for being supportive of #MeToo and affirming its relevance and validity until their future presidential candidate had been accused of sexual misconduct as well. Now, the tweets claim, those activists have suddenly abandoned the movement in a very hypocritical manner. Tweets with this hashtag mostly come from Republican-leaning users, as indicated by their Twitter bios, and seemingly intend to divert sympathy from Biden.

The analysis of our corpus shows that all of Wood's performative functions are present to different degrees in the movement in June 2020. The posts stem from a rather heterogenous group, but most of them have the same goal – to be able to live in peace and with bodily integrity. The key themes mainly circle around the feeling of grievances including women's experiences of sexual misconduct as well as not being heard when reporting it. They are joined by Blacks in the related movement #BlackLivesMatter, sharing the anger about not being respected or treated as equals. Society is criticized as a patriarchal structure which favors (White) men of power and established elites. Activists mostly feel they have no agency in those encrusted structures, and even if they try to blend into the system, they are still abused, exploited or ignored. However, speaking with Gayatri Spivak (2008), the global subaltern can now come together and raise their voices virtually in hope of finally being heard. Seconding this feeling, another main finding is the widespread solidarity of a supportive international and digital audience for those sharing their experience under #MeToo, who are united in their strong desire for a change in their respective societies.

Sharing and Telling: Hashtag Activism, Literacy, and Collaboration

In this last section, we highlight potentials of hashtag activism – as shared stories – for the acquisition of IML. According to Guido Pollak et al. (2018), digitization and an increased mediatization of discourse in all areas of social life necessitate the formation of skills that help the individual navigate the complexities of a world whose online and offline environments are ever-changing. They approach IML theoretically and methodically through the pillars of historicity, culturality, and constructivity (pp. 39-40). Page's notion of the shared story helps us understand how hashtag activism can become a tool for developing IML according to these three aspects. While co-telling emphasizes the mediality and media-specific affordances of social media platforms and as such hovers over the other constituents of the shared story, intertextuality and distributed linearity more overtly foreground an affiliation to questions surrounding the construction of meaning: What functions does a hashtag serve? How does it connect posts, platforms, and people? Who can contribute to a hashtag movement? What dangers does this hold? Hashtag activism can serve as a case study of learning how to engage with social media in a meaningful way, not only in terms of reception, but also by prompting a critical reflection of media use in professional as well as private contexts. It also makes transparent practices of (social) affiliation by proxy of a social media account or digital presence. IML therefore plays an important role in social participation because it is required to express one's stance within a given discourse.

The question about positionality also connects to the last of Page's characteristics, shared beliefs, and the aspects of historicity and culturality. While co-telling, intertextuality, and distributed linearity can be seen as facilitators of the discourses discussed in our analysis, shared beliefs are shaped through these discourses. It is therefore important to understand the historically specific and culturally contingent position of hashtag activism in order to render meaningful individual posts one encounters online or to contribute to digital discourse, and to eventually "produce media for social and political good" (Fry, 2014, p. 127). Media reception and production go hand in hand according to IML, and implementing hashtag activism in the higher-education curriculum or the EFL classroom will empower students as prosumers rather than uncritical consumers. The emphasis of shared stories on collaboration and common ground equally emphasizes that IML additionally needs to focus on "ideology critique and analyzing the politics of representation of crucial dimensions of gender, race, class, and sexuality" (Kellner & Share, 2007, p. 8) because participation in society requires an understanding of power structures and the accepted truths that lead to the formation of communities in the first place.

Coming back to our analysis, we see how #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter articulate grievances – and express solidarity – shared by minorities and, as such, make visible the power structures that keep systemic racism, heterosexism, and (trans) misogyny in place. In contrast to how IML can be acquired via critical readings of fictional representations, the relation of the digital world to lived experience in our example of hashtag activism makes IML immediately relevant to students' lives and the adversity they might face themselves. To this end, our case study has shown several aspects important for achieving an ethnorelative stage in the model of intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 1993): Understanding the construction of an us-versus-them narrative based on gender, race, or their intersections helps students accept cultural difference (the extent to which discrimination in Germany and the United States are similar, yet different) and evaluate their own position in relation to such debates. Students will also be able to adapt a way of negotiating these differences and engaging in political discourse. Lastly, our findings support the idea of integration in the sense of both becoming part of a community and integrating skills into one's engagement with the digital sphere. Learning how to read hashtags can become a way of making sense of a globalized world characterized by a high degree of connec-

tivity, making IML a prerequisite for responsible citizenship: "Competent digital citizens are able to respond to new and everyday challenges related to learning, work, employability, leisure, inclusion and participation in society, respecting human rights and intercultural difference" (Council of Europe, 2019, p. 12).

Working with Page's phrasing, we might consider teaching itself a way of telling and sharing stories. This is not to say that teaching follows a linear model of communication or functions unilaterally. On the contrary, as our focus on hashtag activism and digital political communication shows, telling and sharing are intrinsically connected and move beyond a dyadic notion of communication by making IML a collaborative project. Making the stories co-created via #MeToo or #BlackLivesMatter objects of study also means sharing a space for negotiating skills together with students and encouraging them to retell, reshare, or remix these stories and train their own skills – related to the selection, decoding, and evaluation as well as the use, creation, and dissemination of information – with one another as well as with their future students.[6] Julian McDougall (2014) argues that such a collaborative encounter "is required to redistribute power" (p. 9) in education as well as in society at large. We therefore suggest that sharing be viewed as a metaphor for an inclusive pedagogy: as educators, it is our duty to amplify voices and to empower; as students, it is our duty to engage in this process. In this sense, students themselves have a lot to teach – and it will be our continuous duty as educators to listen. Teaching as a site of co-telling speaks to the importance of IML as a form of education, agency, and resistance. And telling the stories of #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter in the classroom and beyond invariably constitutes an activist effort.

Endnotes

[1] This paper discusses research conducted in the project SKILL.de (Strategien zur Kompetenzentwicklung: Innovative Lehrformate in der Lehrerbildung, digitally enhanced) at the University of Passau, Germany.

This project is part of the "Qualitätsoffensive Lehrerbildung," a joint initiative of the Federal Government and the Länder which aims to improve the quality of teacher training. The programme is funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. The authors are responsible for the content of this publication.

[2] Sara Ahmed (2013) reminds us that when social space is occupied (which it inevitably is), some individuals will not be supported by the shape social space takes because of the weight normative bodies carry and the impressions they create. Apart from this rather metaphorical use of space, Ahmed also attends to the material effects of such occupations: Actual space is built around – and thus supports – a very specific ideal of citizenship, allowing hegemonic subjects to navigate the world the inhabit blithely while the paths of others may become blocked (pp. 423-425).

[3] The students were each granted a free MaxQDA course license for the term.

[4] Tarana Burke used the hashtag #MeToo first in 2006, but it has only become popular globally following a tweet by actress Alyssa Milano in 2017 (Gill & Rahman-Jones, 2020).

[5] Wood's notion of the plug originally designates the inclusion of unconnected trending hashtags to enhance visibility. The co-occurrence of #MeToo and #BLM in our sample is not coincidental, but Wood's remarks nonetheless help us understand the significance of the shared story told via the two movements.

[6] It is noteworthy that undertaking such an effort also requires moving across disciplinary boundaries. With our interdisciplinary approach, we move beyond the separation of linguistics, cultural studies, and literary studies that structures the higher-education curriculum for English at German universities.

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The Information Dilemma: Exploring the Impact of Social Media in Public Discourse in the United States

Brian Trenaman

While information still carries the connotation of facts and truth, a severe shift in the media landscape has taken place with the emergence of social media. Driven away from mainstream media into filter bubbles and echo chambers[1] communities and societies have lost a common ground of what once was perceived as a shared reality and, to some extent, shared values. The egalitarian utopia where everyone can be heard, where each individual can contribute to a common public discourse for the sake of consensus, which shapes the identity of a nation, has long given way to a dystopia where everyone hysterically demands to be agreed with. This article explores the historical and economic context and the key players in media and politics responsible for a public discourse that seems to be, as of 2021, shattered beyond repair

Obwohl Informationen immer noch weitestgehend mit Fakten und Wahrheit gleichgesetzt werden, hat sich die Medienlandschaft durch soziale Medien und Netzwerke stark verändert. Dadurch, dass Gruppen und Gesellschaften weg von den etablierten Medien in Filterblasen und Echokammern[2] gedrängt werden, fehlt eine Basis für das, was einst als gemeinsame Realität und in gewissem Maße auch als gemeinsame Werte wahrgenommen wurde. Die auf Gleichheit beruhende Utopie, in der jeder eine Stimme hat und zu einem gemeinsamen, auf Konsens bedachten, öffentlichen Diskurs beitragen kann, der identitätsbildend wirkt, ist längst einer Dystopie gewichen, in der alle hysterisch Zustimmung einfordern. Dieser Artikel untersucht die historischen und ökonomischen Kontexte und die Hauptakteure in Medien und Politik, die für den derzeit (Stand 2021) zerrütteten öffentlichen Diskurs verantwortlich sind.

Introduction

Shortly after the President of the United States waved goodbye for the last time before boarding Marine One on the lawn of the White House, it was up to the U.S. Congress to restore confidence in the political system. This system had been attacked by an unprecedented and painstakingly orchestrated act of perpetration for the sole sake of maintaining political power. While an impeachment process had been inevitable, GOP representatives soon reverted to pushing back and attacking the political opponents by reframing the negative coverage as "part of an ongoing series of partisan attacks against the Republican Party that emanated from several corners of the so-called liberal establishment" (Kruse & Zelizer, 2019, p. 17). The attempt to divert the President's responsibility went to the extent of framing the entire scandal as "just a political ploy by the president's enemies" (Unger, 2008, p. 100), concluding that the Democrats' reaction "proved that their political opponents had little interest in rebuilding national unity" (Kruse & Zelizer, 2019, p. 17). Though this description insinuates news footage of Donald J. Trump heading off to Mar-a-Lago after inciting a violent insurrection, it was indeed Richard Nixon leaving the White House on August 9, 1974, before being impeached for obstruction of justice, abuse of power and contempt of Congress. The relevant similarities are to be found in the Republicans' response to the political and public outcry after Gerald Ford's Proclamation 4311 on September 8, 1974, when the sitting President granted his predecessor "a full, free, and absolute pardon […] for all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in." Like their predecessors in 1974, the first move of Republicans in 2021 was to divert the attention away from the culprits of the insurrection attempt on January 6 to the political foe. Capitol rioters proudly displaying their devoted support for their "cult leader" (Cohen, 2020) Trump[3] with flags and MAGA hats were now twisted as a mob that was infiltrated and provoked by Antifa, who allegedly "orchestrated the Capitol attack with clever mob control tactics" (RepMoBrooks, 2021), seconding Representative Matt Gaetz' tweet that "Facial recognition firm claims Antifa infil-

trated Trump protesters who stormed Capitol" (RepMattGaetz, 2021). After these accusations were widely refuted, GOP Senator Ron Johnson attempted to deflect responsibility from Trump evangelists to House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, suggesting she deserved some blame for the Capitol Riots on January 6 when pitching the impeachment trial against then-President Trump as "another diversion operation" meant to "deflect away from what potentially the Speaker knew and when she knew it." This was followed by the recourse to the entire (second) impeachment being another part of the Democrats' cancel culture, a famous mantra among Republicans. Finally, it was concluded that impeachment threatens the unity of the country: "President Biden, in his inaugural address, talked about healing, talked about unifying this county. Is the impeachment trial of a former president, is that healing? Is that going to unify? I would argue no, it's very vindictive, it's very divisive, and we need to heal" (Manning, 2021).

During the House Oversight Committee hearing on Wednesday, May 12, 2021, Rep. Andrew Clyde trivialized the Capitol riots as what looked to him as a normal tourist visit, right after denying that an insurrection had taken place at all: "Let me be clear: There was no insurrection. And to call it an insurrection, in my opinion, is a bold-faced lie" (Clyde, 2021). This historical repetition of a derogatory discourse indicates that the self-perception of both parties as being morally and ideologically superior is so prevalent that any form of criticism is seen as outrageously unjust, to which the immediate response is to a) divert attention, b) rebut and reframe negative coverage, c) discredit sources of negative information (individuals or institutions), d) invoke a partisan framing and political identity (political warfare).

Maybe consensus would be too much to ask for from representatives who are expected to stand tall for their specific agenda and their constituency – when signals of goodwill or concessions could be seen as weakness or worse, as treason to be punishable by not being reelected. However, should not at least media representatives deliver what political representatives fail to provide: a genuine public discourse for the sake of common denominator driven by the quality of the arguments rather than defamatory rhetoric? A weak public political discourse was exposed as early as 2004 when the former host of Comedy Central's Daily Show Jon Stewart was invited to CNN's show Crossfire on October 15 of that year. While the hosts Tucker Carlson and Paul Begala intended to talk about Stewart's new book release, soon the show concept of Crossfire and the hosts' complicit role in it was at the center of attention when Stewart pleaded to their hosts: "Stop, stop, stop, stop hurting America. […] Right now, you're helping the politicians and the corporations. […] You're part of their strategies. You are partisan, what do you call it, hacks. […] – you're doing theater when you should be doing debate […]. What you do is partisan hackery. [Y]ou have a responsibility to the public discourse, and you fail miserably […]" (CNN, 2004). With his comparison to pro wrestling, Stewart ridiculed CNN's attempt to mock political discussions while adhering to the imperative of private network television: content has to be entertaining to sell advertisement. In 2021, conservative blogger Ben Domenech commented on Stewart's appearance in Crossfire in the following way: "Crossfire was canceled months later – what do we see? There is today essentially no program on all of cable television that pairs left and right perspectives on camera as co-equal hosts, allowed to engage in free and open debate about the topics of the day" (Domenech, 2021).

The Division of a Country

From an increasingly complex world with multilateral implications of any national policy and forces acting efficiently from the dark depths of the world wide web derives the ever-growing desire to have a foe in plain sight, with defined features and specific ideas of morality to despise vehemently. During the Cold War, the communist regime was the epitome of this opposing force from which identity and unity were stemmed. However, the "decline and demise of the Cold War removed one of the last sources of consensus

in American life, allowing the polarization and partisanship to reach new depths" (Kruse & Zelizer, 2019). After the victory celebration over communism in the early 1990s, the U.S.-American society woke up with a massive hangover: The victorious ideology of neo-liberal capitalism picked up the pace of moving its production and capital to countries like Vietnam and China which previously had remained inaccessible behind the iron curtain. This process initially commenced "four decades ago, when corporate America […] shifted from a multiple stakeholder focus (shareholders, employees, customers, suppliers and communities) to a singular focus on maximizing shareholder value and rewarding CEO's disproportionately for doing that" (Islam & Crego, 2020). It was and is the logical continuation of an economic system that is blind towards sustainable growth for the sake of its nurturing society but always favoring revenue and profit for the few. The result is a growing division of a hyper-wealthy 1% versus an increasingly impoverished 99%, putting further pressure on a struggling middle class which sees "others getting ahead and wonder why, to feel centuries of privilege and values slipping away" (Sedensky, 2016). While the answer is blatantly apparent, an alternative narrative had to be established to suppress a public discourse about the sustainability of an economic system that exploits so many for the benefit of so few: the erosion of status, class and identity was linked to minorities with little to no lobby. But "LGBT people didn't outsource their jobs. Minorities didn't cause climate change. Immigrants didn't issue predatory loans from which they now have lost their houses and everything they ever had. These guys are right to be angry, but they're delivering the mail to the wrong address" (Kimmel, 2017).

The Dilemma of a Revenue-Driven Media Landscape

Nothing signifies better the purely profit-oriented disruption of the public discourse during the 2016 presidential campaigns than a group of teenagers and young men from a small town named Veles south of Skopje in North Macedonia: looking for opportunities to generate online traffic that would result in advertisement revenue, the young villagers found a highly profitable market within the rapidly growing culture of public outrage in the United States. With no shares in politics nor any interest in the ideology or political agenda of either candidate, Clinton or Trump, the group learned fast that "the best way to generate traffic is to get their politics stories to spread on Facebook – and the best way to generate shares on Facebook is to publish sensationalist and often false content that caters to Trump supporters" (Silverman, 2016). They created more than 140 U.S. political websites with catchy domain names like DonaldTrumpNews.com or TrumpVision365.com and successfully emerged as revenue-driven click-bait entrepreneurs, all the while significantly contributing to the stream of hyper-partisan posts on Facebook. The business concept of social media and its underlying algorithms aiming at the user's undivided attention in an aggravated and unregulated socio-economic setting allows for an explanatory approach for the 'perfect storm' hitting democracy since the election of Donald Trump in 2016. That year, social media consumers in the United States may have noticed that their feeds drifted either in a blue or red direction. "Either way, in [2016], it has almost certainly become more intense" (Herrman, 2016). This growing intensity was not the result of an increased interest in political content during the 2016 elections evoked by cleverly conducted campaign strategies. Nor was this election considered to be historically more relevant than previous ones. The world witnessed how the public was rapidly slipping fast from confusion to annoyance to frustration to becoming increasingly furious and finally downright outraged about either of the two presidential candidates. What had happened compared to previous years? Well, social media had happened: even though the Obama campaign already utilized social media platforms in 2008, their functionality back then was rudimentary and mainly focused on raising awareness and financial support. This all changed when Facebook introduced the Like-Button on February 9 and FriendFeed on August 10, 2009, with

significant effects on users and on the dynamics with which posts were and are spreading: even though only a minority of adolescents fall under the category of social media addicts, the Like-Button must be seen as a critical component for a prevalent habitual social media use, which is triggered by a "craving for validation, experienced by billions around the globe, that's currently pushing platform engagement in ways that in 2009 were unimaginable" (Morgans, 2017). This engagement is not an incidental phenomenon but the result of design techniques[4] developed by programmers who understand the neuro-science of 'brain hacking': "[…] since we've figured out, to some extent, how these pieces of the brain that handle addiction are working, people have figured out how to juice them further and how to bake that information into apps" (Cooper, 2017). Now with many smartphone users conditioned to be online and hooked to social media platforms, the mechanics behind the phenomenon of emerging populism around the world, the division of the United States into two irreconcilable camps and the shift towards totalitarianism culminating in the attempt to topple the U.S. government during the insurrection on January 6, 2021, are coming in sight. At the very core of this torn-apart society lies an entirely unregulated economy, whose business model pivots around a highly profitable, more and more fragmented, divided and hence scarce commodity: our attention.

With the introduction of its 24-hour cable news network on June 1, 1980, CNN disrupted the media landscape by shifting the journalistic focus from editing news to getting out news quickly. In the late 1990s and early 2000s the expansion of the internet opened up myriad options for media consumers and thus spurred the dissemination of information exponentially. However, this did not lead to better-informed citizens making well-informed decisions based on crossed-checked research. In an "information-rich world, the wealth of information means a dearth of something else: a scarcity of whatever it is that information consumes: […] the attention of its recipients. Hence a wealth of information creates a poverty of attention and a need to allocate that attention efficiently among the overabundance of information sources that might consume it" (Simon, 1971). The saturation of information led many viewers to abandon the news entirely or become more suspicious and fatigued about politics (Dagnes, 2010). Hence, media personalities such as Tucker Carlson or Chris Cuomo, who formulate opinions on complex matters that resonate with their own belief system, have become an integral substitution for deriving a personal stance on each topic arising by rationally weighing the pros and cons. The proliferated fragmentation of the media landscape towards "hybrid forms of information and comment that blur the boundaries among journalism, politics, entertainment, public relations activism" (Hallin, 2021) has mostly caused a shift towards opinion and belief warfare which in its nature doesn't aim for consensus but rather for domination. Yet, the blatant partisan alignment of 'news' anchors and night show hosts today and their obligation to convey any arising topic entertainingly in either an appalled or cynical manner for the sake of market shares were and are not the divisive factor driving a wedge into U.S. society. It is the logic of the attention economy first infiltrated and now dominated by technology that pushes individuals "from milder to more extreme content" (Ribeiro et al., 2020) by its surreptitious algorithms: once a person starts using any social media platform its artificial intelligence begins profiling the new user, continuously testing his or her preferences for posts, pictures, ads, news and videos based on the attention time allocated for various content. Similar to the marketing rule that maintaining a customer is much cheaper than winning a new customer, retaining the attention of the user within in the app or platform is way easier than to bring him or her back. Thus, keeping the user's attention is the imperative goal. But even if AI-driven profiling algorithms know all our preferences and feed us exactly what we want, this will eventually wear off. So, one of the essential design techniques is not to feed us with our desired content continuously but rather withholding it before releasing it in bursts perfectly timed just before we are about to shift

our interest away. The second, equally important design technique is to expose us with slightly more aggravating content to keep us engaged. This technique is addressing and exploiting our biological disposition to have a heightened awareness and receptiveness for negative information, called negativity bias (Hanson, 2013). In the evolutionary context this may have been an effective filter for survival. But with the beginning of civilization negative bias has become a highly efficient tool of manipulation both for economic and political interest. Social media critic Tristan Harris considers it "unsurprising that social media content generating fear, anger, and disgust spreads much faster than positive content. We marinate in this negativity, and it propels deeper engagement. Fear and outrage become the norm […]" (Harris, 2021). In this stimulated state of heightened anxious alertness "companies sell user's attention and personal information to the highest bidder, who uses it to manipulate thoughts and beliefs – be it about products or politics – with very little transparency" (Harris, 2017) and with no concern for the democratic stability of a nation. In 2016, Steve Bannon, at that time chief executive officer of Trump's presidential campaign, advised the latter to ride the ticket of a populist, nationalist position intensely. Firstly, because this was already in line with Bannon's belief system that he had been advocating as CEO of the far-right news, opinion and commentary website Breitbart, where "immigration was [its] issue long before Trump gave it the perfect candidate" (Benkler et al., 2018). Secondly, with what had happened in Nazi Germany in the 1930s, there was compelling historical evidence that xenophobia could be induced in order to establish a 'savior,' who would be the 'last hope' from a fabricated existential threat.

The Trump campaign could have used conventional communication channels to establish the narrative of a "pure nation" that was about to be "polluted" by "criminal," "violent," "Muslim," and "disease-infested immigrants" (Faris et al., 2017). However, for Bannon's taste, there was not enough certainty that even with cleverly designed Facebook ads and marketing-based campaigns the political adversary Hillary Clinton could be defeated. Bannon believed that a war cannot be won if the enemy has access to the same weapon arsenal. Hence, a propaganda tool was needed that had already proven itself to effectively change the behavior of targeted population groups in developing countries and would be exclusively available to the Trump campaign: Cambridge Analytica (CA), a subsidiary of the global election management agency SCL group, delivered this tool, that was designed to conduct psychological operations titled Project Alamo. It utilized a database of fifty million Facebook users, which had been harvested between June and August 2014 (Stahl, 2018) to create psychological profiles of 230 million Americans and 5,000 data points on each American voter. Brittany Kaiser, former director of business development at CA, explains the tactics of combining micro-targeting with new constructs of psychology:

> The bulk of our resources went into targeting those whose minds we thought we could change. We called them the persuadables: They are everywhere in the country. But the persuadables who mattered were the ones in swing states like Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Florida. […] If we target enough persuadable people in the right precincts, then those states would turn red instead of blue. Our creative team designed personalized content to trigger those individuals. We bombarded them through blogs, websites, articles, videos, ads, every platform you can imagine. Until they saw the world the way we wanted them to. Until they voted for our candidate. (Amer & Noujaim, 2019)

Equally essential to win over undecided voters for Trump was to discourage Clinton-supporters to vote in the election. In October 2016, "[t]hree major voter suppression operations" (Green & Issenberg, 2016) were specifically targeting idealistic white liberals, young women and African Americans who were pivotal to Hillary Clinton's victory. People who belonged to these groups received so-called 'dark posts' which were visible only to them. Roger McNamee, as one of the

first investors who saw the vast potential of Facebook also understood the highly detrimental effect the social media platform has on democracies and their election process through targeted voter suppression campaigns: "Social media can do this by, for example, running ads which show long queues or disturbances at voting stations, or messaging creating apathy about the democratic process" (McNamee, 2020). The Trump campaign spent $70 million a month on their digital operations and ran "5.9 million visual ads on Facebook, in contrast to Hillary Clinton's 66,000" (Amer & Noujaim, 2019). This asymmetric propaganda warfare was unmatched by mainstream media, which responded with negative coverage about both presidential candidates to adhere to the journalistic paradigm of neutrality. However, "in an asymmetric propaganda environment, neutrality is complicity" (Benkler et al., 2018).

The aftermath of these psychological warfare tactics resulted in a segment of the American population being turned into a constant state of anger, fear, outrage, or anxiety. These emotional states of heightened alertness kept this segment highly susceptible for any further incendiary headlines, feeding the narrative of the American culture existentially threatened by minorities and the political left.[5] The attention had shifted towards right-wing media outlets and with it substantial market shares: "'Last month, Breitbart achieved 192 million page views, 31 million uniques, and 89 million visits,' said Breitbart Editor-in-Chief Alexander Marlow. 'And we're the number one political Facebook page in the world, with two million more engagements than Huffington Post. We look forward to keeping up that same standard of excellence in Steve [Bannon's] temporary absence'" (News, 2016). What was initially intended as a ploy to push Donald Trump into office turned out to be a highly effective measure to detach Trump's devotees entirely from mainstream media. Locked into echo chambers and deprived of the ethics of objective journalism, the Trump fan base was now fully exposed to partisan fiction of right-wing media players such as Fox News, Breitbart, The Daily Caller, TheBlaze, Infowars and Newsmax[6] (Polskin, 2017), which turned out to be a very lucrative market. These prominent right-wing media protagonists are seconded by a "growing sea of bloggers, podcasters, message board moderators, conspiracy theorists, social media pundits, extremist preachers and 'news' outlets [who also] feed off Trump directly, using the president's lies" (Ludwig, 2021). By acting as clickbait entrepreneurs in an outrage culture they attempt to skim off the remaining attention for the sake of gaining followers, whose likes and hits directly translate to donations and ad revenue.

The economics of right-wing media, strongly correlating to the number of social media followers, became apparent when the biggest concern of right-wing media figures in the aftermath of the January 6, 2021, insurrection attempt was not the attack on the institution itself, the epicenter of the U.S. democracy and thus the epitome of the free world. Neither did the death of Police Officer Brian Sicknick cause outrage among right-wing media hosts, who are usually known for their law-and-order ideology and highly sympathetic for the Back the Blue movement.[7] The main concern of right-wing media figures was losing substantial amounts of Twitter followers after Donald Trump's account got suspended: Fox News host Brian Kilmeade announced on January 9, 2021: "So I have actually lost 30k followers in 4 hours? Is that even possible? […] Is this to please @JoeBiden?" (Kilmeade, 2021). After losing more than 100,000 Twitter followers in the weeks following the Capitol riots, Fox News host Maria Bartiromo traced this loss to the "censorship obsession" of Democrats (Haroun, 2021). After banning Donald Trump permanently from their platform, Twitter deleted more than 70,000 accounts responsible for sharing QAnon conspiracy theories, justifying this step as a measure of risk management: "Given the violent events in Washington, D.C., and increased risk of harm, we began permanently suspending thousands of accounts that were primarily dedicated to sharing QAnon content on Friday afternoon" (Safety, 2021).

The attention economy is entirely indifferent towards the nature or direction of public discourse. Its primary concern is solely to generate as much attention as possible, as Tristan Harris,

advocate for a humane technology, diagnoses on CBS's 60 Minutes: "It's not because anyone is evil or has bad intentions. It's because the game is getting attention at all costs. And the problem is it becomes this race to the bottom of the brainstem, where if I go lower on the brainstem to get you […] using my product, I win" (Cooper, 2017). And if the topic catching the public attention happens to be politics in 2016, so be it. However, since politics mainly deal with rational responses to complex problems and require lengthy analysis and discourses to achieve consensus, they do not provide the material to stir up emotions. In this environment, a presidential candidate prone to polarize due to his psychological disposition and populist stances was much more likely to be pushed by algorithms in surge for more clicks, shares and comments through the discord he naturally evokes on his own. On November 9, 2016, it may have been a big surprise for observers of the U.S. presidential campaign that a 'wildly ill-disciplined' candidate with no expertise in politics whatsoever and appalling outbursts towards women, minorities, and anyone daring to criticize him had "pulled off the most astonishing victory in U.S. history" (Smith, 2016). However, in hindsight, with the knowledge of the underlying currents of a fundamentally distorted, tweaked and to some significant extent irreversibly eroded public discourse, Donald Trump was the logical, maybe even the inevitable choice for the attention economy. Facebook critic Roger McNamee identifies a clear correlation between economic interests of social media platforms and their lenient handling of politically motivated hatred: "Having politics take place on social media has given the social media platforms enormous power. And so, when you look at hate speech, disinformation, conspiracy theories, if you take them out, the level of engagement on these platforms goes way, way down – and with it, their economic value. Hate speech, misinformation, conspiracy theories, that is the lubricant for their business" (McNamee, 2020). From Donald Trump's announcement on June 16, 2015, to run for president until the inauguration of Joe Biden on January 21, 2021, Facebook has increased its annual revenue from $14,639 to $94,399 billion.

The Dilemma of Foreign Influence on Public Discourse

Domestic economic and political interests were not the only driving forces meddling with the free will of U.S.-American voters. In April 2021, evidence of collusion between Russia and the Trump campaign emerged (Treasury, 2021). Attacks on the Democratic National Committee (DNC) email server and its influence on the 2016 and 2020 presidential campaigns were conducted as a result of collusion between Donald J. Trump and Russian intelligence.[8] With or without collusion, Russia was intrinsically motivated to favor Trump: he was a political rookie with no expertise whatsoever in foreign policy or diplomacy; he suffered from pathological narcissism, which made him predictable and thus prone to manipulation and corruption.[9] At the time of his presidential candidacy, Trump and his senior advisors, Paul Manafort and Carter Page, had extensive ties with Russian financiers (Nesbit, 2016). Trump's open dismissal of the NATO and his cheering Britain's vote to exit the European Union made him an ideal future President to weaken military and political opposition to Putin's expansion plans in Eastern Europe. Finally, Donald Trump's personality trait of a radical right-wing populist (Betz, 2020) was bound to polarize the political landscape and the entire U.S. society, drive a nation into trench warfare of evangelists and haters and thus would absorb most of the media attention domestically. This would eventually open up room for Putin's desire to "Make Russia Great Again," as lifelong Republican Max Boot expressed his concern back in 2015, that the Trump campaign Make America Great Again should be revealed as the deceptive front end of Russian geostrategic interests (Boot, 2015). Consequently, Russia "disseminated inflammatory posts that reached 126 million users on Facebook, published more than 131,000 messages on Twitter and uploaded over 1,000 videos on Google's YouTube service. […]" (Isaac & Wakabayashi, 2017). These attacks on U.S.-American public opinion were orchestrated by the Internet Research Agency, a Russian company based in St. Petersburg and described by the U.S. Intelligence Community as a troll

farm. The Russian President "ordered an influence campaign in 2016 aimed at the U.S. presidential election […] denigrate [Hillary] Clinton, and harm her electability and potential presidency" (National Intelligence Council, 2017). In 2017, Twitter discovered that "more than 2,700 accounts on its service that were linked to the Internet Research Agency between September 2016 and November 2016" (Isaac & Wakabayashi, 2017). The Russian agenda was not limited to get Trump into the White House in 2016; it is in the Kremlin's interest to see the United States "in conflict on big social issues" (Entous et al., 2017), e.g., the racial tensions following the death of George Floyd. They posed an excellent opportunity for Russian intelligence to intensify discord and social tensions between ethnic groups in the United States by playing both the Black Lives Matter and the Blue Lives Matter movements, even to the extent to organize real-life political demonstrations. After continuously growing public pressure Facebook eventually acknowledged for the first time on September 6, 2017, that "inauthentic accounts from 2015 to 2017 promoted what the company's chief security officer, Alex Stamos, characterized as 'divisive social and political messages across the ideological spectrum'" (Poulsen et al., 2017). While Russia's interest in destabilizing other countries is as old as the Cold War, the means have changed dramatically: Facebook, "an advertising juggernaut worth almost half a trillion dollars" (Entous et al., 2017) with currently 2,701 billion monthly active users, 35% of the world's population has been and remains wide open for any kind of micro-targeted psyops, which are severely detrimental to the unity of communities, societies, and nations. During her Ted Talk in 2019 Guardian-journalist Carole Cadwalladr directly addressed "the gods of Silicon Valley" and challenged them to acknowledge, that their technology, once developed to connect people, "is now driving us apart" (Cadwalladr, 2019).

Only time will tell, whether today's tech giants will continue to be indifferent towards their responsibility for the demise of democracies for the sole sake of profit and growth. History will tell, whether politicians will find the courage to regulate these companies while renouncing the temptations of gaining political power through social media and populism. And our personal biographies eventually will tell, whether we as individuals will have found the strength to withstand the devious triggers of the attention economy while claiming back the agency for our own lives.

Endnotes

[1] While the term 'filter bubble' is limited to the domain of online mechanisms, the 'echo chamber' extends its reach into the analog realm of the real-life social interactions where we surround ourselves with like-minded peers

[2] Während der Begriff der ‚Filterblase' auf den Online-Bereich beschränkt ist, gilt der Begriff der ‚Echokammer' gleichermaßen im analogen, echten Leben, wo wir uns mit Gleichgesinnten umgeben

[3] Accused Capitol rioter Anthony Antonio stated on Chris Cuomo's Developing Tonight: "When I was 18 years old I was saved by Jesus Christ. I dedicated my life to the lord. And last year I honestly put [Donald Trump] above Jesus Christ as my lord and savior" chrisccuomo (2021).

[4] SnapChat uses a technique called 'streaks' showing the number of days in a row the user is active on an app. Other codes calculate the best moment when to give the user rewards, e.g., likes coming in a sudden rush rather than being revealed at a regular time or in real time. YouTube plays one video after another by default, suggesting further content that is slightly more emotionally appealing than the previous video. Facebook and Instagram adopted TikTok's auto-play function into their news feeds while scrutinizing the user's attention span for each photo or video post to calculate which content will retain the user's attention and thus extend their time spent within their advertisement ecosystem.

[5] The term 'dark post' (also called unpublished post) refers to a Facebook ad that appears in the newsfeeds of only a selected set of users and nowhere else. "With dark posts, an advertiser can target users by keyword

– making it possible for them to reach, say, all professional vegan bakers who watch Mr. Robot while practicing calligraphy […].” Another decisive feature of dark posts is that they “appear in the user’s newsfeed along with updates from friends [but] do not appear on the advertiser’s own page. Only the targeted audience ever sees them” (Merriam-Webster).

[6] In order of global rank in visits among U.S. conservative websites in September 2017 (Polskin, 2017).

[7] To offset the rising recognition of the decentralized political and social movement Black Lives Matter (BLM) the decentralized movement Back the Blue emerged in the United States to display public support for law enforcement

[8] In a press release dated April 15, 2021, the U.S. Department of the Treasury announced, “sweeping action against 16 entities and 16 individuals who attempted to influence the 2020 U.S. presidential election at the direction of the leadership of the Russian Government.” Furthermore, “during the 2016 U.S. presidential election campaign, [Konstantin] Kilimnik provided the Russian Intelligence Services with sensitive information on polling and campaign strategy” (U.S. Dept. of the Treasury).

[9] “For the KGB, it was a charm offensive. They had collected a lot of information on his personality so they knew who he was personally. The feeling was that he was extremely vulnerable intellectually, and psychologically, and he was prone to flattery” (Smith, 2021).

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Das politische System der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika: Ein Unterrichtskonzept

Florian Bassa

The United States of America has the longest standing democracy in the world. Every four years, its political system moves to the center of global media attention through the presidential elections and surprises the public with its complexity and difference. This teaching concept offers an insight into the special features of this presidential democracy and compares it at different levels with the parliamentary system in Austria. Using a variety of sources and tasks, the students deal with this topic and are enabled to critically comment on the addressed aspects. The understanding thus gained facilitates and enables a reflected approach to other political models.

*Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika haben die am längsten bestehende Demokratie der Welt. Alle vier Jahre rückt ihr politisches System durch die Präsidentschaftswahlen ins Zentrum des globalen Medieninteresses und überrascht die Weltöffentlichkeit stets aufs Neue mit seiner Komplexität und Andersartigkeit. Das vorliegende Unterrichtskonzept bietet einen Einblick in die Besonderheiten dieser präsidentiellen Demokratie und stellt sie auf verschiedenen Ebenen dem parlamentarischen System in Österreich gegenüber. Anhand unterschiedlicher Quellen und Aufgabenstellungen beschäftigen sich die Schüler*innen mit diesem Thema und werden befähigt, sich kritisch zu den angesprochenen Aspekten zu äußern. Das dadurch gewonnene Verständnis erleichtert und ermöglicht den reflektierten Umgang mit anderen politischen Modellen.*

Einführung

Alle vier Jahre finden in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika Präsidentschaftswahlen statt. Dieser mehrmonatige Prozess ruft auch in der europäischen Öffentlichkeit großes Interesse hervor und gibt aufgrund seiner Komplexität und auch Fremdartigkeit bisweilen Rätsel auf. Das vorliegende Unterrichtskonzept soll es Schüler*innen der Sekundarstufe II ermöglichen, sich vertieft mit dem politischen System der USA zu beschäftigen und einen Vergleich mit dem Österreichs anzustellen. Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang möglich, die gesamte Unterrichtssequenz im Ausmaß von ca. fünf Schulstunden zu bearbeiten oder einzelne Teile herauszugreifen und Schwerpunkte zu setzen. Auch fächerübergreifendes Arbeiten z. B. mit Englisch ist vorstellbar, wenn etwa die hier auf Deutsch wiedergegebenen Teile der US-Verfassung im englischen Original gelesen werden oder zum Ablauf der Präsidentschaftswahlen ein entsprechendes Video verwendet wird.[1]

Am Anfang steht der Vergleich zwischen verschiedenen demokratischen Modellen. Die Unterschiede zwischen demokratischen und nichtdemokratischen Systemen sind dabei für die meisten leicht zu benennen. Aber auch innerhalb des demokratischen Spektrums haben sich verschiedene Typen mit Abweichungen in gewissen Bereichen herausgebildet. Die Schüler*innen sollen daher in einem ersten Schritt befähigt werden, zwischen präsidentiellen und parlamentarischen Demokratien zu unterscheiden, die Rolle der drei Staatsgewalten jeweils zu verorten und die Vor- und Nachteile besonders in Bezug auf Gewaltenteilung, Legitimation und Partizipation zu erkennen. Die grundlegende Idee für diesen Vergleich stammt vom deutschen Politikwissenschaftler Peter Massing (2016, S. 4-6) und wurde für diesen Beitrag adaptiert. Es folgt die Übertragung der Merkmale einer präsidentiellen Demokratie auf das politische System der USA, die das älteste und bekannteste Beispiel für diese Regierungsform sind. Die Schüler*innen werden überblicksartig mit den wichtigsten politischen Institutionen der USA vertraut gemacht und sollen die Zusammenhänge zwischen den unterschiedlichen Staatsgewalten erkennen. Der restliche Beitrag legt einen Schwerpunkt auf die Legislative und die Exekutive, wobei jeweils ein Vergleich zwischen deren Ausgestaltung in den Vereinigten Staaten und Österreich im Mittelpunkt steht. Die Schüler*innen sollen sich dabei über Ausschnitte aus der politikwissenschaftlichen Fachliteratur und aus den jeweili-

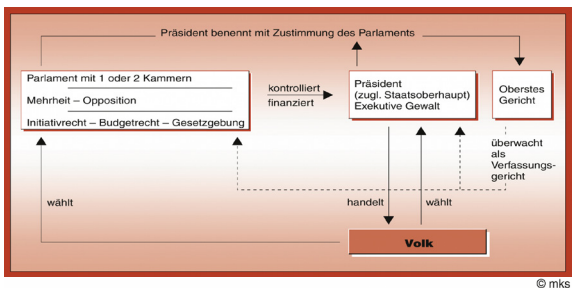
gen Verfassungen vertieft mit der Funktionsweise der politischen Systeme in diesen beiden Staaten auseinandersetzen und die wesentlichen Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede benennen können. Auch die Präsidentenwahlen selbst, die medial meist im Zentrum stehen, werden auf verschiedene Arten in den Blick genommen. Nach dem Ansehen eines entsprechenden Videos soll eine Zeitleiste erstellt werden, um die Abläufe auch visuell zu verdeutlichen. Nach der Definition von relevanten Begriffen mit Hilfe einer Internetrecherche und einem neuerlichen Vergleich mit dem Prozedere in Österreich haben die Schüler*innen die Möglichkeit, über das Spiel „Win the White House", das als Online-Version bzw. Handy-App verfügbar ist, selbst in die Rolle einer Bewerberin oder eines Bewerbers für die US-Präsidentschaft zu schlüpfen. Nach der Wahl der Schwierigkeitsstufe entscheiden sie sich für eine politische Partei und die wesentlichen Themen (aus ihrer oder der gegnerischen Partei), die sie in ihrem Wahlkampf vertreten möchten. Die Vorwahlen können als Training genutzt oder auch übersprungen werden. Das englischsprachige Spiel ist aber auch ohne dieses Tutorial rasch zu durchschauen. Anschließend folgt der zehnwöchige Hauptwahlkampf, der im Rundenmodus absolviert wird. Die Schüler*innen müssen hierbei Geldspenden sammeln, in den einzelnen Bundesstaaten Auftritte absolvieren, TV-Werbespots schalten, in denen sie ihre Themen positiv oder die des Gegners negativ darstellen, und neue Bundesstaaten in ihre Kampagne einbeziehen. Dabei ist es wichtig, ständig das Momentum in den einzelnen Staaten im Auge zu behalten, da diese während der Kampagne gewonnen und auch wieder verloren werden können. Mit dem Wahltag, der laut Verfassung am ersten Dienstag nach dem ersten Montag im November stattfindet, endet das Spiel nach Ablauf der erwähnten zehn Wochen. Nun werden die Wahlleute in allen Bundesstaaten ausgezählt und die neue Präsidentin bzw. der neue Präsident gekürt. Mithilfe des Spiels können die Lernenden ihr gewonnenes Wissen vertiefen und auf spielerische Weise stärkere Einblicke in die Abläufe des US-Präsidentschaftswahlkampfes gewinnen. Am Ende der Unterrichtssequenz steht die Bearbeitung eines Artikels aus der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* über neue Wahlkampfmethoden im digitalen Zeitalter. Er eignet sich als Ausgangspunkt für Diskussionen, inwieweit eine Amerikanisierung unseres politischen Systems und der im Wahlkampf eingesetzten Strategien stattfindet und was hierbei in Zukunft noch zu erwarten ist.

Demokratische Regierungssysteme im Vergleich

Im Laufe der Zeit haben sich verschiedene demokratische Modelle herausgebildet, die alle denselben Grundsätzen wie freien Wahlen, Mehrparteiensystemen oder der Achtung der Menschenrechte verpflichtet sind. Heute spricht man von zwei Grundformen, die sich in der Stellung von Parlament, Regierung und Staatsoberhaupt unterscheiden.

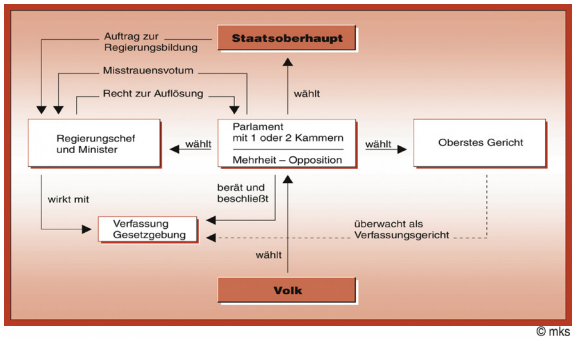
Arbeitsaufgaben (M1 & M2)

1. Ermittle anhand von M1 und M2 die Merkmale einer präsidentiellen und einer parlamentarischen Demokratie.
2. Vergleiche die beiden Modelle hinsichtlich der Stellung von Parlament, Regierung und Staatsoberhaupt.



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M1: Schematische Darstellung einer präsidentiellen Demokratie. Quelle: https://www.bpb.de/cache/images/4/331694-st-galerie_gross.png?442C0, am 11.2.2021.



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M2: Schematische Darstellung einer parlamentarischen Demokratie. Quelle: https://www.bpb.de/cache/images/3/331693-st-galerie_gross.png?48E3F, am 11.2.2021.

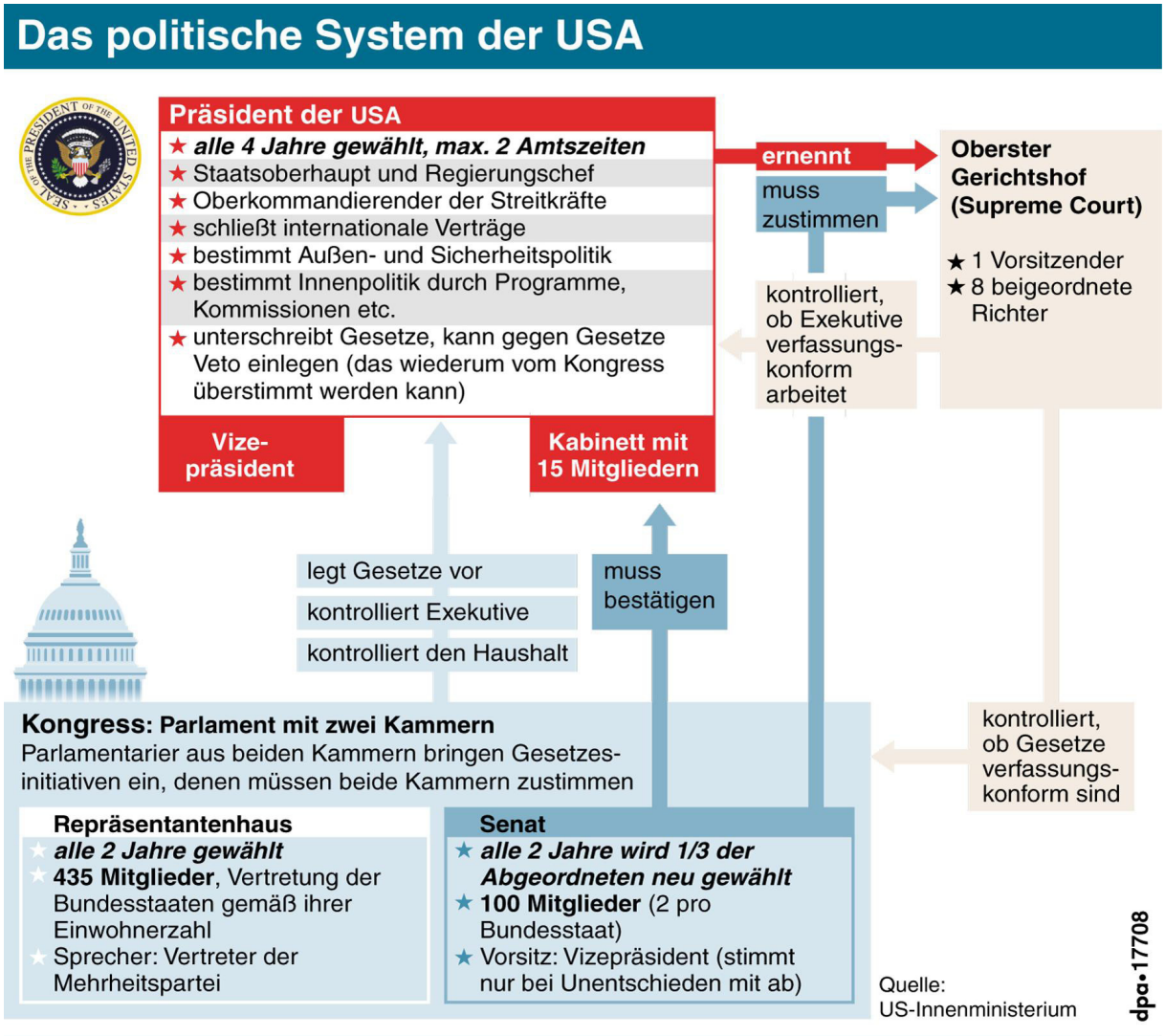
3. Ordne die in den Abbildungen angeführten Organe den drei Staatsgewalten Legislative, Exekutive und Judikative zu und arbeite die Unterschiede in Bezug auf die Gewaltenteilung heraus.
4. Diskutiere die Vor- und Nachteile der beiden Regierungssysteme.

Die USA als Beispiel für eine präsidentielle Demokratie

Heutzutage gibt es deutlich mehr parlamentarische als präsidentielle Demokratien, die man neben den Vereinigten Staaten vor allem in Lateinamerika findet. Wie in präsidentiellen Systemen üblich sind auch in den USA die Staatsgewalten Legislative, Exekutive und Judikative klar voneinander getrennt. Dennoch sind deren Akteur*innen zur Zusammenarbeit gezwungen, um das Land voranzubringen.

Arbeitsaufgaben (M3)

1. Übertrage die von dir ermittelten Merkmale einer präsidentiellen Demokratie auf das politische System der USA, wie es in M3 dargestellt ist.
2. Beurteile die Umsetzung der Gewaltenteilung in den Vereinigten Staaten.



M3: Das politische System der USA. Quelle: https://www.merkur.de/bilder/2020/10/13/90069271/24129768-erklaer-grafik-zum-politischen-system-der-usa-2uOLkF2ELZZG.jpg, am 11.2.2021.

Die Stellung der Legislative

Arbeitsaufgaben (M4 & M5)

1. Vergleiche die Parlamente in den USA und in Österreich hinsichtlich ihrer Zusammensetzung, demokratischen Legitimation, Arbeitsweise und Stellung innerhalb des politischen Systems.
2. Erkläre die Bedeutung von Parteien für den politischen Alltag in den USA und Österreich.
3. Recherchiere die aktuelle Zusammensetzung des US-Kongresses und beurteile, welche Konsequenzen sich daraus für die Politik ergeben könnten. Zeige dies nach Möglichkeit anhand eines aktuellen Beispiels.

M4: Der US-Kongress

Der Kongress besteht aus zwei Kammern, dem Senat (*Senate*) und dem Repräsentantenhaus (*House of Representatives*). Diese bikamerale Organisation des Kongresses gründet einerseits auf englischer Tradition, andererseits soll sie nach dem Willen der *founding fathers* dem republikanischen und dem föderalen Charakter des politischen Systems Rechnung tragen. Das Repräsentantenhaus verkörpert [...] die Idee der Volkssouveränität: Vom Volk direkt gewählt, durch die Kürze der Amtsdauer zu ständigem Kontakt mit der Wählerschaft angehalten, soll es gewissermaßen ein plebiszitäres Element darstellen. Der Senat hingegen soll die Interessen der Einzelstaaten in die Entscheidungsprozesse der Bundespolitik einbringen. Die (ursprünglich) indirekte Wahl, die längere Amtsdauer der Senatoren und die Überschaubarkeit einer kleineren Kammer sollten im Senat zudem längerfristige Planung ermöglichen, politische Expertise fördern und somit ein gewisses Gegengewicht zum Repräsentantenhaus mit seiner unmittelbaren Bindung an das Volk schaffen. [...]

Obwohl beide Häuser des Kongresses formal gleichberechtigt sind, gilt der Senat als die bedeutendere Parlamentskammer. [...] Den Vorsitz im Senat führt der amtierende Vizepräsident der Vereinigten Staaten, dessen Stimme allerdings nur in Pattsituationen den Ausschlag gibt. [...] Die Mehrheitspartei hat das Recht, den Vorsitz jedes Ausschusses und die Mehrheit der Ausschussmitglieder für sich in Anspruch zu nehmen. [...]

[Im Repräsentantenhaus wird] ein *Speaker of the House* gewählt, der gleichzeitig Fraktionsvorsitzender der Mehrheitspartei und Präsident des Repräsentantenhauses ist. Diese Doppelfunktion macht den Speaker zur potentiell mächtigsten Führungspersönlichkeit im Kongress. Seine formalen Befugnisse ermöglichen es ihm, die Geschäftsordnung und die Tagesordnung sowie die Arbeitsanweisungen der Ausschüsse zu kontrollieren und den Ablauf der Debatten im Plenum zu beeinflussen. Seine stärkste Kompetenz ist, dass er die Vorsitzendenposten der Ausschüsse (*committees*) aus den Reihen der Mehrheitspartei vergeben kann. [...]

Der Kongress ist ein typisches Arbeitsparlament. Zur Vorbereitung ihrer Entscheidungen bilden Senat und Repräsentantenhaus eine Reihe von Ausschüssen, die die eigentlichen parlamentarischen Machtzentren darstellen. Hier findet die intensivste Beratung der Gesetzesvorlagen statt, und von den Ausschüssen geht faktisch auch die Kontrolle der Exekutive aus. Das Ausschusssystem, die Größe und die Kompetenzen der einzelnen Ausschüsse (*committees*) werden durch die Geschäftsordnung beider Kammern festgelegt. [...]

Im politischen Alltag des Kongresses ist der Einfluss der Parteien geringer als in den Legislativen parlamentarischer Regierungssysteme. In ihrem Abstimmungsverhalten lassen sich die Mitglieder von Senat und Repräsentantenhaus nach wie vor stark von den Interessen ihres Wahlkreises leiten, erst dann von der Position ihrer Partei oder von den Wünschen des Präsidenten. Eine strenge Fraktionsdisziplin, wie sie typisch für parlamentarische Regierungssysteme ist, ist dem US-Kongress traditionell fremd. [...] Selbst der Präsident kann nicht unbedingt auf die Unterstützung aller seiner Parteifreunde im Kongress zählen. Senatoren und Abgeordnete verstehen sich vielmehr weitgehend als unabhängige Vertreter der legislativen Gewalt und durchaus als Gegengewicht zum Präsidenten. Der politische Alltag gestaltet sich deshalb häufig als ein Machtkampf zwischen Präsident und Kongress.

Quelle: Stüwe, K. (2013). USA. Wochenschau Verlag, S. 63–79.

M5: Parteien in den USA

Die politischen Parteien in den USA sind viel lockerer organisiert als Parteien in anderen Ländern. Auf nationaler Ebene gibt es [...] keine verfassungsrechtlichen oder gesetzlichen Vorschriften zur Parteienorganisation. In den beiden großen Parteien gibt es keine formale Parteimitgliedschaft, keine Mitgliedsbeiträge und Parteibücher oder Mitgliedsausweise [...]. Zum Mitglied (*member*) einer Partei wird man vielmehr dadurch, dass man sich dazu erklärt. [...]

Die heutigen Parteistrukturen von Demokraten und Republikanern, die sich im Verlauf von etwa 150 Jahren herausbildeten, sind dezentral und föderalistisch. [...] Auf einzelstaatlicher Ebene koordiniert die Partei vor allem den Wahlkampf im Rahmen von Kongresswahlen, entwirft die politische Gesamtkonzeption der Partei im Staat und treibt Geld zur Finanzierung ein.

Obwohl sich seit den 1970er Jahren unter dem Eindruck der Professionalisierung von Wahlkämpfen eine tendenzielle Stärkung der nationalen Parteiebene beobachten lässt, ist diese gegenüber den einzelstaatlichen Parteistrukturen organisatorisch nach wie vor von geringerer Bedeutung.

Quelle: Stüwe, K. (2013). USA. Wochenschau Verlag, S. 139–140.

Die Stellung des Präsidenten

Der Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika wird oft als mächtigster Mann der Welt wahrgenommen, da er laut Verfassung allein die Exekutive bildet. Minister*innen, wie wir sie aus den meisten europäischen Demokratien kennen, gibt es nicht, allerdings wird eine bestimmte Anzahl von *secretaries* ernannt, die den Präsidenten bei der Amtsausübung unterstützen. Obwohl der Präsident durch das *checks and balances*-System der US-Verfassung in seiner Macht beschränkt wird, kommt ihm dennoch eine Vielzahl an Aufgaben und Rechten zu.

Die Rechte des österreichischen Bundespräsidenten werden im Bundesverfassungsgesetz dargelegt und können übersichtlich auf der Amtshomepage eingesehen werden.[2]

M6: Die Kompetenzen des US-Präsidenten

Jede Gesetzesvorlage wird nach ihrer Verabschiedung durch das Repräsentantenhaus und den Senat, ehe sie Gesetzeskraft erlangt, dem Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten vorgelegt. Wenn er sie billigt, so soll er sie unterzeichnen, andernfalls jedoch mit seinen Einwendungen an jenes Haus zurückverweisen, von dem sie ausgegangen ist [...]. (Artikel 1, Abschnitt 7)

Der Präsident ist Oberbefehlshaber der Armee und der Flotte der Vereinigten Staaten und der Miliz der Einzelstaaten, wenn diese zur aktiven Dienstleistung für die Vereinigten Staaten aufgerufen wird; er kann von den Leitern der einzelnen Abteilungen der Bundesregierung die schriftliche Stellungnahme zu Angelegenheiten aus dem Dienstbereich der betreffenden Behörde verlangen, und er hat, außer in Amtsanklagefällen, das Recht, Strafaufschub und Begnadigung für Straftaten gegen die Vereinigten Staaten zu gewähren. Er hat das Recht, auf Anraten und mit Zustimmung des Senats Verträge zu schließen, vorausgesetzt, dass zwei Drittel der anwesenden Senatoren zustimmen. Er nominiert auf Anraten und mit Zustimmung des Senats Botschafter, Gesandte und Konsuln, die Richter des Obersten Bundesgerichts und alle sonstigen Beamten der Vereinigten Staaten, deren Bestellung hierin nicht anderweitig geregelt ist und deren Ämter durch Gesetz geschaffen werden; doch kann der Kongress nach seinem Ermessen die Ernennung von unteren Beamten durch Gesetz dem Präsidenten allein, den Gerichtshöfen oder den Leitern der Bundesbehörde übertragen. (Artikel 2, Abschnitt 2)

Er hat von Zeit zu Zeit dem Kongress über die Lage der Union Bericht zu erstatten und Maßnahmen zur Beratung zu empfehlen, die er für notwendig und nützlich erachtet. Er kann bei außerordentlichen Anlässen beide oder eines der Häuser einberufen, und er kann sie, falls sie sich über die Zeit der Vertagung nicht einigen können, bis zu einem ihm geeignet erscheinenden Zeitpunkt vertagen. Er empfängt Botschafter und Gesandte. Er hat Sorge zu tragen, dass die Gesetze gewissenhaft vollzogen werden, und er erteilt allen Beamten der Vereinigten Staaten die Ernennungsurkunden. (Artikel 2, Abschnitt 3)

M7: Die Kompetenzen des österreichischen Bundespräsidenten

Der Bundespräsident beruft den Nationalrat in jedem Jahr zu einer ordentlichen Tagung ein, die nicht vor dem 15. September beginnen und nicht länger als bis zum 15. Juli des folgenden Jahres währen soll. (Artikel 28, Absatz 1)

Der Bundespräsident kann den Nationalrat auflösen, er darf dies jedoch nur einmal aus dem gleichen Anlass verfügen. (Artikel 29, Absatz 1)

Das verfassungsmäßige Zustandekommen der Bundesgesetze wird durch den Bundespräsidenten beurkundet. (Artikel 47, Absatz 1)

Der Bundespräsident vertritt die Republik nach außen, empfängt und beglaubigt die Gesandten, genehmigt die Bestellung der fremden Konsuln, bestellt die konsularischen Vertreter der Republik im Ausland und schließt die Staatsverträge ab. (Artikel 65, Absatz 1)

Weiter stehen ihm – außer den ihm nach anderen Bestimmungen dieser Verfassung übertragenen Befugnissen – zu:

a) die Benennung der Bundesbeamten, einschließlich der Offiziere, und der sonstigen Bundesfunktionäre, die Verleihung von Amtstiteln an solche;

b) die Schaffung und Verleihung von Berufstiteln;

c) für Einzelfälle: die Begnadigung der von den Gerichten rechtskräftig Verurteilten, die Milderung und Umwandlung der von den Gerichten ausgesprochenen Strafen, die Nachsicht von Rechtsfolgen und die Tilgung von Verurteilungen im Gnadenweg, ferner die Niederschlagung des strafgerichtlichen Verfahrens bei den von Amts wegen zu verfolgenden strafbaren Handlungen;

d) die Erklärung unehelicher Kinder zu ehelichen auf Ansuchen der Eltern. (Artikel 65, Absatz 2)

(1) Alle Akte des Bundespräsidenten erfolgen, soweit nicht verfassungsmäßig anderes bestimmt ist, auf Vorschlag der Bundesregierung oder des von ihr ermächtigten Bundesministers. Inwieweit die Bundesregierung oder der zuständige Bundesminister hierbei selbst an Vorschläge anderer Stellen gebunden ist, bestimmt das Gesetz.

(2) Alle Akte des Bundespräsidenten bedürfen, soweit nicht verfassungsgesetzlich anderes bestimmt ist, zu ihrer Gültigkeit der Gegenzeichnung des Bundeskanzlers oder der zuständigen Bundesminister. (Artikel 67)

Der Bundeskanzler und auf seinen Vorschlag die übrigen Mitglieder der Bundesregierung werden vom Bundespräsidenten ernannt. Zur Entlassung des Bundeskanzlers oder der gesamten Bundesregierung ist ein Vorschlag nicht erforderlich; die Entlassung einzelner Mitglieder der Bundesregierung erfolgt auf Vorschlag des Bundeskanzlers. (Artikel 70, Absatz 1)

(1) Den Oberbefehl über das Bundesheer führt der Bundespräsident.

(2) Soweit nicht nach dem Wehrgesetz der Bundespräsident über das Heer verfügt, steht die Verfügung dem zuständigen Bundesminister innerhalb der ihm von der Bundesregierung erteilten Ermächtigung zu.

(3) Die Befehlsgewalt über das Bundesheer übt der zuständige Bundesminister [...] aus. (Artikel 80)

Die Richter werden, sofern nicht in diesem Gesetz anderes bestimmt ist, gemäß dem Antrag der Bundesregierung vom Bundespräsidenten oder auf Grund seiner Ermächtigung vom zuständigen Bundesminister ernannt [...]. (Artikel 86, Absatz 1)

Arbeitsaufgaben (M6 & M7)

1. Stelle die Kompetenzen des US-amerikanischen und des österreichischen Präsidenten einander in tabellarischer Form gegenüber und kläre allfällige Lücken mit Hilfe einer Internetrecherche.
2. Diskutiere die Bedeutung des Präsidenten für das politische und gesellschaftliche System der beiden Staaten.
3. Begründe, warum der österreichische Bundespräsident im Gegensatz zu seinem US-amerikanischen Amtskollegen als wenig gewichtig angesehen wird.

Präsidentschaftswahlen

Alle vier Jahre sind die Bürger*innen der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika aufgerufen, ihre Präsidentin bzw. ihren Präsidenten zu wählen. Der Weg ins Weiße Haus ist allerdings langwierig und kostet viel Zeit und Geld. Bereits kurz nach einer Wahl beginnen die Vorbereitungen für den nächsten Urnengang. Um als Kandidatin oder Kandidat antreten zu können, muss man laut Verfassung das 35. Lebensjahr vollendet haben, in den USA geboren sein und seit mindestens 14 Jahren seinen Wohnsitz dort haben. Weitere Einschränkungen wie das Vorlegen von ausreichend Unterstützungserklärungen können von den einzelnen Bundesstaaten gefordert werden. Seit einer Verfassungsänderung im Jahre 1951 sind nur noch zwei Amtszeiten von jeweils vier Jahren zulässig.

Arbeitsaufgaben (M8 & M9)

1. Erstelle mit Hilfe des Videos eine Zeitleiste für die US-Präsidentschaftswahlen.
2. Recherchiere die Bedeutung folgender Begriffe: *Caucus*, *Primary*, *Swing States*, Wahlleute.
3. Vergleiche Voraussetzungen und Ablauf von Präsidentschaftswahlen in den USA und Österreich und nenne die wesentlichen Unterschiede. Nutze dazu z. B. die Website https://www.bundespraesident.at/aktuelles/detail/wahl-und-amtszeit.
4. Beurteile, wie demokratisch und repräsentativ die beiden Wahlsysteme sind.
5. Schlüpfe im Online-Spiel „Win the White House“ selbst in die Rolle einer Kandidatin / eines Kandidaten für die US-Präsidentschaft und versuche, das Amt zu gewinnen.

M8
Die US-Präsidentschaftswahl kurz erklärt, Erklärfilm der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (bpb). (2020, 2. November). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zTM0XyldULk
M9
Win the White House, Online-Spiel zur US-Präsidentschaftswahl. https://www.icivics.org/games/win-white-house

Arbeitsaufgaben (M10)

1. Fasse die wesentlichen Aussagen des Artikels zusammen.
2. Nenne Vor- und Nachteile der klassischen und neuen Medien in einem Wahlkampf.
3. Bisher waren die wichtigsten Merkmale US-amerikanischer Wahlkämpfe Personalisierung, Mediatisierung und Professionalisierung. Definiere diese Begriffe mit Hilfe einer Internetrecherche und übertrage sie auf einen Wahlkampf im digitalen Zeitalter.
4. Diskutiere die Auswirkung der durch das Internet gegebenen Möglichkeiten auf den Wahlkampf der Zukunft.

M10: Wahlkampf im digitalen Zeitalter (Teil 1)
Es ist erst ein paar Wochen her, da belächelte noch halb Amerika Donald Trump als digitalen Analphabeten; einen Mann, dessen Mailverkehr daraus bestand, seinen Assistenten handgeschriebene Zettel zu reichen, und dessen digitale Fertigkeiten sich darin erschöpften, ungeschminkte Sätze über den Kurznachrichtendienst Twitter ins Netz zu blasen. Seine Rezeptur erschien simpel: Er konzentrierte sich aufs Poltern, Ätzen und Verletzen, für die Verbreitung sorgten andere. Die liberalen Medien transportierten ihre Empörung in einer endlosen Zahl von Artikeln. Und rechte Revolver-Seiten wie das Portal „Breitbart“ übernahmen die lautstarke Verbreitung von Attacken, Halbwahrheiten und Lügen. Nun, nach seinem Sieg, werden nach und nach die Details einer lange gut getarnten digitalen Wahlkampfmaschinerie bekannt, die Trumps Erfolg nach Ansicht amerikanischer Politikstrategen maßgeblich befördert hat. [...] Galten zunächst die Demokraten als die Meister des digitalen Wahlkampfes, so zeigt sich, dass Trumps Leute Methoden der Online-Vermarktung angewandt haben, die so konsequent wohl noch nie in der Politik genutzt wurden. [...] Was dem designierten amerikanischen Präsidenten gelang, war die Verbindung von klassischen hochemotionalen Wahlkampfauftritten mit den modernsten Mechanismen der digitalen Welt: Viralen Verbreitungsstrategien aus den Notebooks der perfidesten Online-Vermarkter, eine in höchstem Maße personalisierte Ansprache und die emotionale Infektion seiner Anhänger. Es war eine einzigartige Symbiose aus Marketing, Facebook und digitalem Aufpeitschen.

M10: Wahlkampf im digitalen Zeitalter (Teil 2)

Trumps digitale Geheimtruppe

Das Ausmaß seiner digitalen Strategie wurde erst nach der Wahl offenbart [...]. Demnach hatte Trump über Monate eine digitale Geheimtruppe beschäftigt, die ihn nach allen Regeln der Kunst unterstützte. Sie bestand aus Psychologen, Marketingspezialisten und Nerds, sie wurde geleitet von seinem engsten Vertrauten Jared Kushner, dem 35 Jahre alten Immobilientycoon und Ehemann seiner Tochter Ivanka. Er brachte offenbar genau das mit, was dem Präsidentschaftskandidaten so dringend fehlte: „Jared verstand die Online-Welt in einer Weise, wie es den traditionellen Medien-Leuten nicht gelang", sagt ausgerechnet Eric Schmidt, der frühere Google-Chef und Unterstützer der digitalen Kampagne von Hillary Clinton. „Er schaffte es, mit kleinem Budget eine Präsidentschafts-Kampagne zu starten und mit neuester Technologie zu gewinnen. Das ist ein großes Ding." Was selbst den Google-Mann in Erstaunen versetzte, war die kompromisslose Ausbeutung der Nutzerprofile von Millionen Amerikanern für wahlpropagandistische Zwecke. Während die Welt noch über den Einfluss von „Fake News" auf das Wahlergebnis debattiert, wird offenbar, dass Kushner eine ganz andere Dimension der neuen Netzwelt erschlossen hat. [...]

Drei Ebenen der digitalen Vermarktung

Die Kushner-Truppe nutzte drei maßgebliche Ebenen der digitalen Vermarktung: das gewaltige Datenwissen über die Online-Nutzer des Landes, einen psychologischen Filter zur Kategorisierung der Einstellungen einzelner Wähler und die modernen Distributionstechnologien für zielgerichtete Werbung im Internet. All das mit höchster Intensität und einem überragenden Ziel: die Adressaten mit Hilfe von Facebook emotionaler zu berühren als mit traditionellen Massenkampagnen im Internet und Fernsehen.

Das Dilemma klassischer Kampagnen sind stets die hohen Streuverluste: Etliche Menschen fühlen sich abgestoßen oder reagieren gleichgültig. Dabei ging es Protestwählern oftmals um eine dominante Angelegenheit. Einige wollten verhindern, dass ein Demokrat auf den frei gewordenen Richterstuhl am Supreme Court gelangt. Anderen ging Obamas Gesundheitsreform total gegen den Strich. Wieder andere wollten muslimische Einwanderung stoppen.

Um all diese Partikularinteressen präziser adressieren zu können, heuerte Kushner eine Datenfirma an, Cambridge Analytica. Die Spezialisten gehören zu dem britischen Beratungskonzern SCL Group, der bekannt ist für seine Techniken der psychologischen Kriegsführung im Anti-Terrorkampf. [...] Die Firma bot für den amerikanischen Wahlkampf einen Wissensschatz Orwellscher Dimension an: In jahrelanger Arbeit wollen sie psychologische Profile von mehr als 230 Millionen erwachsenen Amerikanern gesammelt haben – also fast aller potentiellen Wähler.

Gelungen war ihnen das mit einer simplen Taktik: Sie hatten auf Facebook massenhaft die bei vielen Online-Nutzern beliebten Persönlichkeitstests ausgespielt.

Viele hunderttausend Nutzer machten mit und hinterließen so ein detailliertes psychologisches Profil. Über klassische Matching-Technologien der Online-Vermarktung – wer sich im Netz ähnlich verhält, ist auch von ähnlichen Interessen geleitet – kam eine gewaltige Datenbank zustande. Über klassische Matching-Technologien der Online-Vermarktung – wer sich im Netz ähnlich verhält, ist auch von ähnlichen Interessen geleitet – kam eine gewaltige Datenbank zustande. Die Nutzer wurden darüber hinaus kategorisiert nach den fünf sogenannten Ocean-Faktoren, also emotionale Labilität, Begeisterungsfähigkeit, Offenheit für Erfahrungen, Gewissenhaftigkeit und Verträglichkeit. Cambridge Analytica behauptet, dass es über jeden erfassten Nutzer 3000 bis 5000 Datenpunkte gespeichert hat.

Nun galt es, diesen Nutzern hochpersonalisierte Botschaften zuzuspielen, die unter Berücksichtigung ihrer psychologischen Disposition und ihrer Interessen geeignet waren, ihre Wahlentscheidung zu beeinflussen. Kushner hatte mittlerweile an die hundert Spezialisten in einem unscheinbaren Bürogebäude am Rand der texanischen Großstadt San Antonio versammelt, die eine gewaltige Social-Media-Kampagne in Gang setzten. Die Ängstlichen unter den Wählern bekamen Botschaften über steigende Kriminalität, farbigen Amerikanern wurden verunglückte Aussagen von Clinton zugespielt, in denen sie

M10: Wahlkampf im digitalen Zeitalter (Teil 3)

Schwarze als „Super-Raubtiere" bezeichnet hatte. Zeitweise will das Datenteam mehrere zehntausend verschiedene und oft nur leicht abgeänderte Aussagen auf Facebook geposted haben. Das geschah über ein neues Facebook-Angebot für Werbende, die sogenannten „Dark Posts", die nur ausdrücklich dafür markierte Nutzer erreichen.

Nüchterne Rhetorik funktioniert in der Aufregungssphäre nicht

War es früher für den Gewinn einer Wahl wichtig, sich die Übermacht in Radio und Fernsehen zu verschaffen, so bewiesen Kushners Leute nun, dass es mittlerweile darum geht, die sozialen Netzwerke zu dominieren, mit allen zur Verfügung stehenden Technologien. Nichts eignet sich heute besser zur Verbreitung von Empörung und Zorn. Es ist eine Ironie der Geschichte, dass ausgerechnet die fortschrittlichste Kommunikationstechnik der Menschheit nicht primär ein Medium der Aufklärung ist, sondern ein Werkzeug für den Austausch emotionaler Botschaften. Allen populistischen Bewegungen ist gemein, dass sie auf Facebook weitaus mehr Fans haben als die etablierten Parteien. Nüchterne Rhetoriker [...] funktionieren in diesen digitalen Sphären der Aufregung schlicht nicht.

Was Kushners Team vorgemacht hat, wird nicht das Ende der Entwicklung sein. [...]

Ebensowenig ist vorstellbar, dass Europas Bewegungen des Zorns die Techniken der zielgerichteten Emotionalisierung ignorieren werden. Zwar ist der Datenschutz strenger, doch bisher hat noch keine Partei die schon jetzt weitgehenden Möglichkeiten des sogenannten Targetings konsequent genutzt.

Die Zukunft der politischen Kommunikation zeichnet sich bereits ab. Sie wird sich parallel zu den Technologien entwickeln, die derzeit für die Welt der Online-Vermarktung oder auch der Online-Medien absehbar sind. Alles deutet auf eine weitere Personalisierung in Ansprache und Information hin. Wie bei so vielen neuen Entwicklungen ist die Technologie selbst dabei neutral, sie ist nicht mehr als ein immer intelligenteres Werkzeug. Entscheidend ist, mit welcher Intention sie eingesetzt wird: Im Dienste von echter Aufklärung, für gewöhnliche Werbung, mit der klaren Absicht, politische Propaganda zu verbreiten oder gar mit einer desinformatorischen Intention, um einen Staat oder eine Gesellschaft zu destabilisieren. Das Fatale ist, dass sie gleichermaßen als nützliches Tool wie als destruktive Waffe genutzt werden kann.

Während bei diesem Wahlkampf die Verbreitung der Botschaften über die klassischen Formen der Online-Nutzung erfolgten, also über Schrift, Bild und Video, könnte der nächste Wahlkampf geprägt sein durch die neuen digitalen Assistenten – intelligente Mikrofon-Lautsprecher für den Wohnzimmertisch. Sie werden derzeit von allen großen Digital-Konzernen mit großer Energie entwickelt. Amazon, Google und Apple haben ihre besten Köpfe damit beauftragt, die künstliche Intelligenz hinter den bisher eher rudimentär anmutenden Assistenten zu verbessern. Für viele in den Spitzen der Digitalkonzerne ist das die nächste Revolution. Für Kushners Truppe wäre es das Werkzeug schlechthin: eine Art super-personalisiertes Radio. Jeden Morgen ein neuer Leitspruch von Trump, konfiguriert und vom Audio-Assistenten rechtzeitig zum Frühstück vorgetragen. Es wäre Facebook übertragen in die Audio-Welt, es wäre die akustische Filterblase. Schöne neue Politik-Welt. [...]

Quelle: Müller von Blumencron, M. (2016, 5. Dezember). Das Ende des Wahlkampfs, wie wir ihn kennen. Trumps digitale Kampagne. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.

Endnoten

[1] z. B. TRT World (2020, 13. März). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Ie5fAWs8r0 oder Chancel 4 News (2020, 3. Februar). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsYclkV6RPY

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Re-imagining Immigration in a Country of Immigrants

Nils Jaekel & Elizabeth Fincher

The United States prides itself on being a nation of immigrants, one of diverse backgrounds that came to the country seeking a better life. While this representation of the United States remains a strong pull factor for immigrants, public debate has been contentious and has been further dividing the political spectrum. Re-imagining immigration in a country of immigrants involves examining positive perceptions of early waves of immigration in the United States to the present-day climate of minoritization: from the melting pot to the border wall. As a nation of immigrants, does the melting pot ideology accurately reflect the cultural diversity of Americans today, or does multiculturalism better describe the nation? Considering the future faces of the United States, is the American Dream within reach for immigrants? This article discusses implications for classrooms glocally to foster empathy and skills of critical cultural awareness in evolving intercultural relations in education.

*Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika sind stolz darauf, eine Nation von Eingewanderten mit unterschiedlicher Herkunft zu sein, die auf der Suche nach einem besseren Leben ins Land kamen. Während diese Darstellung der Vereinigten Staaten nach wie vor eine starke Anziehungskraft auf Immigrant*innen ausübt, wird eine kontroverse öffentliche Debatte geführt, die das politische Spektrum weiter spaltet. Eine Neuinterpretation von Immigration in einem Land von Eingewanderten erfordert es, sowohl die positiven Einstellungen gegenüber der frühen Einwanderungswellen in die USA in den Blick zu nehmen als auch das heutige Klima der Minderheitenbildung: vom Melting Pot (Schmelztiegel) zur Grenzmauer. Spiegelt die Ideologie des Melting Pot die kulturelle Vielfalt der heutigen Amerikaner wider oder beschreibt Multikulturalismus die Nation besser? Mit Blick auf die zukünftige Zusammensetzung der amerikanischen Gesellschaft, ist der American Dream für Eingewanderte in Reichweite? Dieser Artikel diskutiert Implikationen für den Unterricht glokal, um Empathie und Fähigkeiten kritischen kulturellen Bewusstseins bei der Entwicklung interkultureller Beziehungen in der Bildung zu fördern.*

Introduction

The melting pot imagery of merging all nationalities into one may be obsolete, as other descriptions of the United States as a multicultural or diverse society are more frequently used academically. In a polarized political climate, some U.S.-Americans may not perceive the ideology useful. However, U.S. schools revitalized the American Dream with the melting pot symbolism in the 1970s (Smith, 2012) and in the twenty-first century, as a prominent topic in English as a Foreign Language textbooks.

Vital to American national self-understanding is the knowledge of its populations' background, in which the melting pot has been perpetuated through time. American nationhood origins and diversity are commemorated as the United States has historically sought to establish a sense of unity to prevent economic, social, and political division among its increasingly diverse populace (Smith, 2012). The endeavor to maintain national unity in the face of increasing diversity has led to depictions of "the American immigration experience as a melting pot narrative" (Smith, 2012). What the melting pot narrative resolves is the nationalists' desire for unity and cohesion. In other words, the unique immigration experience and the diversity of the country necessitates a certain homogenization to achieve the goal of national cohesion.

This article revisits how the melting pot concept has provided a way of understanding immigration and defined the country's national identity as a nation of immigrants created by a blend of cultures and ethnicities. Despite significant refutation of this national ideal in extant scholarly literature, the narrative has been utilized over recent centuries to justify U.S. American immigration policy and legitimization.

The United States of America has been a country of immigrants since its founding. People have followed their dream of a good life and freedom in the land of opportunity throughout U.S. history. From its colonial beginnings to its inauguration as a nation, attitudes and views on immigration policy have been ambivalent. The article discusses whether the melting pot metaphor still has traction in the shifting immigration landscape and whether the ideas and ideals that constitute the American Dream as well as its success stories (Clark, 2003) remain a driving force of immigration to the United States today. The melting pot narrative in connection to achieving the American Dream of prosperity has been subject to significant critique, despite its vastly supported conception of American identity and early interpretation of Anglo-conformity (i.e., ''Americanization'' or an ethno-cultural archetype involving the loss of one's heritage). Coining the term cultural pluralism in immigrant integration, Kallen (1915) critiques the process of melting different nationalities into a mold as it betrays democratic ideals and also implies that individuals cannot forcibly change cultural practices nor inward beliefs, values, or unalterable ways of being (i.e., ethnicity), stating "the likelihood of a new 'American' race is remote enough" (1915, p. 194). Arguing that a more democratic ideal and reflection of a multicultural society exists today, scholars illustrate the great benefits that Americans will reap from the maintenance of distinctive cultures in cultural pluralism (Bourne, 1916; Kallen, 1915) and structural pluralism (Gordon, 1964; Smith, 2015). Nevertheless, immigration advocates, multiculturalists, and restrictionists all use the melting pot symbolism to fortify and globalize the melting pot as fundamental to American identity.

The article aims to discuss critical trends of immigration across time, building on the theoretical grounding of intercultural communicative competence (ICC; Byram, 1997) and the acculturation model (Berry, 2005). While the central purpose is to outline the past, present, and future trends of immigration to the United States, it also seeks to relate to immigration in a glocal context, i.e., considering global and local implications concerning intercultural competence. Assimilation has been used synonymously with "disappearance" or "erasure" of cultures in American society through the social construction of homogenized Americanization. The melting pot ideal exemplified the cohesion of Euro-American, prosperous "whiteness" in which the blending of a mass of people results in the loss of cultural origins (i.e., customs, languages). Both historically and presently, this stance on assimilation has been exclusionary to many immigrant groups and defined American identity. A re-examination of national identity that depicts multicultural representation is critical to re-imagine immigration policy and pedagogy as we look to the future in developing intercultural competence.

Cultural Framework

A central theme of the intercultural communicative competence (ICC) framework is the interaction of five factors that constitute the ICC schema. Immigration is a particularly relevant topic in education as it allows us to evaluate our own country's policies, history, and current circumstances (skills of interpreting and relating; see Byram, 1997). This, in turn, enables us to study immigration in the context of studying the United States, a country that has been portrayed as and identified itself as a country of immigrants. However, in order to dive deeper into the topic, we need to take account of the facts and understand historical developments, current policies, and attitudes (knowledge; see Byram, 1997) to discover how immigration continues to shape our individual and societal contexts (skills of discovery; see Byram, 1997). Relativizing yourself and valuing other people, "different in respect of the cultural meanings, beliefs and behaviors they exhibit" holds an important role in developing one's attitudes (Byram, 1997, p. 34). These attitudes play a central role when covering themes such as immigration in the foreign language classroom. The focus is not only on understanding how other countries have approached immigration over time, but it is on critically looking inward and to understand the diversity of the societies we live in and to value the different

attitudes represented in our societies. The sociopolitical nature of the topic enables us to develop and strengthen critical cultural awareness (education). To a large extent, ICC can be viewed as a foundational element in developing independent thinking and citizenship.

A second important model in the context of immigration is John W. Berry's (2005) model of acculturation and the means of assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization in immigration phenomena, defined as interactions, contact, and negotiation among diverse cultural groups, implicate orientations towards adjustment to U.S. culture. Differences in how individuals with varying levels of group identity acculturate are contingent on aspects of conflict, i.e., how well they adapt, and the negotiations required for the betterment of intercultural relations. In 2021, the primary means of immigration to the United States was through family-chain migration. Immigrant adjustment is a complex process; Berry (2005) views acculturation as "the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members" (p. 698). Yet, acculturation is fluid among diverse immigrant groups based on intervening factors such as generation status, legal status, country of origin, native language, class, gender, ethnicity, and social status. Equally important in Berry's model are the attitudes of the majority culture's members towards the immigrant culture and immigration in general. The four types of acculturation in his model are (1) assimilation, (2) integration, (3) marginalization, and (4) separation. Assimilation (1) assumes the abandonment of original cultural norms to adapt to the majority culture. Some societies employ policies of assimilation to eliminate diversity, while other societies attempt to exclude diverse populations through segregation or marginalization (Berry, 2005). In contrast, integration (2) implies an accommodation between immigrant origin culture and the receiving country. Immigrants who integrate may experience better adaptations and different outcomes than marginalized immigrants or those who assimilate to U.S.-American culture. Marginalization (3) is exclusionary, as immigrants have little possibility or interest in the maintenance of their culture of origin (i.e., forced cultural loss) and fewer interactions or relations with others due to discrimination or separation. When immigrants value the maintenance of their heritage culture while also avoiding relations with others, then separation (4) is the outcome (Berry, 2005). In societies that support cultural pluralism (i.e., multiculturalism), means of acculturation tend to not impose strict cultural change or loss (i.e., assimilation) or exclusion (i.e., marginalization or segregation) of immigrants (Berry, 2005).

Historical and Political Perspectives

U.S. immigration policy has shifted considerably over time from the first colonies, in many of which slavery was the law of the land. While early on, the British Crown controlled immigration, it was soon largely unrestricted for immigrants arriving from Europe. In addition to early settlers, slaves accounted for a significant number of forced immigrants. Between 1514 and 1866, more than 300,000 slaves were sold to the British colonies (Slave Voyages, 2021). During the Civil War, the United States sought immigrants to fill labor shortages and join their troops. However, soon after the war, limiting access would become a major point in U.S. immigration policy. The United States restricted immigration based on race (Immigration Act of 1875, Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and the Immigration Act of 1917), political beliefs (Immigration Act of 1903), or lifestyle (Immigration Act of 1903). Asian immigrants would remain a target for immigration policy until after World War II. The rhetoric used in immigration acts, which was denying certain groups their humanity, affected whether immigrants would have the opportunity to live in the Promised Land. The latter term is of course based on Judeo-Christian beliefs and dates back to the Puritan heritage; it thus also hints at who was welcome and who was not. During the time of early immigration policies in the late 1800s, Ellis Island, located close to the Statue of Liberty, became the famous entry point

to the United States. It processed more than 17 million immigrants from 1892 until 1924. On the West Coast, Angel Island served the same purpose from 1910 to 1940 for about 500,000 immigrants from Asia and Oceania. Following World War I, the 1921 Emergency Quota Act limited the number of immigrants from particular countries to 3% of the foreign-born population in the national census from 1910. Immigrants from Northern and Western Europe benefited from a higher quota and likelihood to be admitted to the United States than other immigrants from non-European countries. A labor shortage during World War II resulted in the Bracero Agreement (1942), which was implemented to recruit agricultural laborers from Mexico to fill the rising need for seasonal workers. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 established the principles for immigration regulation that are still enforced today. The law capped immigration for the first time for all and created a preference system based on family-chain migration with legal permanent residents. Three-fourths of admissions were reserved for family arrivals, which is still the case under current policy. The Immigration Act of 1965 drastically changed the immigration system, and powerful demographic forces described below continue to shape current and future generations. After the September 11 attacks in 2001, the U.S. government expanded litigation with immigration enforcement bureaucracy to authorize appropriations for enhanced border security, facilities, and security-related technology to share "alien" admissibility and deportation-related information (Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002). Following the terrorist attacks, the federal government established the Department of Homeland Security (Homeland Security Act of 2002) to reflect national concerns about immigration.

Present immigration policy has since evolved to govern the status of young unauthorized immigrants through Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA Act of 2012), while other policy proposals have targeted those from countries with a prevalent Muslim majority (Executive Order 13769, also known as Muslim ban or travel ban). Recent policy proposals aim to reverse U.S. immigration restrictions (2020-2021); mostly out of necessity, as the number of U.S. green card holders has sharply declined. Current U.S. immigration policy promises to restore the national identity as a country of immigrants. However, current immigration rhetoric begs the question of whether or not the United States acts as a welcoming recipient to both immigrants striving for prosperity in America and those forced to resettle.

American Dream

A significant driving force behind immigration has been the portrayal of the United States as a land where dreams come true, one of opportunity and freedom. In 1931 writer and historian James Truslow Adams coined the term and spoke of "that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement" (J.T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, 1931, p. 404). The American Dream incorporates these ideals drawing from the Declaration of Independence, including the pursuit of happiness. The national story of immigration includes the American Dream. Higher ethnic group identity and belief in meritocracy are linked to stronger collective action that may improve the immigrant group's social position (Wiley et al., 2012). The promise of social advancement is a major motivation to migrate. It leads to the question: Do new immigrants perceive the United States to be a meritocracy or not, and do they perceive assimilation of language and culture as a means to climb the economic ladder?

As a synthetic construct, the American Dream has changed over time, as the reasons for immigration have been different. It entails the materialistic belief in continuous progress, challenging new frontiers, and the belief in the attainability of success, economically or otherwise. The melting pot ideology and the understanding that people have come to the United States to unify as one is also inherent in the American Dream. It builds on faith in the constitutional foundation and the laws that govern the rights provided by it. Hard work, persistence, and dedication are core requirements to succeed in fulfilling your individual American

Dream. Americans pride themselves on the ideal that there is work for everyone and that it is up to you to want a better life.

The Declaration of Independence in 1776 proclaimed "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" (Declaration of Independence, 1776). This excerpt of the preamble outlines the ideals and philosophical foundation of the nation. It is also evidence that the founding fathers themselves followed their own, Eurocentric American Dream. The ideals outlined in the Declaration of Independence have had a tremendous impact on the identity of the United States since its inception. They are also at the core of why immigrants have left their home country and taken on the often treacherous journey.

From the late eighteenth through the twentieth century, waves of immigration from Europe to the United States were largely drawn by religious freedoms, the promise of political participation, a lack of opportunity in their home country or hunger, like the potato famine in Ireland (1845-1849). Others were drawn by the American Civil War and the opportunity to fight against slavery and a chance to settle in the United States (1861-1865). During other immigration waves, people were fleeing the horrors of World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945). From a Eurocentric view alone, faith, freedom, (economic) opportunity, upward mobility, and personal well-being constitute the core driving forces for immigration.

Immigrants from Asia, particularly China, immigrated for similar reasons. They were drawn to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century by the Gold Rush on the West Coast, the economic uncertainties in China, and for promises of the Declaration of Independence. Asian Americans contributed significantly to the building of the transcontinental railroad, the backbone in conquering the Western frontier. Yet, their American Dream was met with resistance by policies preventing immigration and naturalization of Asians from 1875 to 1965. For many, the American Dream and the ideals propagated by the melting pot never materialized.

From the early days of the first colonies to the westward expansion across the continent, people faced different challenges in their pursuit of the American Dream. The United States has sought to conquer various, changing frontiers. While it used to be the Western frontier until it was declared closed in 1890, or space in the early 1960s, the new frontier might lie in societal challenges such as social and racial justice, and equal access to health care. This raises the question of whether hard-working immigrants who take on low-paying jobs can climb the economic ladder to pursue their American Dream. The reality is that the fruition of one's Dream is not guaranteed, and history has shown how different parameters, such as a welcome culture, laws, as well as pure chance, can be determining factors. Hard work and ingenuity alone are not sufficient to succeed. For many, it may not have been about their own Dream, but rather became a Dream deferred to the next generation. First-generation immigrants generally earn less than those who have been in the country longer, and while an equilibrium might be achieved for some over time, others never reach wage parity (Wiley et al., 2012). Second-generation immigrants may benefit from the cost the first generation paid in pursuit of the American Dream, which may then be in reach for future generations of immigrants.

These trends also raise equity issues surrounding immigration. Are all immigrants treated equally, or are some preferred or privileged over others? Educated immigrants who land higher-paying jobs may benefit from significant support from their local community. Similarly, immigrants that already have family in the United States may be particularly privileged. They are following their own Dream while not having to face all of the struggles. Refugees, asylees, and undocumented immigrants, on the other hand, may find their pursuit of happiness and the attainment of the American Dream to be out of reach. This ideal has produced a thriving, diverse society in which hard work is a rite of passage to the Dream. However, from an intercultural lens, a diverse, multicultural America may more accurately reflect the lived experiences of immigration today. Americanism has instantiated a shared spirit of homogeneity in "one America," a sentiment of conformity to

Anglo cultural standards, and as a biologically determined feature governed by scientific rules of heredity. Adherence to principles of American superiority and Anglo-Saxon Protestant dominance undercut the symbolism of America's democratic ideals, causing its ultimate demise as a vastly accepted symbol of American identity and fomenting tension that characterizes America's response to immigration.

Meritocracy remains a central pillar in U.S. ideology. Those who are able to successfully follow this path may encounter few barriers to success. However, a pluralistic society is often only able to maintain a feeling of national identity and meritocracy by accepting a general disconnectedness among different ethnic and cultural groups. The increasing U.S. immigrant population implies that the American Dream is still alive, and the United States remains a land of opportunity for many in their individual pursuit of happiness. Whether the Dream of individual prosperity comes true depends on how immigrants define this Dream and how experiential factors sustain one's ideals or shift into something entirely different. If the American Dream becomes an empty promise when differing ideals clash across intercultural contexts, then even a steadfast belief in a meritocracy that serves one's advancement depends on whether individual mobility is attainable for all immigrants.

Melting Pot

The U.S. population continues to diversify; thus, it is imperative to explore the driving demographic and political shifts in immigration as an impetus for national cultural identity. The melting pot metaphor (De Crèvecoeur, 1782; Zangwill, 1908), core to US-American identity and its message, holds tremendous power regarding the national imagination of immigration.

In his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782) John de Crèvecoeur described America as a new nationality, formed by the people who migrated there. He saw American nationality as unique because it included many different ethno-cultural backgrounds, or "individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men" (De Crèvecoeur, 1957, p. 39). He further observed that by virtue of people of diverse backgrounds living in close proximity they shared experiences, which helped them to assimilate and form a new identity. Americanization and assimilation are described by the process of "melting together." Americanization means that an individual encounters assimilative forces and loses one's previous cultural identity; assimilation is a process in which social pressure causes people to absorb a mostly white, Anglo-Saxon culture and heritage. This phenomenon is the story of many American immigrants; however, does this notion that all immigrants become Americans, driven on the crucible of democracy, reflect the lived experiences of immigrants today?

The controversial yet dominant metaphor of the United States as a melting pot of diverse immigrants forged into twentieth-century, mainstream society in a play by Israel Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot* (1908). The play promoted assimilation as integral to Americanization. The melting pot ideal seemingly represents America in strictly cultural terms, disregarding disparities in systematic assimilation between racial, ethnic, and religious minorities. Immigrants who fled religious persecution hold onto hope and aspirations in the United Stated amidst the struggle and strife of poverty and anti-Semitism, to which conformity to Anglo cultural standards as a symbol of American identity creates tension in a proclaimed land of religious freedom. As immigrants grapple with their sense of faith, language, and identity in a place with Anglo-dominant principles of superiority, the result is shifting demographic character leading to cultural pluralism. According to Zangwill's portrayal of the national myth (1914), the message is to embrace the uniqueness of American identity in shared multicultural experiences as a process of amalgamation, not assimilation. Nevertheless, rather than a crucible of promise, the melting pot has been an instrument in division and a rationale for restriction in immigration. Horace Kallen also contributed to defining the identity of American nationhood in an attempt to rebrand

the melting pot to a cultural pluralistic philosophy in his 1915 essay in the *Nation* (Kallen, 1915). The prior sentiment in the *Nation* conveyed that new immigrants threatened the balance in the country by introducing too many lower-class workers, males, and hard-to-assimilate elderly people; concluding in an 1891 essay that the European influx "is not related to us in race or language, but has habits of thought and behavior radically foreign to those which have so far prevailed in the US" (The New Immigration, p. 210). The resonant metaphor in the 1890s was to "shut the golden door" or increase immigration restrictions, and it was reimagined in Thomas Bailey Aldrich's poem "Unguarded Gates" (1892), connoting protection against intruders (Prchal, 2007). Both the melting pot and the golden door imagery continue to have a profound historical impact that resonates in immigration debates today.

At the turn of the twenty-first century during comprehensive immigration reform, President George W. Bush asserted that it is America's duty to "uphold the great tradition of the melting pot that welcomes and assimilates new arrivals" (Bush, 2007). Bush perpetuates the notion of the enduring strength of the melting pot imagery when he states that "our nation has been strengthened by generations of immigrants who became Americans through patience, hard work, and assimilation" (Bush, 2007). The number of immigrants peaked in the early twenty-first century, representing almost 15% of the U.S. population, and the influx of immigrants is projected to continually rise (Pew, 2015). Immigration scholarship defines contemporary migration phenomena as a "momentous social force, compelling Americans to face the challenge and opportunity of integrating and harnessing the energy of the greatest number of immigrants in the nation's history" (Suárez-Orozco & Carhill, 2008, p. 1), which is reflective of the early waves of U.S. immigration when aspirational attitudes drove migration. Throughout U.S. immigration history, the melting pot imagery supported the resupply of an ever-growing powerful labor force. The United States as a nation built on promise has exalted individualism since colonial times but ultimately relies on the strength of its diverse community.

Who is America, as a family, a state, and a nation? Over the course of its history, the United States seemingly has redefined its national identity while cultural and political roots have stood firm. A part of the identity of an American immigrant is to reimagine a future life for oneself, mirroring the U.S. immigrant experience throughout history. This concept came to the fore during the 2016 U.S. presidential election campaign and remained current in the 2020 U.S. presidential election cycle. Immigration policy and rhetoric shape the perceived identity of the nation's people, as well as drives inequities among diverse socio-cultural groups. Many Americans, especially people of color and newcomers, have seen people in power putting those they decide worthy of becoming American against the excluded or minoritized, thus deepening the gap between privilege and expandability. To contextualize the relationship between social class and ethnic identity in the United States, it is imperative to understand how the nation's founders defined its people and civic purpose and what it means in the twenty-first century.

Most Americans understand that the United States' founders unanimously adopted the Latin phrase "e pluribus unum" – "out of many, one" as a secular national motto (1782). The idea of "one America" is embedded in society's standardized ideology in an enduring aspiration for a common language and culture. This exemplifies how the melting pot imagery has been perpetuated as a normative, standardizing ideology. Quite differently, a recent reaffirmation of the 1956 motto "In God We Trust" by Congress stems from the legacy of modern American conservatism. During the Eisenhower administration (1953-1961) religion was propelled into the public sphere by adding the phrase "under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance (Kruse & Wilcox, 2015). The assumption that the United States were and always will be a nation under God dates back no further than the 1930s when corporate America united in opposition to FDR's New Deal to create an axiom for a Christian America. But whose God does this motto include? How does a nation of immigrants that values religious freedom represent itself to new arrivals, based on the venerable E Pluribus Unum, to define American society today?

The future identity of America as 'one nation' has been historically developed by and for immigrants, yet the nation's understanding of immigration continues to change. For example, the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) has changed its mission statement to eliminate a phrase defining America as a "nation of immigrants" (2018). Eleanor Acer, the director of Human Rights First's Refugee Protection program defended the rebranding: "Our nation is one built by immigrants – removing this language does nothing to change that fact" (Gonzales, 2018).

Re-imagining the Future Generations of Immigrants

The formation of a nation's identity may rely on assimilation, which has long been promoted as a benefit to any society as immigrants can strengthen the workforce and fill labor shortages. Migration is promoted by work opportunities, family reunification, as well as causes that force people to seek refuge (war, climate change, persecution in one's home country). Successful assimilation contributed to changing market needs and further development of the receiving country. The majority of lawful, permanent admissions to the United States are family-based and employment-based preferences. However, labor migration may be temporary, leading to different levels of investment and acculturation. Investing in the labor skills of new arrivals increases their average earnings and provides a pathway to permanent citizenship. Increased social tension or separation can affect a person's belief in the benefits of meritocracy; therefore, motivation to integrate or social tension can cause tribulations.

Over time, legal proceedings over immigration preference have enabled diverse immigrant families to create new lives in the United States but contrarily hindered integration for other diaspora group members whose legal status is unresolved. While Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants are among the oldest and newest inhabitants in the United States, the number of Mexican immigrants from rural Mexico has increased dramatically since the 1990s (Pew, 2012). Shifting immigration policy changes the U.S. workforce, yet dependence on immigrants for a booming economy persists.

The United States is at a crossroads with regard to its future immigration policy and its identity as a country of immigrants. For decades, the debate surrounding immigration has been increasingly heated, divisive, and further polarized the nation. The demographic changes occurring in the United States, in part a result of the resurgence of immigration to the US since the 1970s, as well as racial and social tensions have exacerbated this division further. The past election cycles and the rhetoric employed serve as ample evidence that both sides of the political spectrum see the need for action. It has been on the political agenda for years, but clear majorities have yet to emerge.

Under Presidents Obama and Trump, executive actions rather than laws defined immigration policy, as the United States, particularly during the Trump administration, reduced the flow of immigration. Proposals to increase protection of young unauthorized immigrants protected under Obama's DACA Act were negated in 2017. Young arrivals residing in the U.S. who benefited from this policy were at risk of losing work benefits and the right to a pathway towards citizenship. The attainment of lawful citizenship status continues to be a critical trend.

According to public polling (Pew, 2020), a U.S. majority agrees in prioritizing the increase of available border patrol to process unaccompanied minors quickly. This prioritization differs among partisan preferences, from making it more difficult to be granted legal status in the United States to increasing humanitarian aid in Central American countries, where many asylum seekers originate. General public concern over unlawful immigration declined; however, since spring 2020, more Americans view unlawful immigration as a national problem to be addressed (Pew, 2020). Anti-immigrant fearmongering at the U.S.-Mexico border, particularly after the COVID-19 pandemic hit the United States in

March 2020, may have enhanced the immigration concern among the general public. What is vexatious about anti-immigrant sentiment is its impact on the U.S. economic and demographic future that is actually driven by immigration.

An outlook on the path that U.S. immigration will take is not as easy to make as for other Western countries and political organizations. The European Union is also debating changes to their policies and strategies to mitigate crises at their borders. Unique to the United States is its image as a country of immigrants and the changing demographics. Notably, demographics shifted as immigration reform policy promoted employment-based preference over time. Nevertheless, family-based preference remains the predominant type of immigration to the United States (family-sponsored 20%, and immediate relatives 46%; see fig. 1). With roughly two-thirds of new legal immigration resulting from immediate family or family-sponsored migration, demographic changes will continue to shape America's future. Children and youth make up about 33% of U.S. resettled immigrants, for which prior education, age, migration history, and expectations for new homes vary considerably (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Projections suggest that by 2065, 18% of people in the United States will be first-generation immigrants, and an additional 18% second-generation, U.S.-born inhabitants with foreign-born parents (Pew, 2015). The American Dream is undoubtedly still alive, and more than ever are people pushed away from dire circumstances in their home countries and drawn by America's promises. The future depends on if and how new arrivals assimilate to American culture or if local cultures across the United States continue to shift to a cultural pluralistic society.

Practical Implications for the Classroom

A critical role of the foreign language (FL) classroom is to assess and demystify the overly positive, Eurocentric imagery of immigration to the United States that is still prevalent in many English textbooks. Teachers need to go beyond the textbook and draw on current authentic resources to contrast historical events with current developments in the United States. Building on Byram's framework, the FL classroom needs to embrace critical comparisons of U.S. immigration history and current policy to one's own context. How are other countries approaching immigration? What has public rhetoric surrounding this complex topic been?

The ICC framework guides engagement in such rhetoric so that language learners can better navigate critical issues. ICC skills supersede the international context of language classes and are just as well aimed at understanding local culture and bridging cultural differences. Skills of interpreting include reflecting on attitudes and developing knowledge about one's own culture to make individual connections across social contexts. Curricula that provide a diverse perspective inform what learners need to know to interpret immigration topics and social justice issues glocally. FL classrooms must offer a multicultural perspective in curricula inclusivity that can contextualize abstract ideas and frame them in learners' lived experiences. A shared authority classroom emulates Byram's political education model to include all learners as valuable re-

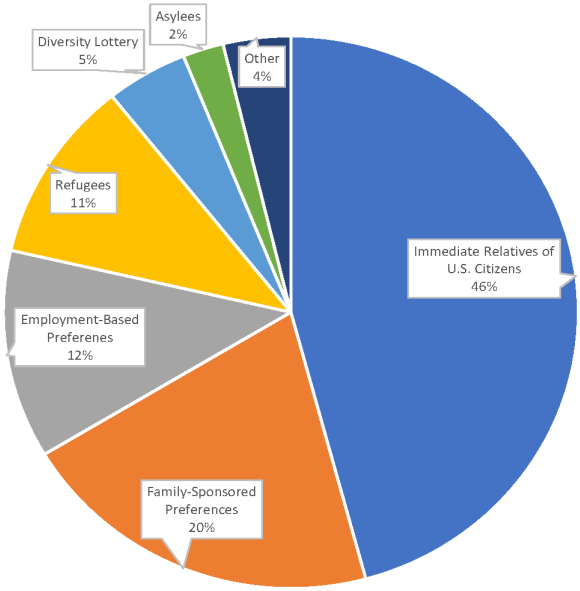


Figure 1: New lawful permanent residents by category of admission in 2017, Department of Homeland Security, 2018.

sources with equitable authority in discourse using multicultural curricula. Learners gain skills to work with others, solve problems, support peers, and have more authority in their learning, which creates mutual trust and shared responsibility. A shared authority culture allows learners to engage with content to think and rethink their beliefs and develop metacognitive awareness, a crucial part of empathetic relations in an ICC approach.

Cultural perspectives are furthered when narratives about immigrants and their experiences are reiterated in curricula, media, and within community networks. Social justice issues are better understood and examined through narratives that embrace critical trends (i.e., unlawful immigration). When unlawful immigrants are assumed to be criminals, bringing disease across borders, such ideas should be critiqued and countered by combining critical media literacy with skills of discovery. Interactive discovery shows how immigration issues impact a learner's world and foster an intercultural understanding that goes beyond the classroom.

FL classrooms must also discuss counternarratives (i.e., stories not often told) of immigration to develop empathy through alternate points of view. Narratives that reflect the past, present, and future realities of immigrants, cross-culturally and internationally, are a way to develop an informed perspective. Counternarratives in texts, poetry, literature, and anecdotes create a discourse that develops an empathetic and informed lens to consider the systemic effects of immigration law, such as U.S.-Mexican immigration and its long-term prevalence in the United States. Reflection on intersections of history, immigration, and narratives can add significant points of view. For example, immigrants detained at Angel Island in San Francisco Bay used words that they etched on the barrack walls to share their thoughts and feelings as critical expressions to combat isolation, silence, and alienation. Teachers interested in this topic will find a rich resource in Angel Island Immigration Foundation's "Writing on the Wall" project at https://www.aiisf.org/poems-and-inscriptions.

Guiding questions for teachers should be based on students' lived realities with both historical and global perspectives in mind. Language learners build on cultural knowledge through connecting to prior learning and background experience. For example, making connections to European culture to bridge diverse, global perspectives to one's own culture is necessary. Open-ended questions are key to guide critical classroom discourse. The ultimate question may be, if the United States can continue as it has without immigration reform. What might the situation be like forty years from now in the United States and in our own context, and what do we want them to look like?

The following narrative discussion questions foster empathy and intercultural competence:

- Who tells the story and why? Why do some not get to tell their story?
- How might the story be different if it was told by someone else (immigrant or non-immigrant)?
- What is the author's point of view and why does it give only a partial account?
- What connections do you make with a person's thoughts and feelings in a story?
- What motivates a person to leave his or her country? Compare two accounts of immigrating to (your country) from a cross-cultural perspective.
- How welcomed might a person feel when they arrive in the new country? What challenges might they face? What successes?
- How does the history of immigration in the United States compare to your country and to the current circumstances?

FL classrooms act as an important intermediary in immigrants' reception and provide context to the development of critical cultural awareness. Teaching civic-mindedness with immigration topics using the ICC model involves the capacity to respond to a situation or circumstance, a media report, or a new refugee crisis, to make complex topics accessible across disciplines and ages. As learners develop positive intercultural relations, they must see through various cultural lenses that expand their horizons beyond the social class or gender-centric viewpoints they

may encounter in their home communities, media, or prior schooling. Educators have a unique opportunity to equip students with civic skills, appropriate language, and critical thinking skills that enable learners to function in and contribute to a diversifying country. Increased critical cultural awareness moves beyond a local perspective to consider the cultural values all immigrants bring. Framing ideas within an ICC model includes immigrant narratives as an integral part of a language curriculum.

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Socioecological Pioneers: The American Nature Friends

Klaus-Dieter Gross

When the first American Naturfreunde*/Nature Friends groups were founded in 1910 and 1912, among German and Austrian immigrants they were latecomers, but their socioecological profile gave them a rather unique hue. Their history is here discussed using the examples of two major clubhouses: Camp Midvale in New Jersey and Muir Woods in California. In their first decades, their programs across the nation united political progressivism, leisure time activities, and environmental sustainability. Due to the politicization of the 1930s, their practices forked out in two ways. Camp Midvale remained more fundamentally political but in the 1950s had to succumb to anti-communist pressure, whereas Muir Woods to this day thrives on a combination of German-Austrian cultural traditions with nature sports and nature preservation. These approaches also represent examples of differing models of how to tackle the socioecological problems of our present.*

1910 und 1912, bei der Gründung ihrer ersten amerikanischen Ortsgruppen, gehörten die Naturfreunde/Nature Friends zu den Nachzüglern deutscher und österreichischer Auswanderung, doch ihr sozialökologisches Profil machte sie unverwechselbar. Ihre Geschichte wird hier dargestellt anhand herausragender Naturfreunde-Zentren: Camp Midvale in New Jersey und Muir Woods in Kalifornien. In den ersten Jahrzehnten verbanden sie über den Kontinent hinweg politisch progressive Forderungen mit Freizeitaktivitäten und den Grundsätzen von Nachhaltigkeit. In Folge der Politisierung der 1930er Jahre entwickelten sich aus diesen Anfängen unterschiedliche Formate. Camp Midvale betonte weiterhin politische Grundzusammenhänge und fiel in den 1950er Jahren antikommunistischem Druck zum Opfer. Muir Woods prägt bis heute ein Programm, das deutsch-österreichische Kultur, Natursport und den Erhalt der natürlichen Lebensgrundlagen als Lebensstil verbindet. Beide Versionen stehen so beispielhaft für grundsätzlich unterschiedliche Zugänge zur Lösung der sozialökologischen Probleme der Gegenwart.

Latecomers

When in 1910 and 1912 the *Naturfreunde*'s first American groups, according to trade union practice called locals, were established in New York and San Francisco, mass migration by Germans, which had peaked between 1815 and 1893, had slowed down (Hoerder, 2010, pp. 56-64).[1] Austrian emigration culminated two decades later. Top decades for the Wilhelmine Reich were 1881-90 and 1911-1920 for the Habsburg Empire (Tolzmannn, 2000, p. 13). That German-speaking immigrants once they had disembarked were uniformly considered to be of "Germanic" descent made it easy for future American Nature Friends to set aside regional differences. Their background in the labor movement at least theoretically would give them another reason not to overemphasize origin.

Founded in Vienna in 1895, the *Naturfreunde* were the hiking club of the working classes (Kramer, 1984). Their program rested on two major pillars: A focus on improving the recreational opportunities for the underprivileged, and a devotion to the cause of labor and its efforts to emancipate the dispossessed from capitalist oppression. Following Wilhelm Liebknecht's catchy tag that "knowledge is power – power is knowledge," in addition to an appreciation of nature they aimed at educating the uneducated in the broadest possible sense, including social and natural sciences (Gross, 2020, pp. 1-6). Their range of activities grew and soon covered mountain sports and cultural activities as well as ecological projects. Fast-growing as the organization was, an outright theory for its practices would only be developed in the context of Austromarxist debates (Sandner, 1996).

By World War I the club had spread all across Austria, Switzerland and Germany, and to the United States. Because most members arrived via New York, its Vienna-based members' journal *Der Naturfreund* suggested as contacts a multicultural center of labor organizations, the *New York Labor Temple*, and the leading German-language and labor newspaper, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* – thus creating its own pattern of

chain migration. An essential German-language and labor infractructure had existed in the USA from the first half of the nineteenth century onwards, into which the new *Naturfreunde* integrated easily. Like in Europe, in a clearly defined division of labor, their place was to propagate and practice the working people's equal right to the pleasures of nature and culture. As John Williams (2011) puts it: "The *Naturfreunde* movement promoted a proletarian 'turn to nature' through hiking, with the goal of improving the working class's physical, mental and political strength" (p. 199). Unlike romantic escapists, they did not reject technological progress, as it was viewed as a precondition for working-class emancipation (Linse, 1991); what they did criticize was any excessive destruction of nature to serve capitalist interests.

Against its internationalist claims, the labor movement was not exempt from cultural prejudices, such as when early in the twentieth century the number of immigrants from Austria's eastern provinces was on the rise. Even later a sympathetic observer like E. Wilder Spaulding (1968) problematically distinguishes between "core-Austrians" of a Germanic background and "the outer peoples of the monarchy" (p. 235). Such hierarchies surfaced in, for example, the autobiography of Josef Jodlbauer, a former Socialist parliamentarian from Styria, who in his memories of thirteen years as a leftist activist in the USA remembers repeatedly being called a "Polack" (Hoerder 1996). His role as the honorary speaker at the first anniverary of the New York *Naturfreunde* (*Der Naturfreund* July 15, 1911, pp. 167-8) seems to indicate that among these such denigration was not the rule. Due to larger immigration numbers, a majority of the club officers in the American Nature Friends were Germans, but Austrians, including those from eastern provinces, were co-opted on equal terms. Early club members of high esteem included Austro-Slovak Alexander Wiederseder, who would be crucial for new locals in both eastern and western parts of the United States, or Viennese Wilhelm Heidelmann, who up to the present is honored in the Californian Nature Friends' impressive Heidelmann Lodge in the Sierra Nevada.

Green Labor

Early on, Karl Renner, co-founder of the *Naturfreunde* and later Austrian Chancellor and President, summed up how contemporary workers were excluded from the benefits of nature:

> Not a single piece of earth belongs to us. The house in which we live, the workshop in which we toil, the fields through which we hike – everything belongs to others. The tree under which we rest, the caves in which we seek shelter from the storm, the forest whose clean air strengthens our lungs – all of nature experiences us as strangers. We are strangers on this earth, for we have no part of it! They have only left the street to us! … They have divided the earth … among themselves and have granted us only the dust of the street. (Renner, 1898; transl. in Williams, 2011, p. 204)

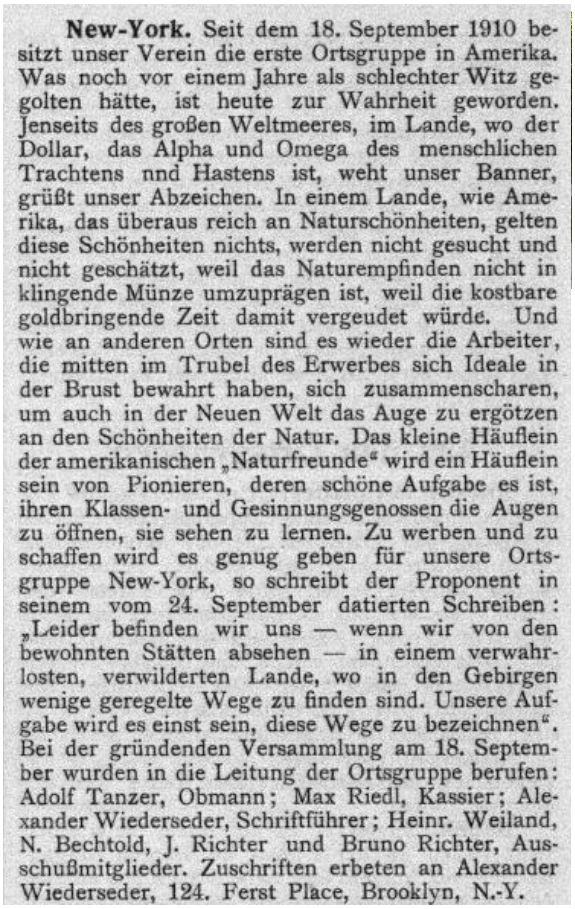
Demanding equal access to the recreational opportunities of nature was seen as part of the fight for economic participation and political influence. It was part of the class-struggle at large. The pursuit of human rights, social equality, and a sustainable environment were closely linked – quite clearly a socioecological program.

Even hiking carried a political function. One *Naturfreunde* format was that of *social hiking*, which combined recreation, physical and mental well-being, actively acquiring a knowledge of the social and natural worlds and included overt action like "Der verbotene Weg" ("the forbidden trail"), i.e., purposely trespassing into areas sealed off for use by the privileged (Gross, 2019). Its emphasis on communality, equality, and freedom for everyone stood in utmost contrast to the marching promoted from the nineteenth-century nationalistic *Turnerbewegung* (gymnastics movement) to the fascist brown-shirts (Williams 2007).

What for Vienna school teacher Georg Schmiedl had initially been a local project, sparked off an international movement. Within a few years the number of Austrian groups exceeded forty. In 1905 the idea reached out into Switzerland and Germany, and from 1910 on branches were established in the United States. Unlike in Europe, where it went into the hundeds of thousands, membership there never even got close to two

thousand, organized in sixteen locals with fourteen clubhouses in exquisite regions. Its crossover structure as an outdoor sports plus recreational plus cultural and political organization would keep it in a somewhat unique position in trans-Atlantic migration history.[2]

The *Naturfreunde* were also unique in another way. Early migrants to America had fled religious or political persecution and come out of economic despair – as is summed up in the concept of the "American Dream." By the end of the nineteenth century, most migrants knew they were not moving to a land of milk and honey. What attracted them was that there was room for experimentation. Without giving up the powerful pursuit of individual happiness, they added 'European' components such as collective responsibility for each other (i.e., solidarity) and an appreciation for the new land's nature (i.e., a 'green' perspective).



New-York. Seit dem 18. September 1910 besitzt unser Verein die erste Ortsgruppe in Amerika. Was noch vor einem Jahre als schlechter Witz gegolten hätte, ist heute zur Wahrheit geworden. Jenseits des großen Weltmeeres, im Lande, wo der Dollar, das Alpha und Omega des menschlichen Trachtens nnd Hastens ist, weht unser Banner, grüßt unser Abzeichen. In einem Lande, wie Amerika, das überaus reich an Naturschönheiten, gelten diese Schönheiten nichts, werden nicht gesucht und nicht geschätzt, weil das Naturempfinden nicht in klingende Münze umzuprägen ist, weil die kostbare goldbringende Zeit damit vergeudet würde. Und wie an anderen Orten sind es wieder die Arbeiter, die mitten im Trubel des Erwerbes sich Ideale in der Brust bewahrt haben, sich zusammenscharen, um auch in der Neuen Welt das Auge zu ergötzen an den Schönheiten der Natur. Das kleine Häuflein der amerikanischen „Naturfreunde" wird ein Häuflein sein von Pionieren, deren schöne Aufgabe es ist, ihren Klassen- und Gesinnungsgenossen die Augen zu öffnen, sie sehen zu lernen. Zu werben und zu schaffen wird es genug geben für unsere Ortsgruppe New-York, so schreibt der Proponent in seinem vom 24. September datierten Schreiben: „Leider befinden wir uns — wenn wir von den bewohnten Stätten absehen — in einem verwahrlosten, verwilderten Lande, wo in den Gebirgen wenige geregelte Wege zu finden sind. Unsere Aufgabe wird es einst sein, diese Wege zu bezeichnen". Bei der gründenden Versammlung am 18. September wurden in die Leitung der Ortsgruppe berufen: Adolf Tanzer, Obmann; Max Riedl, Kassier; Alexander Wiederseder, Schriftführer; Heinr. Weiland, N. Bechtold, J. Richter und Bruno Richter, Ausschußmitglieder. Zuschriften erbeten an Alexander Wiederseder, 124. Ferst Place, Brooklyn, N.-Y.

Figure 1: First report on New York club, 1910, in: Der Naturfreund (September 18, 1910: 250).

On September 18, 1910, the Vienna-based *Der Naturfreund* introduced their first overseas members as an avant-garde, as pioneers whose noble task it was to open their co-workers' eyes to the beauty of the land, in a country characterized by a culture of plenty but also of wastefulness, which was fresh but also raw, where promises of social advancement were subverted by desperate living conditions, and where nature was unimaginably bountiful but in whose hectic money-making nobody really cared for such beauty. The president of the newly founded local was Adolf Tanzer, and mail was to be sent to Alexander Wiederseder, 124 Ferst Place, Brooklyn, N.Y.

The Alexander Wiederseder mentioned is a striking example of how the *Naturfreunde* expanded. A craftsman of socialist convictions, he had joined the club in the Austro-Slovak city of Bratislava. His travels would take him to New York, where he became the first Secretary ("Schriftführer") of the new group. After a short time in Chicago, he moved on to California to preside over the San Fransisco branch from 1917 to 1921. Already the number of *Der Naturfreund* which reported on the founding of a New York local contained his illustrated text on the Niagara Falls, in good social hiking fashion with multiple references to historical and social circumstances and advising visitors that its beauty was best savoured when hiking, in physical motion (1910, pp. 245-246). A plan to present a slide show on U.S.-American National Parks in Europe failed, but to an American public he became known through images of American natural sights and architectural follies.[3]

A follow-up article in *Der Naturfreund* (July 15, 1911, p. 167) celebrated workers' solidarity on May 1, reported on increased membership and again complained about the average American's lack of interest in the beauty of the landscape. It hoped that *Naturfreunde* outings would rouse the workers' love of the land; travel plans included multiday trips to Philadelphia (also to support the fledgling local there), the Catskills, and again Niagara.

Now certainly the *Naturfreunde* were not the first ones to introduce ecological ideas to the United States. Most prominently, that prize goes to Henry

David Thoreau, of *Walden*-fame, with lots of others before and after him (Kline, 2011); likewise John Muir and the history of nature preservation by way of National Parks predates the coming of the Nature Friends (Duncan & Burns, 2009). Their interest concentrated on the "wilderness" of the country (i.e., at preserving vast chunks of land from disruptive human interference), which differed quite a lot from conservation programs in more densely populated contemporary Europe (Lekan, 2007). The latter's combination of *Naturschutz* (nature conservation) and *Heimatschutz* (homeland protection) opened environmentalism up to nationalistic interpretations, with fascist ones not far away ("*Blut und Boden*," "blood and soil"). Its advocates wanted to save outstanding natural monuments from commercial exploitation by keeping out the uneducated masses. In their view the *Naturfreunde's* claim for equal rights to nature called into question established sociopolitical and economic structures and infringed on their own elitist entitlements.

In the year the New York branch was established, in recognition of activities long practiced the now international *Naturfreunde* formally incorporated environmental protection into their legal by-laws.



Figure 2: International logo, Camp Midvale, Ringwood, N.J.

Programmatic texts followed to define how and why nature is to be protected without excluding humans from its beauties (e.g., Hühnermann, 1910). Parliamentarian contacts were used to influence law-making. This very special working-class and environmentalist alliance within the framework of a leisure-time club made the *Naturfreunde* an early example of what would come to be called the green labor movement (Silverman, 2004).

Expansion

The green labor connotation had already determined the iconography of the *Naturfreunde* logo. Again, it was Karl Renner who combined the "handshake in solidarity" the labor movement had been using since the mid-nineteenth century (Korff & Petersen, 1992) with the environmental reference to Alpine roses in front of mountain scenery. Its setting reflects early activities close to Vienna, and yet was so universal that it could easily be transferred (see fig. 2).

By 1923 six American clubs were active: New York (founded in 1910), Newark and Philadelphia (each 1913) in the East, and San Francisco (1912), Los Angeles (a first attempt in 1913; successful in 1920) and Oakland (1920) in California. *Der Tourist*, an all-American club journal mostly in German, joined members across the continent. Its header customized Renner's logo: in the middle of a stylized map of America, the 'T' of the magazine's title literally underlines a handshake of two hikers (see fig. 3). Their posture makes use of the well-known image of the Promontory, Utah, merger of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads in 1869. Again, this evokes a pioneer concept. Transnational backgrounds symbolize the diversity of American *nature* (mountains [also present in the European logo], valleys, rivers, and plants) and *culture* (an Easterner dressed in contemporary 1920s hiking fashion and a Westerner clothed accordingly in frontier dress codes).

In the 1920s the American clubs thrived – if in their own niches. In the early 1930s a now mostly English members' journal, *The Nature Friend*, con-

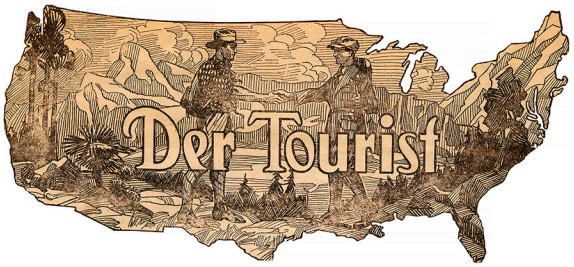


Figure 3: 1923 Header of members' magazine Der Tourist.

tinued to cover activities from coast to coast. An effective information system and an utter sense of cohesion made it possible for members to move across the nation to be welcomed by comrades at their new destinations, like the Rettenbachers, who from Nuremberg via Bremen first came to New York and then to San Francisco; they died mountaineering on Mount Ritter and are fondly remembered to this day (Galić, 2014).

In 1928, the fiftieth anniversary issue of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung (NYVZ)* Walter R. Boelke presented the *Naturfreunde* in a lengthy article headlined "Die 'Naturfreunde' bilden ein Glied der Arbeiterbewegung" ("The Nature Friends constitute a branch of the workers' movement") (repr. in Gross, 2014, p. 42). He sets out from an intensive description of the beauties of nature, which he contrasts with capitalistic realities, then sums up the history of the organization, its pacifist and ecological aims, its functions as a health-improvement and educational institution and elaborates on the Nature Friends Homes as a vision of what a society based on solidarity may achieve. His central political statement reads:

> We Nature Friends are a hiking and cultural organization. We are [...] consciously proletarian and socialist. Like the political workers' parties and the socialist unions our struggle is devoted to freeing the proletariat from oppression by capitalist exploitation and establishing a communist social order, which guarantees to all workers just wages. There still is a long way to go, and in order to be able to fight the coming, decisive battles we need people physically fresh and intellectually alert. We Nature Friends have concluded that we can obtain this mental know-how outside, in nature, on our hikes; because to our hiking we have given a clearly defined principle, i.e., to educate humankind. Our educational program aims at creating men and women who consciously promote the coming of the new society. Our hiking thus acknowledges a new concept of living, a new collective idea and sense.[4]

The "Constitution of The Nature Friends of America," adopted in 1935 as a primarily legal document, once again embeds socioecological aims in a proletarian perspective: "This association is an organization of workers interested in hiking, labor sports and cultural activities," whose objects "are: to acquaint the workers with the natural beauty of the country and to provide opportunities for its study and enjoyment; to encourage the study of nature; to teach appreciation of natural beauty; to disseminate the knowledge of natural science and of the mode of living and the customs of the various people; to further and aid the protection of nature and its beauty; and to strengthen the feeling of solidarity." "Membership in this corporation is open to persons irrespective of sex, color, creed or nationality." Particular mention is made of "[p]ropagating the maintainance and protection of National Parks" (repr. in Gross, 2014, p. 31).

Three years later, in his dedication speech to the Nature Friends' skiing resort of Mt. Pisgah in New York State, camp chairman Hans Wittich enthusiastically and in language astonishingly close to that of the first reports to Europe said:

> "Berg frei" is our international greeting. It means: in the rugged, keenly shaped mountains where Nature Friends feel at home, there is boundless liberty. To achieve it, we must go through all the hardships of trailblazing. Mountains must be scaled. But when you have reached the summit and cast your eyes upon the country which lies below you, your voice will thunder "Berg frei!" into the valleys, into the gorges, into the winds, the music of that sound will dance along. Your greetings will travel away and far to the ears of our brothers and sisters who have not yet experienced the call of the mountains. (1938, p. 2)

Wittich was not only a hiker, mountaineer, photographer, botanist, and activist, but also a main proponent of communitarian projects like the Trail Conferences (which up to the present lay out hiking trails) and the New Deal Civil Conservation

Corps. His tours were organized completely according to the concept of social hiking. A route he climbed in the Grand Tetons as a first with his New York comrade Otto Stegmeier was named after him – the Wittich Crack.

Black Friday in 1929 would create a much broader leftist public in the United States, and the (Eastern) Nature Friends experienced a shift to the left; political statements in the members' journals adopted a sharper tone, although the practices of outdoor sports and camp activities remained unchanged. An extended international perspective increased the awareness of how racism, fascism, and the externalization of economic and ecological problems to less developed regions were meant to undermine workers' solidarity. All in all, with the New Deal in full swing and the American Left as strong as never before or after, the Nature Friends considered themselves part of the progressive mainstream. Even their most politically active subgroups never saw themselves as ideologically homogeneous. It was to their own surprise when they found that the Eastern District had turned up on the Attorney General's list of so-called subversive organizations.

The Split

The Californian clubs had gone through the New Deal era in a less politized way, and the Eastern and the Western Districts began to drift apart. When on July 9, 1940, representatives of fifteen locals met geographically midway in Rocky Mountains National Park, in practical matters all agreed. Yet the fact that Eastern clubs were in the focus of the red-baiters also endangered the Californians' existence. Another national convention in 1947, in Grand Teton National Park (with Hans Wittich as a co-organizer), could not any more reverse the split, in which the Western branch separated from the New York headquarters; even in the East and Midwest some groups sought their distance from the national office (Gross, 2015a).

Socioecology was not among the reasons for splitting up, but over time the break-up also initiated a drifting apart in that respect. In 1951 the Boyertown District Convention of the Eastern District adopted a constitution which included as its educational aims the study of nature, the teaching of its appreciation, the distribution of knowledge on nature and the conservation of natural resources, i.e., a full-range green labor concept. The largest Nature Friends property in the East, Camp Midvale in Ringwood, N.J., can stand for how Eastern branches tried to realize these aims. The Californian clubs, on the other hand, shifted towards a concept in which the socioecological element was reinterpreted as the appreciation of nature in a cozy social German-American environment; to this day the Muir Woods Nature Friends' lodge in Mill Valley, CA is run on such a program.

Camp Midvale and the East

For business meetings, lectures, photo shows, and balls, the early *Naturfreunde* in New York and San Francisco used inner-city venues they shared with other labor organizations: The Labor Temple in New York and California Hall (or: Teutonic Rathaus) in San Francisco (Gross, 2020, pp. 7; 14-15). But for the pleasures of nature and an extended sense of community, they would look for opportunities within easy reach from the big cities. Built through cooperative efforts – most members were craftsmen – these *Naturfreundehäuser* (club houses) were pioneer projects which opened up undeveloped natural sites for the members' and implicitly the public's use. They were centers of a shared identity, of solidarity, and for an ecologically sustainable lifestyle. They served as vacation resorts and space for outdoor sports (mostly hiking, skiing, and mountaineering, but also ball sports and dancing), and recreational activities combined with cultural and political projects. They were contact zones (Pratt 1991) in a physical, intellectual and social sense. Cross-over experiences ranged from world views and lifestyles to food and drink, artwork, drama, and music.

Camp Midvale was established by the New York club in 1920. It soon attracted members to live there permanently and over time achieved an identity of its own. Never far from politics, after the Depression years it "became the scene of many Popular Front activities during the thirties. […] It

made the contact of city workers with nature financially possible" (Ragg, 1977, p. 38). In 1939, during the New Deal era, it was a hiking destination sympathetically singled out by the New Jersey Federal Writers Project, which introduced it as a bilingual institution with a huge swimming pool run by German unionists catering to the recreational needs of industrial workers (Gross, 2014, pp. 16-21).

The Camp represented everything the Nature Friends stood for: hiking in a beautiful area, spending holidays cheaply, being together with people of a progressive persuasion, with a moderate openness as to moral restrictions, and no racism. It attracted hundreds and thousands from the region and from New York City. In the 1950s there were 44 miles of hiking trails, and the Trail Conference, of which it was a member, included its tours in its famous *Walk Book*. Nowhere around could one find such a wide-ranging version of green labor:

- Through the **spectacular contrast** to hectic New York City (the skyline of which can be seen from High Point above the Camp) and the industrial centers of Newark, Passaic, or Paterson (where many of its users came from) it provided not only an escape from the chores of everyday life but also a collective experience of what the labor movement can achieve if it sticks together.
- Due to its **cooperative and participatory character and as property shared**, members and to an extent visitors could influence how the place was run; it manifested a comprehensive model of democratic self-organization.
- Based on the **humanistic values** of freedom and equality, there were no restictions as to race, gender, age, etc.
- They were **free-speech areas** in which a host of topics ranging from how to live in a sustainable way to international solidarity were discussed.
- The advantages of **technological progress** both for access to the Camp (railroad, car) and for maintanance (such as electricity provided by the new Wanaque Reservoir or steam excavators for building its huge swimming pool) were used but remained supportive tools, not driving factors for its development.
- In a most personal way, it connected **nature and freedom**, as in this exemplary childhood memory of the 1950s:

  > We'd eat our meals in the front of our cabin and watch the deer coming down from behind us. There were shows on the stage on weekends and we kids would sit under the apple trees on our blankets. Talent shows, music, dancing and puppet shows. Every week we'd go hiking with our lunches up to High Point. What fun. Maybe I was too young to realize anything political was going on, but it sure wasn't when I got older. We used to go down to the dump in the evenings with our flashlights and watch the bears rummage through the trash. In the afternoons the men would play pinochle in the clubhouse and the women played canasta. We kids just ruled the camp. Ping pong, volleyball, horseshoes, swings, swimming. (Qtd. in Gross, 2014, p. 39)

The principles the Camp was based on were not understood or appreciated by everyone, though. Even progressive participants failed to recognize its cooperative character, and those who opposed its politics worked hard to undermine it. From the 1940s onwards to keep the Camp going was made difficult by various factors both internal and external:

1. **A reduced number of volunteers.** With a growing number of visitors, it became increasingly difficult to find the dozens of volunteers necessary to cover all the necessary functions throughout the year and for every weekend, including keeping intact the vast grounds, maintaining its hiking trails, and servicing the multiple buildings and Olympic-size swimming pool; permanent costs began to exceed the revenue from the working-class-friendly attendance fees; volunteers felt uneasy about a lack of appreciation from some visitors.
2. **Lack of support from organized labor.** Unionists and refugees of all shades came, but mainly as short-term visitors. Political parties did not help either, and certainly did not understand its socioecological approach. Even though some Nature Friends functionaries felt attracted to the Communist Party,

the CPUSA promoted an English-only policy and did not appreciate bilingual enterprises. On the other hand, the now fairly conservative Social Democratic successor of the NYVZ, the *Neue Volkszeitung*, in 1941 stated that "the Nature Friends belonged to those German American labor organizations which are abused by a small clique of communist party functionaries" (May 31), hoped that "'the doubtlessly non-communist majority of the Nature Friends […] would make their stand […] to the clique [of their] leaders'," and on September 7 ominously indicated that they were in danger of losing Camp Midvale (Ragg, 1977, pp. 233-234) – a threat many a volunteer saw as openly siding with the enemies of the Camp.

3. **Flaws in the integration of refugees.** Like other labor organizations, the *Naturfreunde* were illegalized in Nazi-Germany and clerico-fascist Austria in 1933 and 1934. Refugees of this generation had known *Naturfreunde* principles at home and thus blended in well, like Bavarian author Oskar Maria Graf, who even became an 'honorary member' at Midvale (Gross, 2015b). But for the next generation of exiles, after the German annexation of Austria in 1938, "there was an almost complete organizational separation between the Austrian and the German resistance groups" (Neugebauer, 2014, pp. 53-54). The Austrians kept to themselves and did not participate in the camp activities necessary for its survival. Interviewees for an oral history project in the 1980s remembered what obviously was the nonpartisan antifascist *Freie Österreichische Jugend* (Free Austrian Youth), a New York group of some 250 members, among them 25 to 50 Jewish. To these Midvale was a mere outdoor escape in a beautiful area, as a note on August 28, 1943, makes clear: "Our sports season in Camp Midvale comes to an end with a big festival, including water-polo, fist ball, volleyball and girls' handball matches against Nature Friends teams" (Eppel, 1995, pp. 645). This 'we' against 'them' implies a distance old-time members and residents did not appreciate (Gross 2021).
4. **McCarthyite intimidation.** Internal controversies and disappointments were intensified when as part of the McCarthy-witchhunts the FBI began to question camp neighbors and take down the licence plates of cars visiting, and when the KuKluxKlan and local Minutemen attacked the camp for the non-segregated politics of its swimming pool. Under the circumstances, residents even of Nature Friends stock wanted to establish formal property rights of where they lived (with legal conflicts among members following), and long-time supporters began to stay away or withdraw to camps in the New York and New Jersey hillsides (Gross, 2014, pp. 42-43).

All of this makes clear how the Camp did not perish because of its socioecological character but was destroyed through a complex melange of internal and external factors. At least its ecological character could be preserved in the long run. Once the Nature Friends gave it up, the property was handed over to the Metropolitan Recreation Association, a civil rights and sustainability project in which old members were involved. Then a well-to-do couple, Walter and Mary Weis, endowed money to maintain the grounds as a nature reserve. After an interim phase as a nature center for the New Jersey Audubon Society, today the camp and pool are run on a non-profit and cooperative basis by a group of environmentalists who had mostly grown up there. In that particular format, socioecologial values are preserved although the Nature Friends' existence as an organization has come to an end.

Muir Woods and the West

Muir Woods, on the Pacific end of the nation, has remained more of a success story. In her volume on the history of walking, Rebecca Solnit (2014) devoted to it a few pages as an example of working-class wanderlust with an explicitly environmental tinge (pp. 155-157). It was opened soon after the San Francisco club had come into being. Like at Midvale, its ideological roots were progressive, but from early on an Austro-German character was more visible. In the 1930s traditional working-

class rhetoric was reduced to allusions to a spirit of cooperation, collectively enjoying nature and running one's properties with people whose lifestyles one shared. Although money was collected for war efforts during World War II and refugees were supported, the Californians were less outspoken about the situation in Europe. Anti-racist activities seem to have played a less prominent role.

From then on what came to be called the Nature Friends Tourist Club rather concentrated on Austrian and German folklore, from Alpine dress codes and dancing modes to traditional beer fests. Its building style was called 'Swiss.' The paintings at the clubhouse blend the craggy peaks of the European Alps with those of the High Sierra. Geographically, its location just across the Golden Gate creates a unique contrast to the densely populated and industrialized Bay Area, and the beauty of its surroundings, from Mount Tamalpais and the nearby Pacific to easy walking access to Muir Woods National Monument with its shady creeks and redwood trees, makes it a constant reminder of how nature appreciation and entertainment can go together.

Muir Woods, both the National Monument and the Tourist Club, were named after well-known Scots-American National Park activist John Muir (1838-1914), whose life briefly overlapped with that of the San Francisco club. Muir was, in spite of his intensive political contacts, more interested in nature than in political matters, which seems to make him a perfect namesake here. Yet unlike Muir's (and Thoreau's) fascination with wilderness as an antithesis to civilization, the clubhouse combines the natural and the social, Austro-German gemütlichkeit and active participation in nature. Today the Californian Nature Friends' profile merges German-Austrian folk traditions, non-political sociability, and outstanding sports opportunities. Environmentalism on a larger scale has given way to preserving and enjoying the nature in the clubhouses' immediate environs and its hinterland in a practical way.

The process of the Californian *Naturfreunde's* 'Americanization' is outlined by Erich Fink, whose 1971 booklet on the fiftieth anniversary of the Oakland Nature Friends (founded with the help of the San Francisco local) covered the interconnected history of both clubs. Its advertising section almost exclusively exhibited Germanic-sounding names and European products, proof of an active German-American community's vivid support. Just as the old language was gradually given up, the political orientation was also abandoned: "All members in the 1920s spoke German. All meetings were conducted in German. Until the early 1930s, membership in a union was also required before becoming a Nature Friend. This aspect of our organization has nearly disappeared" (Fink, 1971, n.p.). Elsewhere Fink acknowledges that the Californians were jeopardized by McCarthyism as well; conflicts were settled more easily than in the East, although they did contribute to the Californians' withdrawal from politics (2008, p. 37).

In yet another publication, Fink compares the Californians' self-image with that of the Sierra Club and the European *Naturfreunde*:

> What is the NATURE FRIEND CLUB? In California it is an incorporated club, an association of hikers, mountaineers, skiers and nature lovers whose aim is to perpetuate and further the interests of its members and others in outdoor sports and activities, to further and aid the protection of nature and its beauty and to conserve our nature's resources.
>
> The club is of a non-political nature, although the members' declaration of love of nature involves some commitment to the environmental cause. Our club's parent club in Europe, just like the Sierra Club here, is actively involved in the political ecological movement on all levels.
>
> Here in California our members have more of an inclination to be participants and friendly users of the pleasures of nature: hiking, skiing, mountaineering and outdoor recreational activities. (1986, n.p.)

This still describes the status quo. The current San Francisco club's website states: "We are Friends of Nature. We are hikers, mountaineers, and passionate advocates for the natural environment." To which Susi Raub-Vogler, the International Secretary of Nature Friends California, adds in a recent Nature Friends International website post:

> The priorities for our organization are ex-

> posure to nature and the preservation of it through access and awareness, to provide community for wellbeing, and to continue and share our cultural traditions of the founders per their mission statement. Over time our organization has become multifaceted in people and activities. Each one of our Naturefriends houses has acquired its own atmosphere and culture that adds to our club diversity and interest. […] I strongly believe, in order to foster any and all healthy environments, we must encourage healthy human activities and community, and this is what the NF promotes. Through such community we can motivate people to help preserve what we value so greatly – our natural environment and friendship. The enrichment I have gained from the Naturefriends has been invaluable![5]

On such a synthesis of community life, nature sports, and cultural entertainment, Muir Woods will celebrates its 110th anniversary in 2022. Its 'Alpine' festivals amidst a spectacular landscape follow the seasonal course of the year as a reminder of how central to its values nature is. The combination of environmentalist aims with an emphasis on Germanic culture had probably helped fend off the onslought of McCarthyism. Stabilizing factors may have been a cultural hype for things Bavarian in the reconstruction years after World War II (Raithel, 2004, p. 27) and the German-American heritage revival of the post-1960s (Tolzmann, 2000, p. 355). All in all, linking nature appreciation and gemütlichkeit has made it possible for the Californian Nature Friends to prevail over political adversities, at the cost of more complex socioecological aspirations.

Conclusion

Since the 1970s scholars and activists have come up with highly complex socioecological concepts (Radkau, 2014; Bruckmeier, 2016). These developed into various strategies for a "socioecological transformation" as the groundwork for a sustainable future (e.g., Haberl et al., 2016; Kramm et al., 2017), among them some with a clearly anti-capitalist impact (e.g., Moore, 2016), others with a particular emphasis on global aspects (e.g., Lessenich, 2019). The *Naturfreunde* today are actively involved in this debate.[6]

It is quite obvious that, decades ago, debates on high-tech renewable energy, the externalization of environmental and social costs, or the relevance of diversity in nature for future economies could not have been dealt with in such a way. What distinguishes the *Naturfreunde* is how, as a leisure-focused labor organization, they were among the first to address 'green' matters in such a context. This article on the history of the American Nature Friends as an environmentalist group has tried to show how two very different versions developed from its green labor beginnings, one with a progressive emphasis linking environmental and socio-political processes (Camp Midvale), the other one of a more pragmatic 'green' character where fun and nature go together (Muir Woods).

The first concept would in no way have ruled out the recreational impact of a love of the outdoors and nature, but added that environmental questions, recreation, self-empowerment, and justice are linked closely (human rights plus social equality plus sustainablity). Their clubhouses and camps were not only sites of enjoyment, but they also served to enlighten others on what a life built on solidarity with both co-humans and nature could achieve, as – to use a slogan about German *Naturfreundehäuser* during the Weimar Republic – "grüne Inseln im Klassenkampf" ("Green islands in the class struggle").

Blurring their working-class background in a long historical process, the Californian Nature Friends adopted the second approach, which served more immediate physical and psychological interests. That Muir Woods and the other lodges flourish in their niches today is due to the fact that they began to emphasize cultural matters and a relatively traditional concept of nature appreciation over political contexts. Their practices aim at teaching outdoor enthusiasts how to enjoy nature without disrupting it, and that learning to do so can be fun shared with

others. Its history reflects a shift away from a comprehensive socioecological orientation towards a social plus ecological one.

All in all, the Nature Friends as an environmentalist group have left only few traces in the ecological movement in the USA as a whole. This raises the question whether it makes sense to reconsider their socioecological experiments and experiences beyond merely documentary historiography. Three aspects may suggest the answer is 'yes':

The duality between **environmentalism as a lifestyle and as a demand for fundamental change** emerging from their history is one permeating ecological debates in the present as well. Its contours can thus be historicized. On the one hand, the radical critique of the Fridays for Future movement is not unlike that of the Camp Midvale type (though without its recreational aspects), whereas on the other hand less ambitious lovers of nature may look for ways how best to reduce their personal footprints on the environment. Both sides claim to be "friends of nature," and in fact both versions are to be found within the Nature Friends International today.

Due to their complexity, socioecological debates are the realm of highly specialized organizations focusing on their own topical expertise and perspectives. Yet their findings have to be translated into practices which motivate the general public to participate in such efforts. **What is the role of a leisure-time organization like the Nature Friends in such a process?** The two dominant *Naturfreunde* organizations today, in Austria and Germany, answer that question in differing ways: Most Austrian groups see themselves as outdoor clubs with an ecological tinge – an approach not unlike that of Muir Woods. In Germany many clubs rather are political plus recreational groups – i.e., closer to the Nature Friends in the former Eastern District. Can American experiences shed light on how, even beyond institutionalized politics, civic clubs like the *Naturfreunde* can best support and influence socioecological progress?

This is even relevant in **recent American contexts**. The Trump presidency has shown how fragile democratic patterns can be (culminating in the storming of the Capitol in January 2021), and how undervalued ecological and social questions were on the administration's political agenda. To the surprise of many, the presidency of Joe Biden has opened up new doors for a Green New Deal (e.g., Smith, 2021), which almost certainly will be oscillating between the poles of a more radical socioecological transformation and traditional small-scale reforms. A weighing of the merits and disadvantages of both approaches, past and present, can, for example, also be accomplished by comparing the socioecological practices as they were outlined on a small scale in the history of the Nature Friends in the United States.

Endnotes

[1] For general surveys see Jones, 2014, Rippley, 2014; Sydney, 2014. Immigration from Switzerland (Schelbert, 2014) has often been sidelined as it follows different trends. Yet for the Austrian Vorarlberg region, e.g., it became a major emigration route (Pichler, 1993).

[2] Heike Bungert's comprehensive reconstruction of a German-American festival culture does not even include the founding of the New York branch (2016: 562-564). The *Naturfreunde* do not fit easily into categories.

[3] http://www.azarchivesonline.org/xtf/view?docId=ead/asu/americanstockphotophotographs.xml&doc.view=print;chunk.id=0 [05/18/2021].

[4] Using the terms "proletarian," "socialist," and "communist" interchangeably, Boelke reduces the social order he envisions to just and fair wages, not exactly what one might expect from a revolutionary. – Black Friday would (also through European influences) lead to more rigid ideological conflicts among American Nature Friends.

[5] https://touristclubsf.org; https://www.nf-int.org [05/18/2021].

[6] E.g., https://www.naturfreunde.de/manifest-transformation; https://www.nf-int.org/en/about-us/mission-statement [05/18/2021].

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The Fine Line Between Bravery and Conspiracy: Teaching Civil Disobedience and Conspiracy Theories in the Classroom

Stefan Hiebler

This article is about teaching civil disobedience and conspiracy theories – two complex, sensitive, and emotional issues. By linking theory and practice in the form of a lesson sequence, it will illustrate that teaching is about empowering students in their development of skills toward independent, reflected, and critical thinking skills. The teacher only orchestrates the process by purposefully providing valuable input and offering a wide array of perspectives and strategies, which support students on their way to forming their own opinions and developing competences that last and make them capable individuals in and – most notably – outside the classroom.

*Dieser Artikel beschäftigt sich mit dem Unterrichten von zivilem Ungehorsam und Verschwörungstheorien – zwei sehr komplexen, sensiblen und emotionalen Themenbereichen. Durch die Verknüpfung von Theorie und Praxis in Form einer Unterrichtssequenz soll veranschaulicht werden, dass Unterrichten bedeutet, Schüler*innen in ihrer Entwicklung von Kompetenzen, wie unabhängigem, reflektiertem und kritischem Denken, zu befähigen. Die Lehrperson orchestriert diesen Prozess, indem zweckmäßige und wertvolle Inhalte sowie eine weite Bandbreite an Perspektiven und Herangehensweisen angeboten werden. Dies unterstützt die Schüler*innen auf ihrem Weg hin zur Bildung eigener Meinungen und Entwicklung nachhaltiger Kompetenzen aktiv und befähigt sie zu artikulationsfähigen Menschen in – und im Besonderen – außerhalb der Klasse.*

Planning Prerequisites

Teaching is many things. Above all, though, it is about empowering students to learn, question, develop, and flourish as autonomous people who will be well-prepared for future challenges outside the classroom. It is a common demand that school should prepare students for life. But what exactly does this mean, and how can it be accomplished? Surely school is about achievement: hard facts in the form of (general) knowledge and theory. However, it should most notably be about performance: the (soft) skills or competences and practice. Seneca did not criticize education for no reason when he claimed that it is rather the classroom and not life students learn for. He thought that by focusing on the study of literature, education was too theoretical (Seneca, 2016). Only later did people turn his initial quote around, and thus the renowned saying "it is life and not school that we learn for" was born. In the end, the bottom line is the same: practice, not without, but over theory. Theoretical input and content are important, but only as a means to an end. It will only be a vehicle to help students engage with, learn to understand – and even more importantly – assess an issue. It is the teachers' responsibility to accompany students on their way to independent and sensible reasoning. Modern society needs citizens who can independently and responsibly understand and assess facts and distinguish them from bogus information. Before students can reach this goal, content has to be offered and taught to them by teachers while always providing a safe environment where students have the possibility to train and hone their skills in decision making without being judged.

There is not only a fine line between bravery and conspiracy, but also between teaching content to students and empowering them to independent reasoning. It is important – and very difficult for many teachers – to teach merely content, but not opinions. Students need to form their own opinions; teachers will only see them through this process. How should teachers now go about this? The principle is to provide content, help students understand and find their way around it, and finally always endow them with the opportunity to form an independent opinion. The following approach aims at showcasing how the abovementioned principle can be applied to teaching civil disobedience and conspiracy theories, as carefully considered opinions seem to be especially vital for students to confidentially maneuver this topical area.

By trying to offer a great variety of topics, textbooks are usually only able to offer a rather trivial and simplified overview, but not a diverse, in-depth approach, and they do not succeed in highlighting all aspects of a matter. Moreover, they will largely focus on historical but not current events, which is understandable, due to the time that passes between designing, writing, reviewing, and publishing a textbook. What may be a current and pressing issue at the beginning of the writing process might seem like ancient history some time later. Textbooks may still be a valuable source to some; still, it seems reasonable to go the extra mile and compile and curate one's own selection of texts and sources for students to work with. Against the backdrop of the complexity of the field and the students being learners of English as a foreign language, the material and lesson plan is geared toward academic secondary school students in years eleven and/or twelve.

Fundamentals for Students – On Civil Disobedience

Before students can discuss and evaluate different viewpoints and take up a personal stance on civil disobedience or conspiracy theories, they need to develop a global understanding of both. It is necessary to provide them with material to foster knowledge of how these concepts came into existence, where their historic roots stem from and how society has practiced and handled the abovementioned concepts up to the present. Still, the first activity should be a short brainstorming to see what the class already knows. At first, students should brainstorm the term civil disobedience. It is the teacher's task to moderate and channel the ideas and to set right apart from wrong regarding relevance. The brainstorming is important in that it illustrates to students that the classroom as a collective usually knows quite a lot; however, it will also show that some of the students' knowledge might be quite superficial and not necessarily correct. This is where the teacher has a crucial role in helping the students understand what is factually correct and which ideas need to be abandoned due to being imprecise or simply incorrect. An activity like this should help students reflect and reclassify their own perceived knowledge and develop a grasp of what the concept is and means.

It now makes sense to let students work with the Declaration of Independence first, before then trying to fully establish a universal definition of civil disobedience. It would of course be easier to just provide students with a definition at this point; however, this would also mean that the character of independently exploring a new subject field would be lost. Remembering Seneca is crucial; this approach to teaching civil disobedience and conspiracy theories is centered around learning by doing – students should acquire skills themselves to have an enduring learning effect that persists in the world outside the classroom. When reading the text, students should try to identify passages that indicate civil disobedience. The following three passages show that by unanimously declaring independence from the British Crown in 1776, the thirteen American colonies have done nothing but practiced civil disobedience:

> That all Men are created equal [...] with certain unalienable Rights. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government.
>
> Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that Governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient Causes [...] But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security.
>
> We have warned them [the British Crown], from Time to Time, of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which

> would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the Rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. (Jefferson, 1776)

Based on these – and other quotes identified by students – the teacher should prompt students to discuss whether the actions of the Founding Fathers were justified or not. This will probably also open up new vistas on the founding of the United States. To promote active participation, the teacher can then point out that the Declaration of Independence does indeed justify acts of civil disobedience and above all it clearly demands of a government that it has to make sure that the people's fundamental rights are granted and protected (Rosen & Rubenstein, n.d.), and that a government which does not fulfill this task will have to undergo change. All of this can clearly be deduced from the text and, of course, it is wise to have students assess this particular approach to the U.S.-American government and its duties during a discussion, but also have them relate their thoughts to their own government afterwards.

History and Terminology

The next teaching sequence will focus on the historical background of civil disobedience and work toward a universal definition. Students will not usually be aware that the term civil disobedience was devised by Henry David Thoreau in his essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" in 1848 – several decades after the Declaration of Independence had been written. So, based on the discussion of the previous lesson, students will recognize that civil disobedience had already been practiced before Thoreau defined it. To understand the origins of the theory, it is crucial to expose students to Thoreau's original text. As reading the whole manuscript would take a long time, excerpts could be used in class. Working with key statements is a very effective way to familiarize students with a topic; therefore, a selection of quotations is part of this lesson plan. Based on the quotations, students should work on a classroom definition of civil disobedience, which will later be compared with definitions from research literature.

It is necessary to know – especially for students – that Thoreau declined to pay taxes as he was not willing to support a government that engaged in a war and imposed the Fugitive Slave Act. His protest even had him incarcerated by the government, and many after him that have engaged in civil disobedience have been shunned by societies and viewed as opponents (Brownlee, 2021). Students should now get together in groups and analyze a selection of quotes from Thoreau's essay according to different criteria.

- The first group should work with Thoreau's (1995) quote that "all men recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to and to resist the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable." The teacher could ask students to focus on the issue of what students themselves would define as "great and unendurable" tyranny imposed by a government and where "great and unendurable" starts.
- The second group should discuss democracy and the power of the individual by looking at Thoreau's (1995) statements that "there will never be a really free and enlightened state until the state comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived" and that "any man more right than his neighbors constitutes a majority of one already."
- A third group of students would then broach the issue of violence in acts of civil disobedience by examining the lines "I was not born to be forced. I will breathe after my own fashion. Let us see who is the strongest" and "what I have to do is to see, at any rate, that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn" together with "a minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority" (Thoreau, 1995).
- A further group should then set priorities on possible violations of laws during periods of civil disobedience as Thoreau (1995) vigorously claims, "I say, break the law. Let your

life be a counter friction to stop the machine" beside "it is for no particular item in the tax-bill that I refuse to pay it. I simply wish to refuse allegiance to the State, to withdraw and stand aloof from it effectually" and finally complements that "if a thousand men were not to pay their tax bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood. This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceable revolution, if any such is possible" (1995).

- Finally, a group could address alternative forms of government besides democracy when scrutinizing Thoreau's (1995) words, "I heartily accept the motto, 'That government is best which governs least'; and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically" as well as whether "a democracy, such as we know it, [is] the last improvement possible in government."

After the group work, there will be a plenary presentation and discussion of each group's findings to make sure all participants are well informed about every aspect that has been addressed by the various groups. The teacher will moderate the discussion and ask or answer questions accordingly to make sure that a great number of students participates. Following the discussion students will put their own definitions down in writing and then have a look at what all their classmates wrote. This will again help them to see what their definition might have missed or where they may also have included things that are not part of civil disobedience. The next step constitutes the transition from loosely-knit definitions of civil disobedience by students to scientific definitions found in academic literature. In this phase various definitions of civil disobedience are discussed and assessed. This is a necessary step to illustrate what a scientific definition can look like. It is also important to mention that students' definitions will very often already be close to academic definitions. Teachers should point out to their students that by only engaging with the topic they will have managed to define the concept quite well on their own. In this context it is not necessary to agree on a classroom definition; this would already be teaching opinions, which should be avoided. Students should now be competent enough – taking everything they have already learned about civil disobedience into account – to establish their own definition or choose an academic one that they consider appropriate. Teachers should, however, offer a diverse selection of definitions to highlight the fact that there are various definitions and – as this is not natural sciences – a single definition does not exist.

Familiarizing students with a selection of definitions helps them compare their own definition to those of scholars and consequently also sharpen it. A starting point could be John Rawls (1971), who described civil disobedience as a political act that is necessarily public and nonviolent but still breaks the law aiming at changing laws or policies, whereas the people who engage in acts of civil disobedience are still loyal to laws in general. According to William Smith (2004), civil disobedience is a public protest of a political nature against states and their policies. On top of that, constitutional democracies may even warrant acts of civil disobedience, and people engaging in these acts will argue that they are eligible to break laws for their cause. This is similar to Mathias Klang (2005) who adds that people involved in civil disobedience claim that their breaking a law is justified, because by doing so they oppose a higher injustice and therefore claim to act morally righteously, nonetheless. Thoreau, however, who coined the term civil disobedience, did not aim at defining the concept within a strict set of sentences as he did not look at it from a meta-level as many scholars after him did, but rather described what civil disobedience was to him by naming examples and reasons for him to engage in it. Looking at Thoreau's descriptions, though, one can say that civil disobedience meant to him what it meant to the abovementioned researchers, with the notable difference that he did not demand civil disobedience to be nonviolent, since – contrary to all other definitions – the absence of violence as a pillar of civil disobedience is not mentioned in his essay. After

having dealt with those definitions, every student should now be empowered to master the historical background of civil disobedience as well as the terminology autonomously and confidently.

Moral Implications

The next lessons will concentrate on deliberating two aspects of civil disobedience: at first, whether civil disobedience justifies breaking the law and possibly even committing violence, and secondly, whether people should still adhere to the law when it comes to their own punishment after engaging in acts of civil disobedience. As food for thought, students can be taught John Rawls' principle that "violent acts likely to injure are incompatible with civil disobedience as a mode of address" (1971, p. 366), whereas Thoreau, while never ruling out acts of violence, proclaims that "in fact, I quietly declare war with the State" (Thoreau, 1995). This should give the students enough material to debate the first aspect mentioned. It is probably best to have students discuss this in pairs first. The aim here is to have a discussion that leads into a brainstorming activity where students should eventually also consider possible approaches to civil disobedience that are not congruent with their own opinions. The teacher will point out that it is always important to look at the whole spectrum of opinions and approaches. This will help to better understand other people's reasoning and hopefully foster tolerance among students. Moreover, collecting arguments for or against violating laws (including or excluding forms of violence) will already be a preparational activity for a debate further down the line. In a next step students will then move on to conversing about the second issue raised above and answer the question whether someone who acts in civil disobedience and breaks laws should accept being punished for that. In this context it may be worthwhile for the teacher to mention again that Thoreau went to prison for his actions and that Rawls (1971) clearly states that people who willingly participate in acts of civil disobedience do accept the legal consequences for breaching laws, as this shows their general faith in laws. Next, students will do online research and explore various incidents of civil disobedience, what sparked them, and possible change they brought. They are instructed to pick one incidence that they present to the class and discuss whether the end justified the means. After having assessed other people's actions, it is important to reflect one's own behavior and muse about personal experiences with civil disobedience. Students will exchange views on their own points of contact with civil disobedience; they are, however, instructed to avoid judging their classmates' behavior.

The following lesson will then be devoted to setting boundaries of where civil disobedience ends and other forms of protest begin. Kimberley Brownlee (2021) argues that civil disobedience "is generally regarded as more morally defensible than both ordinary offences and other forms of protest such as militant action or coercive violence." By that time, the concept of civil disobedience has been defined thoroughly, which will allow students to judge actions more proficiently. Moreover, students will – based on their analysis of the theory as well as the reflection on their own behavior – by now also have a conception of what they might consider as appropriate or inappropriate. Should they have engaged in civil disobedience themselves, students will have experienced first-hand that they themselves consider their acts as morally justified, no matter what other people might say. This firm conviction can also be found with Thoreau (1995), who claims that

> under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison […] where the State places those who are not with her but *against* her.

The belief that his own acts were morally justified and time in prison acceptable is fortified when he continues reasoning that

> if any think that their influence would be lost [in prison], and their voices no longer afflict the ear of the State […] they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person

By arguing that way, Thoreau defends his own acts as just and conversely depicts the government as unjust. It would obviously be one-dimen-

sional not to put oneself in the shoes of the authorities; therefore, students should now try to define limits of civil disobedience and differentiate it from other forms of violence as this is a challenge the authorities face; they will have to assert where civilized protest ends and forms of resistance that are a threat to public safety start. Carter et al. (2020) highlight that the city of Seattle has frequently been a place of social unrest and protest, most recently due to the Black Lives Matter movement. It is also a place that has frequently been criticized for its forceful and violent handling of protest, using tear gas and police violence while simultaneously being accused of institutional racism. While everyone involved agrees that there is urgent need for change, the question of 'how' remains unanswered. The protests may have been successful at first sight, but there is more to it. The success came at a cost. On the one hand, trust in police forces is lost and rebuilding it will require time and effort, whereas on the other hand those protests, according to Carter et al. (2020), "have given voice and momentum to an emerging social movement with an urgency and passion that made the Pacific Northwest a poster child for both ends of the political spectrum," which can lead to dangerous radicalism. Not only Seattle but also other cities in the region, such as Portland, saw – besides peaceful protest – an increase "in violence between police, protesters and emboldened adherents to armed alt-right and quasi-racist movements," as Carter et al. (2020) argue. Those protests and clashes continued and expanded to looting, arson and vandalizing property, such as shops, in city centers. Of course, the vast majority of protesters were peaceful and just wanted to make themselves heard, but those small groups of agitators caused massive problems and simultaneously illustrated the difficulties the authorities have. They seem to be unable to cope with various forms of protest and cannot react appropriately. Carter et al. state that "Seattle police were unprepared for the anti-cop anger expressed by the massive crowds burning five police cars and throwing rocks and bottles at officers" while "police often retaliated against the crowds with every less-lethal weapon at their disposal, including tear gas" (2020). They further elaborate that "the strategy spurred public outrage [and] political backlash," whereas at the same time "officers [were] lashing out indiscriminately against demonstrators, in violation of the [...] Constitution" (2020). In the end, even a lawsuit has been filed against the city of Seattle where Black Lives Matter Seattle King Cty. v. City of Seattle (2020) claim that demonstrators were only seeking a way to protest against injustices suffered by Black people at the hands of police forces while the Seattle Police Department (SPD) has repeatedly and indiscriminately used disproportionate force in the form of less-lethal weapons, such as tear gas and chemical irritants, to keep protesters from exerting their rights to peaceful assembly and freedom of speech, although this is granted by the Constitution's First Amendment.

At the same time, the city of Seattle has publicly accessible documents defining various forms of protest and counter strategies. However, the incidences during the last wave of protests also show how difficult it might be to assess and react appropriately and correctly, especially in a situation where peaceful mass protest is infiltrated by disruptive and violent radicals. To help students understand the big picture, they should now investigate the city of Seattle's protocol regarding "social unrest." The city starts out by defining social unrest as "civil disorders, acts of mass civil disobedience, and strikes." Interestingly, the wording is quite negative as all these acts are considered "acts by groups of people that are intended to disrupt a community or organization" (Seattle, n.d.). The protocol goes on by stating that borders between the three are fluid. Civil disorder is described as violent riots where violence can either aim at other people or symbols that represent enemy images. It is very important that riots are not necessarily connected to civil disobedience as they can also happen after sporting events. Protest and civil disobedience are acknowledged as mainly peaceful and an American right. However, "the right of citizens to protest must be balanced against the rights of non-protesting citizens to conduct their own business" (Seattle, n.d.). This, of course, justifies police operation to ensure everybody's rights are granted. In the end, students should understand various forms of civil unrest, be able to assess appropriate measures,

and be prepared for a debate on civil disobedience. For the debate, students will randomly be put in two different groups, whereas one group argues for and the other one against the statement that "civil disobedience is a necessary form of protest for the people." They will then get together in their groups and prepare arguments for the debate. Debating will teach them to argue for a viewpoint, which can of course be especially difficult should the perspective one has to advocate not be their own. Usually, the first and last speakers of each group will have twice the talking time of the other students (two minutes versus one) to not only present their personal argument but also introduce the group's perspective or summarize it at the end. It is important that debates are not interrupted and that speakers will have to adhere to their time limits. The teacher will be in the position of hosting the debate and enforcing the rules. This can also be done by a student, should there be an uneven number of students in a class. After the debate it will also be the teacher's duty to assess which group was more convincing and therefore the winner of the debate. It makes sense to also provide individual feedback to each student personally afterwards. The end of the debate will then also mark the end of the teaching sequence on civil disobedience. From a teacher's perspective, content that has been worked on with students and the language competences students need to show when engaging with said topic will also have to be assessed. One way to do so would be to design standardized tasks (English level B2) to assess the students in speaking and writing. Sample tasks, for a speaking task that could either be used in class or for oral matriculation exams and a writing task that could be used for a homework or in a written exam, could look like Table 1 and 2.

From Understanding Reasons to Critical Reasoning – On Conspiracy Theories

The protests in Seattle came from both sides of the political spectrum (Carter et al. 2020). Where the ends of the political spectrum are, conspiracy theories may begin. This is also the reason for linking these two topics within this lesson sequence. The next sessions will teach students conspiracy theories and how to deal with them in a reflected and reasonable way. The first step would focus on defining conspiracy theories. Before definitions are discussed, students should explore cases of conspiracy theories. They can also focus on things that they might even consider as comical due to the theories' implausibility. They will, however, have to understand that conspiracy theories and conspiracists will have to be taken seriously as conspiracy theories have always been – and will probably always be – around and as Douglas and Sutton (2015) put it, "conspiracy theories range from outlandish […] to unproven […] to true (the Watergate affair)." When students have done their research, they will present their findings. It will be best to have them design a mind map on a large sheet with the most important facts. Those posters can then be put up on the walls of the classroom, similar to pictures in an art gallery. Students will then explore the exhibition at their own pace and reflect on the conspiracy theories on display. Based on their impressions, students can then start discussing what they have seen and how they would assess the individual cases of conspiracy theories. Probably the students could then also rank the theories based on how strong their reactions toward them were. At the end of the activity students will likely be able to define the concept. They should then write up definitions on the board and in a discussion agree on a classroom definition of conspiracy theories. This definition will then be compared to academic definitions.

Table 1: Individual long turn: Civil disobedience

I was not born to be forced. I will breathe after my own fashion. Let us see who is the strongest. *Henry David Thoreau* Give a five-minute talk about the topic of civil disobedience in which you • **interpret** the quotation • **analyze** whether violence can be justified as an act of civil disobedience • **highlight** personal experiences with civil disobedience

Table 2: Blog writing: Civil disobedience

You have read the following post on young&politics.org, a blog on teenagers and politics.

– – –

Francine B.
Yesterday, 7:56 a.m.

Yesterday was exciting. I was part of a demonstration for climate action. There were many people and some very inspiring speakers. Some protesters also blocked the roads with sit-ins. When the police tried to make them move again, things got heated up. People started insulting and attacking the police. I don't know what to think about it…

– – –

You have decided to comment on this blog post. In your **comment** you should:

- give your opinion on Francine's experiences
- argue whether you think civil disobedience can bring a change
- outline your personal experiences with protest

Write around **250 words**.

Pummer et al. (2021) argue that "conspiracy theories are built on the notion that a powerful group is acting in secret, thus building on (and potentially also creating) suspicion toward the powerful such as the government." They add that conspiracy theories also undermine solidarity within societies. Conspiracy theories about vaccinations or global warming will reduce pro-vaccine or pro-environmental behavior (Jolley & Douglas, 2014, Van der Linden, 2015, as cited in Pummer, et al., 2021). Van Prooijen and van Vugt (2018) are very precise in their definition by claiming that several ingredients make up a conspiracy theory: those include a hypothetical pattern and deliberate plans by a coalition in the fom of a group of people working together, posing a harmful threat, and acting in secrecy. Interestingly they also provide a worthwhile take at why conspiracy theories exist by claiming that either "conspiracy theories are a by-product of a suite of cognitive mechanisms (e.g., pattern perception, agency detection)" or that they are "evolved (a) to alert ancestral humans to the possibility that others were forming dangerous coalitions against them and (b) to stimulate appropriate actions to fend off such threats." Should evolutionary resaons be responsible for the existence of conspiracy theories, they will not be a product of our modern times but have been around for much longer. This is also supported by Jan-Willem van Prooijen and Karen Douglas (2017), who argue that it is understandable that people assume that conspiracy theories are a modern phenomenon and on the rise, especially with the internet offering an abundance of material. However, studies show that the prevalence of conspiracy theories in letters addressed to American newspapers has not significantly increased from 1890 to 2010 (Joseph E. Uscinski and Joseph M. Parent, 2014, as cited in van Prooijen & Douglas, 2017). What is evident, though, is the fact that the prevalence of conspiracy theories correlates with events of major crises such as economic and financial crises, climate change or wars (van Prooijen & Douglas, 2017). Naturally the COVID-19 pandemic has been a breeding ground for conspiracy theories, and as Monica Stephens (2020) writes, it went hand in hand with "a social media 'infodemic' [that] has bolstered fears by amplifying misinformation with misconstrued statistics, conspiracy theories, rumors, and propaganda," claiming that the virus had been created in China or "could spread through 5G technology." The fact that people, including American politicians, think or at least claim that COVID-19 has been created in a lab is a vital feature of conspiracy theories as they

> provide people with simplified answers, specifically to questions of how a certain crisis situation emerged, and which societal actors can and cannot be trusted. These answers are highly relevant for how people cope with crisis situations [and] help people to make sense of the world by specifying the causes of important events, which further helps them predict, and anticipate, the future. (van Prooijen & Douglas, 2017)

In an interview with the American Psychological Association, Douglas (2021) elaborates that conspiracy theories "can normally be defined as a proposed plot carried out in secret, usually by a powerful group of people who have some kind of sinister goal" while emphasizing that conspiracy the-

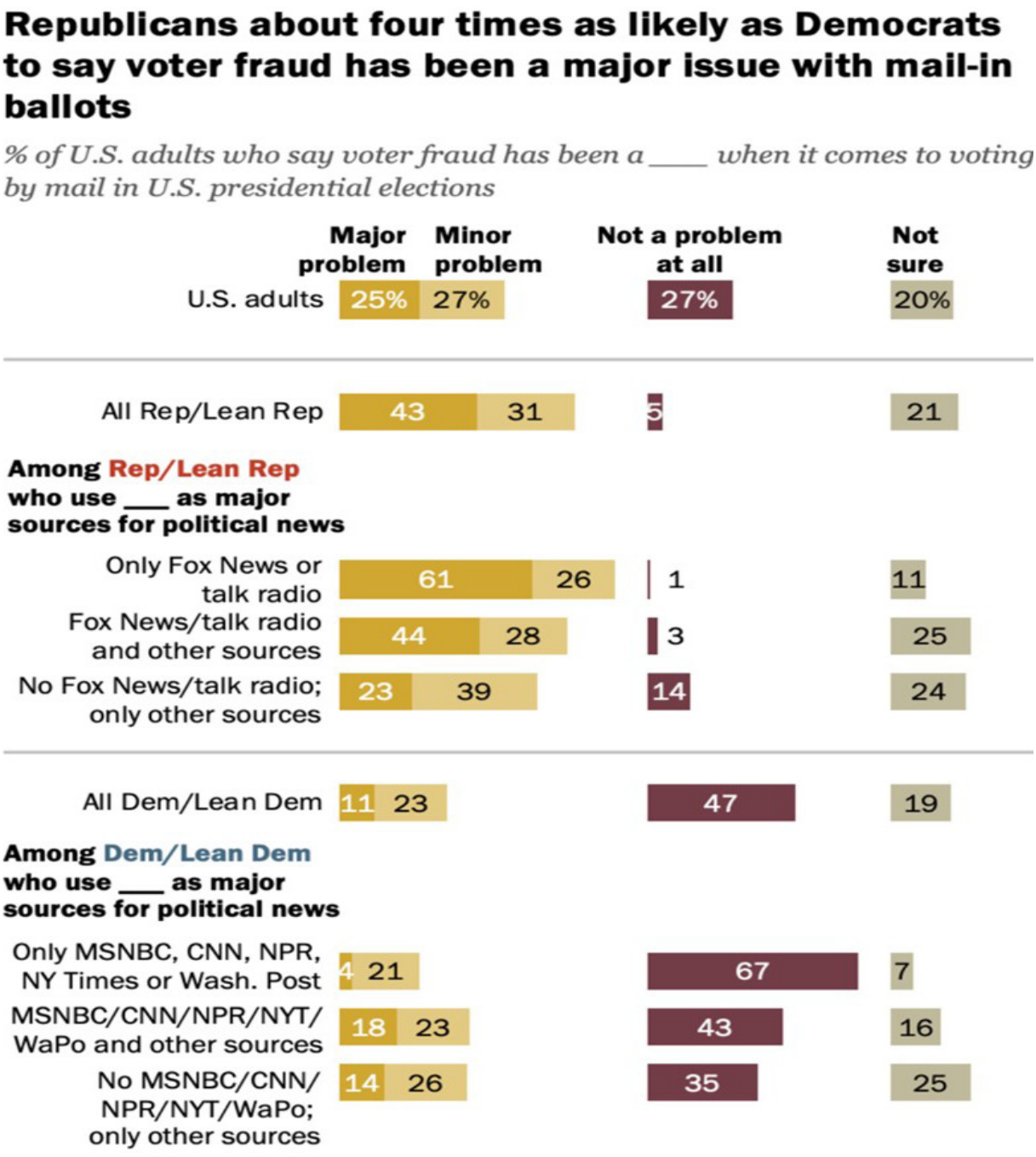


Figure 1: Survey on voter fraud, Pew Research Center (from Mitchell et al., 2020).

ories are not new, but are more a thing of the present and the past. They are – to some extent – natural, as everyone is a conpiracist to some degree since humans are not very trusting by nature. Douglas is also hesitant to confirm that conspiracies thrive more today than they have in the past, even against the backdrop of COVID-19 and the recent presidential election. What she does clearly say, though, is that people believe conspiracy theories because of psychological reasons. At first, people have a need for knowledge, certainty and explanation. The more uncertain people are, the likelier they are to lean toward conspiracy theories. It is essential to be aware that this is not because these people lack intelligence but rather the right skills and tools to find reliable sources of information (Douglas, 2021). It will be of utmost importance for every teacher to point out here that this is what it is all about: students need to develop skills to manouver the plethora of sources especially the internet and social media offer. They will not be taught opinion but skills in order not to be vulnerable to conspiracy theories. Douglas (2021) expands that it is important for people to remain in the driver's seat, especially in times of instability. Once they feel a loss of control, they will be open to conspiracy theories. Finally, people want to feel worthy, and one way of doing so is having information others do not have, as this seems to improve a person's status. It makes people think they know the thruth while everybody else is a gullible person. According to René Girard (1989) historical accounts of conspiracy theories go back as far as the fourteenth century when France was afflicted by the so-called Black Death, a plague pandemic. Conspiracists simply claimed that the people had died because the Jews had poisoned wells and rivers (pp. 2-3).

With this information at their disposal, students will now be able to fully understand the history and reasons for conspiracy theories together with the terminology. They will, hopefully, also critically examine theories and assess them accordingly. On top of that, students will not look down on people who fall for conspiracy theories but understand the psychological and deeply human reasons that make people victims of conspiracies.

Deductions

To have students immerse themselves in the matter even more and help them hone their analytical skills, they will now try to read and understand graphs linked to conspiracy theories and the 2020 U.S. presidential election. The Pew Research Center has published a series about said topic (see Figure 1). Students will get together in groups and look at a graph illustrating various tendencies among American people (party affiliation, news sources, tendency to believe in voter fraud as claimed by Donald Trump). Their task will be to discuss the graph and link it to conspiracy theories and also speculate about reasons for the results, before moving on to a plenary discussion that will then also conclude the lesson plan. Figure 1 is an example of a graph that they should discuss.

Bright Future

This exemplary lesson plan, and with it a critical examination of civil disobedience and conspiracy theories, had the aim of showcasing a different approach to teaching, namely teaching students competences useful for life outside the classroom. School should primarily be seen as a place where independence and competence are fostered, and students are empowered to think critically and develop into mature personalities. They may be taught content but never opinions. Only by forming their own opinions, based on an open-minded and reflected approach, will they be able to navigate along the fine line between bravery and conspiracy.

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Exploring Cold War Narratives with *The Americans* in the EFL Classroom

Christian Ludwig & Elizabeth Shipley

Moving images are increasingly integrated in English as a foreign language teaching, as streaming platforms allow for an easy (class) access to audio-visual content. TV series, as an example of popular culture, can be used for a variety of purposes, including teaching the foreign language itself but also talking about cultural topics and critically analyzing media discourses. To talk about TV series, teachers can rely on existing methods and techniques for teaching movies, which aim at discussing how meaning is conveyed in moving pictures in a learner-oriented environment, encouraging students to negotiate different interpretations of a given scene or movie. This article illustrates the potential of TV series for the EFL classroom by concentrating on The Americans, *which features the lives of Philip and Elizabeth Jennings, two Soviet secret agents in the United States during the time of the Cold War. The series appears particularly suitable for foreign language contexts as it mixes facts and myths about the Cold War, depicting the life of deep cover agents at the time and allowing viewers to relive 1980s life and popular culture.*

Das Potential bewegter Bilder für den Fremdsprachenunterricht ist keineswegs neu. Nicht zuletzt die digitale Verfügbarkeit, z. B. über bekannte Streaming-Dienste hat zu einer verstärkten Nutzung von Fernsehserien als popkulturelles Phänomen im Englischunterricht geführt, die sich nicht nur zur praktischen Spracharbeit, zur Thematisierung kultureller Themen, sondern auch zur kritischen Be(tr)achtung globaler Mediendiskurse eignen. Hierzu kann auf eine Vielzahl bekannter Ansätze und Methoden aus der Filmdidaktik zurückgegriffen werden, die es Lernenden erlauben, fremdsprachliche Texte im Sinne eines erweiterten Textbegriffes lernerzentriert zu erarbeiten, unterschiedliche Bedeutungsebenen zu erkunden und verschiedene Interpretationen auszuhandeln. In diesem Artikel dient die bekannte amerikanische Fernsehserie The Americans, *die das Leben der beiden Geheimagenten Elizabeth und Philip Jennings zur Zeit des Kalten Krieges in den Vereinigten Staaten thematisiert, als Beispiel für die Behandlung von Fernsehserien im Englischunterricht. Das besondere Potential der Serie liegt dabei nicht nur in der absichtlichen Vermischung historischer Fakten und Mythen über den Kalten Krieg und das Leben von Deep Cover Agenten, sondern auch in der Rekonstruktion der amerikanischen sowie sowjetischen Populärkultur der 1980er Jahre.*

Introduction

TV series have become a 'regular' in the English as a foreign language classroom (cf., e.g., Allrath & Gymnich, 2005; von Finckenstein, 2017, pp. 5-8; Merse, 2017a, pp. 9-11; Merse, 2017b, pp. 11-15) as they offer ample opportunities for enhancing students' text and media competence but also other more foreign language-related competences and skills. The world of Netflix, Amazon Prime, or Disney as well as other streaming platforms has made the access to contemporary series and thus materials that match the viewing habits of today's students much easier. Moreover, there is a multitude of forms and genres which can be watched and critically analyzed with students, allowing them to share and reflect their own thoughts and opinions but also discuss how a diverse range of topics has been realized in the serial format to convey certain opinions and viewpoints.

One genre which so far has largely been neglected in the context of EFL, at least in its visual representation, is the spy genre. This is surprising, for espionage films and TV series are booming as famous examples such as *Homeland* (2011-2020) or *Fauda* (2015-) impressively illustrate. Although spy stories, according to Seed (2003, p. 115), a "close but distinct variation on the tale of detection," even go all the way back to antiquity, with Odysseus being the spy archetype of Western fiction (Wilder, 2021), spy fiction as a genre did not really emerge until the nineteenth century

and gain popularity until much later with the turn of the century and World War I espionage offering the right backdrop for this genre. Spy series offer secret governmental activities, political conspiracies, and illegal and often immoral covert operations. In other words, the success of the genre is not only due to its thrilling action but also its almost mysterious aura of the clandestine. Yet, the stories of secret spies who seek out secret information through deceiving people and exploiting relationships also appear to allow the viewers to identify with the actions and trappings of the spy. As Barzun (1965, p. 165) poignantly puts it, spy stories "fulfil our unsatisfied desires." Against this background, this article discusses how one well-known series can be used in the EFL classroom to improve students' audio-visual literacy in a learner-centered way.

The highly acclaimed spy thriller TV series *The Americans* (Weisberg, 2013-2018) tells the story of two Russian deep-cover secret agents living in 1980s Cold War America. While the series does not necessarily strive for historical realism, it illustrates that history is never neutral but fabricated and told from a certain perspective, recalling the famous saying, "History is always written by the winners." In the case of *The Americans*, the series allows viewers to explore the Cold War and related aspects such as national identity reconstruction, popular culture, and everyday life in the 1980s both from the perspective of Russian undercover agents and through the eyes of Americans. This makes the series a useful resource for the English as a foreign language classroom, especially as the imagery in the series is ambivalent and thus "reveals the power that representations, understood as both cultural production and public discourse, have held in shaping the imaginaries of [...] Cold War America" (Carosso, 2013, blurb). This promises to be particularly fruitful as students can potentially put those examples in the context of current events, whether it be the U.S. fake news and conspiracy narratives that the 2020 election was stolen from former President Donald Trump by the Democrats or that Bill Gates uses COVID-19 vaccines to implant monitoring microchips in people, or whether it be the arrest and conviction of Alexej Nawalny after his insistence on returning to Russia in order not to let President Putin control the narrative.

This article begins by providing some Cold War background, looking at two visual examples of the Red Scare as lived reality: first, the 1947 "Is This Tomorrow: America under Communism," a comic which powerfully illustrates how anti-communist ideologies were kept alive in pop-cultural media. The second example is the spy series *I Led 3 Lives* (Davis et al., 1953-1956), the story of an FBI undercover agent in the American Communist Party. *The Americans* will then provide a mirror image of this battle against the Other from the Russian counteragent perspective as it continues the portrayal of U.S. history through the Reagan Era. Following this, audio-visual competence, which comprises a set of sub-competences and skills, will be discussed beyond its assumed motivational value. Finally, the usefulness of this series will be analyzed with the examples of one episode to address the question of how this specific TV series can be used to train students' audio-visual competence as well as enhance their understanding of the ambivalence engendered by a lived reality of conflicting political narratives.

The Red Scare

In order to make the context of *The Americans* clear to students in the foreign language classroom, we must go back to the origins of the Red Scare. Although the first wave of the Red Scare (1919-1920), with its anti-communist sentiments, began already after World War I, it is the second wave of the Red Scare following World War II (1947-1957) that will concern us primarily in this article. The United States emerged from World War II as a world power with the Soviet Union as the feared enemy. Phrases such as 'the iron curtain' and 'the cold war' testify to this period. Led by Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy, a war against the Communist Party within the United States began. In particular, it was feared that members of the Communist Party were working within the government to overthrow the United States. There were purges and court trials, the

most infamous being the 1951 Rosenberg trial, during which Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were sentenced to death for passing U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviet Union.

The very popular Red Scare comic book "Is This Tomorrow: America under Communism," published in 1947 by the Catechetical Guild Educational Society (with Charles M. Schulz, the creator of Peanuts, as one of the artists), is the story of American communists taking over the United States from within, using the people, the press, and political institutions. It serves as an example of how the dangers of communism were depicted at this time. The following panel from the cautionary tale has grim ironic overtones recalling an event in the real recent future on January 6, 2021.

The panel shows Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C., after American Communist Mr. Jones has pulled off his plan to overthrow the American government and transform the United States into a communist state. Instead of the American flag it is the red Soviet Union flag with hammer and sickle that is waving on top of the United States Congress with a small group of resistance fighters attempting to enter the building but who are stopped by supporters of the new system, clearly identifiable by their red armbands with an R on them.

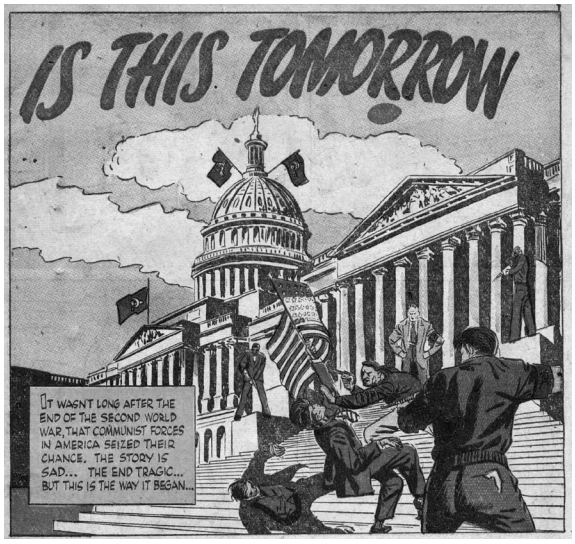


Figure 1: The opening panel from "Is This Tomorrow: America under Communism" (1947).

Particularly attention should be paid to the 'old' American flag, which in the original color version of the comic has lost some of its blue color, alluding to the fact that the former United States is defeated. Adding to that, the man holding the flag is thrown down the stairs and the flag, as a symbol of liberty and democracy, goes down with him.

The syndicated American drama series *I Led 3 Lives* (1953-1956), is based on the 1952 real-life autobiography of the same title by Herbert Philbrick, who was a member of the Communist Party for nine years in the service of the FBI. "For over a year, the series was America's top-rated syndicated series" (Kozloff, 1992, p. 98), when the purchase of a television was just becoming a part of American family life. Thus, both of these very popular examples testify to the very real effect of the Red Scare and Communist Conspiracy theories. Communism was at that time the ubiquitous insidious danger of utter destruction, lurking anywhere in spheres outside the familiar parameters, other religions, other educational institutes, other ethnic backgrounds, in short, the image of the Other.

The Americans

The FX series *The Americans* (2013-2018), presently available on Netflix, picks up this historical thread but from a different perspective. It features the lives of Elizabeth and Philip Jennings and their children, who live in Falls Church, a Virginia suburb of Washington, D.C. On the surface, the Jennings live a normal suburban middle-class life. They run a successful travel agency, meet friends, go on family vacations, and take their children to theme parks. They even speak with American accents and, on the surface, act and think like Americans. Yet, Nadezhda and Mischa hide their true identities as Russian deep undercover agents who were both facing difficult circumstances as they grew up and underwent brutal training in a KGB training camp. Although their marriage had originally been arranged by the KGB, their relationship has evolved into authentic affection. This culminates in their wedding in season 5 when Philip proposes to Elizabeth and organizes a sur-

prise underground wedding with a Russian Orthodox Father. In their undercover life, however, the laundry room in the basement of their house serves as their headquarters where they plan their secret actions, the kitchen phone turns into a communication channel with their handlers and other in-country agents, and the family car becomes a means to kidnap people and transport corpses. Philip and Elizabeth – and later on their daughter Paige – constantly fear to be exposed. In fact, in the season finale of the second season, the viewer gets a vivid illustration of the danger of their mission when the Jennings discover that their close friends, Emmett and Leanne, both undercover KGB agents, and their daughter are killed by their own son Jared when they disagree with the Center's decision to recruit him as a second generation agent. The real strength of the series lies in the fact that instead of portraying the Russian sleeper agents, who continuously deceive, blackmail, kidnap, and kill people, as morally bankrupt automatons, the series tells much of the story through their eyes as it combines factual and fictitious elements, providing multiple versions of Red Scare history. By doing that, the series breaks up the strict divide between us and them, or as Frank Gaad, Director of FBI Counterintelligence, tells Arkady Zotov, his KGB counterpart in the series: "You target our people, we target yours" (Weisberg, 2014, "Youssaf" season 2, episode 10, 09:00-09:02). In other words, the series lets us even sympathize with the Jennings and makes us complicit in the very subversion of our own culture(s) and in tearing the fabric of our own realities. Furthermore, the series plays with several key political events and different Cold War narratives and illustrates how these discourses were both culturally produced and constructed through public discourse (cf. Carosso, 2013). By doing so, *The Americans*, as the author of an online review of the TV series points out, "dismantles this dichotomy of nominal Americans versus Soviets or Russians, thus, belying other dichotomies, such as the nation versus the individual, reality versus truth, assimilation versus integration, and morally good versus morally bad, to just name a few" (Amanda, 2017, para. 1).

Here, episode 4 from season 1 (Weisberg, 2013b, "In Control") may serve as an example. The episode features the shooting of President Reagan, with both the United States and the Soviet Union believing the other to be responsible for the shooting. When Alexander Haig, Reagan's Secretary of State at the time, declares publicly that he is in control while the President is in hospital, things get out of hand as the Jennings' handler tells them to get ready for guerrilla warfare in case of a coup. When Elizabeth and Philip believe that Haig may have the codes for the United States nuclear missiles, they are faced with the difficult decision to pass on the information to the KGB, "which is running around like cut-off chicken,"[1] and risk a nuclear war or confirm the information without telling their government. This leads to a heated discussion between the couple, which reveals the deep differences between the two of them in their values and beliefs and their assumed level of assimilation as Philip does not believe that the United States would ever start a nuclear war and refuses to risk the life of his children. This is illustrated in the following conversation between Elizabeth and Philip in the basement of their house when Elizabeth, once again, accuses her husband of enjoying his American life too much and no longer being entirely true to the cause.

E.: We need to map our targets.
P.: Oh, my God.
E.: Can you just stay with me here?
P.: Stay with you and what?
E.: We're in the middle of a crisis.
P.: Yeah, and you don't think Moscow's overreacting just a little?
E.: Well, you almost defected a few weeks ago, Philip, so maybe you're not the one to be passing judgment on whether or not Moscow is overreacting. [...] ("In Control," 22.07-22.02)
E.: Philip, please. Philip. Can we please move on this now? He's holding a copy of the nuclear football. We need to transmit.
P.: All these years walking these streets, living with these people, you still really don't understand this place. Haig could have 10 nuclear footballs. This still wouldn't be a coup.
E.: Really?
P.: Yes, really. And if we send that to Moscow, they will go on high alert. And our

command control isn't quite state-of-the-art. We will escalate. They will escalate. This thing will spin out of control. So, could you please... can you please just try and get yourself in a different way of looking at it for one minute?
E.: You think you understand things so much better than I do. Why? Because you look good in an American suit?
P.: What?
E.: Because everybody loves talking to you because you think like the kids do?
P.: No, that's not what I think.
E.: Because I fit in just fine, but I remember where I came from... not having all of these things, it being about something bigger than just myself.
P.: I remember, too. That doesn't blind me to what's in front of my face. I know how the Americans do things, and Al Haig isn't taking over the government. ("In Control," 31.06-32.12)

At the end of the scene, Philip leaves the laundry room and 'returns' to their 'upstairs' American life while Elizabeth stays behind in their secret command center, both feeling that the other is blindsided, no longer seeing things for what they really are.

Teaching *The Americans*

Although *The Americans* is a highly complex and multi-threaded series, it tells the history of the Cold War from different perspectives and offers new ways of thinking about the conflict. Discussions of the TV series in the classroom could revolve around a cornucopia of topics such as the Cold War itself, everyday American (and deep agent) life against the background of a global conflict but also Cold War popular cultures such as fashion, computer games, and music.

Teaching the whole TV series, which consists of six seasons with 75 episodes, would require more time than available. However, using an approach which only features selected episodes or scenes of the series already provides a rich resource for students to explore the complex life of the two KGB spies against the background of the 1980s Reagan administration. This can be done using different methodological options for developing students' audio-visual competence, many of which, such as debates, discussions, role plays, are participatory in nature, allowing students to engage in open and democratic discourse where they express their own opinions but also value the opinions and viewpoints of others.

For the purpose of this article, the focus is on the ongoing and slowly evolving struggle between Elizabeth and Philip. While both characters have mainly used their marriage and family life as a cover story[2], they eventually fall in love, letting them both doubt their assignment and causing a conflict of interest about their allegiance to the cause and, ultimately, Mother Russia and their right to a life as individuals. While Elizabeth's priority is and remains her Russian motherland and her mission, Philip seems to increasingly want to leave their fake, spy life behind and defect to the United States as he becomes more and more consumed in American traditions and puts family life above being true to the cause of protecting Russia against the class enemy (cf. Dietrich, 2015, pp. 211-212). This point of conflict for the married couple also alludes to the fact that the series plays with different narratives of the same period as the dichotomy between 'good Russia' and the evil United States is frequently being challenged.

The first episode introduces us to the basic story, set in 1981, after Nadezhda and Mischa have settled well over a decade in suburban American life and had two children. Already in this episode the stage is set for what could be referred to as one of the major conflicts of the mammoth series: the differences between the two protagonists and their relationship to America and to Russia. Nadezhda is deeply loyal to 'Mother Russia,' to the extent that she has even cast doubts to her superiors on her partner's loyalty to the Party, even though in her early years of KGB training, she experienced a brutal foreign language lesson. "I am sorry," she says, during a sparring session. "I'm sorry," corrects her instructor. "Use the contraction" (Weisberg, 2013a, "Pilot," 16.58-17.00). He then proceeds to brutally rape her, which he much

later explains is just a routine part of training. Philip, on the other hand, is able to enjoy his life in the United States and seems to want to live the American Dream. After having kidnapped a defector, Elizabeth wants him out of his house. Philip, however, says:

> Hey, if you're that worried about it, we could just defect ourselves. At least, we'd be millionaires. We wouldn't have to worry about going to jail and leaving the kids all alone. A lot of our problems would just go away. Poof. ("Pilot," 27.18-27.32)

This scene defines Elizabeth and Philip's relationship for the rest of the series as Philip's suggestion to defect to the United States hangs like a sword of Damocles over their relationship. When the two are given the task to capture Nikolai Timoshev, a former KGB officer, Philip is responsible for the failure of the mission and Timoshev's death. However, instead of informing General Zhukov, the head of Directorate S, Elizabeth covers for Philip and takes full responsibility for the failure of the mission. Afterwards, Philip takes his daughter Paige to the new shopping mall, buys cowboy boots and starts dancing in the store, as "Cherokee Fiddle" (Murphey, 1982) from the film Urban Cowboy (1980) plays: "Now the Indians are dressing up like cowboys. And the cowboys are putting leather and turquoise on," with the lyrics of the song fitting really nicely into the theme of disguise of the whole series. In future episodes, putting on his cowboy boots and going line dancing seems to represent his insertion into American culture. Once again in this episode when they learn about their new neighbor being an FBI agent, Philip suggests, this time seriously, that they defect:

> P.: Look, maybe this is an opportunity. Maybe this is the perfect time for us just to think about – living the life we're living. But just – really living it. Just – being us.
> E.: What are you talking about?
> P.: [...] [O]ffer ourselves to them. We could get a lot of money – three million for Timoshev, three million for us. We just get relocated, take the good life, and be happy.
> E.: Are you joking? This is a joke?
> P.: No.
> E.: You want to betray our country?
> P.: [...] I don't think it's such a betrayal.
> E.: Defecting to America?
> P.: America's not really so bad. We've been here a long time, what's so bad about it? The electricity works all the time, food's pretty great, closet space... ("Pilot," 34.28-35.41)

Philip later takes his son Henry to a school event honoring the astronaut William Stafford.



Figure 2: Philip and his son Henry singing the national anthem at the school event ("Pilot," 44.21).

On a visual level, Philip's emotional attachment to his son and 'his' country is very tangible. The audience stands closely together and is united by singing the Star-Spangled Banner at the beginning of the scene, with the American flag very prominent in both visual representations of Stafford's achievements in space on the wall on either side of the podium. To the left we see the 1975 Apollo-Soyuz Test Project, which marked the end of the space race between the United States and the Soviet Union and the easing of Cold War tensions. Both the American astronaut and the space capsule figure very large in the picture, compared to the tiny Soviet counterparts. Philip looks thoughtful throughout this scene, thinking no doubt about his suggestion to Elizabeth that they defect and also perhaps about his own Russian identity, and his desire for the merging or coming together of his two lives. A soft and brief musical phrase, perhaps distantly evocative in a few of its notes of the Soviet national anthem as the scene fades out, hints at his secret life.

Their undercover relationships affect their lives in complex ways. Just as Elizabeth and Philip's feelings for their children are genuine, so are

many undercover relationships between characters in the series genuine relationships that cause conflict in the attempt to maintain professional deception. Having an FBI agent involved in counterespionage as a next-door neighbor is a tricky game for the Russian agents, especially as Stan Beeman begins to suspect them almost at once, sensing something 'off' about them and breaking into their garage to check if there is a corpse in the trunk of their car almost immediately after meeting them. Yet Phil and Stan do develop a genuine friendship, which in the end causes Stan to let them escape to Canada and eventually Russia, thus betraying his own country and agency. And this is not his first betrayal. At the same time that Philip is having an undercover affair with Martha Hanson, the secretary at Stan's counterespionage department, Stan is having a secret affair with Nina Krilova, a KGB officer at the Russian embassy, while extorting her to release information. Both Philip and Stan have genuine feelings for the women whose lives they ruin in the end despite their attempts to protect them. Philip and Elizabeth's daughter Paige as a young adolescent starts to become serious about social justice and is attracted to a church group, which is politically active. At the same time, and in contrast to her brother Henry, who is oblivious to these clues, she observes that there is something odd about her parents' lives and begins to ask them uncomfortable questions and to talk about her parents with the pastor of the church. As a result, even though the parents have agreed that their children will grow up knowing nothing about their other life, they tell Paige the truth. The KGB begins to recruit Paige as a second-level spy and her education takes place gradually. In episodes in season 6 (e.g., Weisberg, 2018, "Tchaikovsky"), we see how a cultural studies lesson of the old school – Russian television and music and the KGB version of history – is taught to Paige in the KGB safehouse. "Oh, what a tangled web we weave when first we practice to deceive," goes the old saying and the characters live entangled in webs of deceit, in contradictory narratives while showing real humanity in their everyday lives. This causes the viewer to not always know who to sympathize with, whose side they are on.

Developing Students' Audio-visual Competence in the EFL Classroom

TV series play an important role in everyday popular culture and fulfil a number of personal and social functions. They are one of "the principal storyteller[s]" (Kozloff, 1992, p. 67) of our time. Yet, TV series use their own language, and students need to 'understand and speak' this language, i.e., they need to be able to critically interpret audio-visual messages in both their channels: the audio and the visual channel. Closely related to this, students should become acquainted with narrative techniques in TV series in order to, as Peter Freese points out,

> understand both their informative and their manipulative possibilities and to develop the productive and receptive skills that will enable them to employ the strategies of narration in the stories they write and tell themselves and recognize themselves in the tales they read and hear. (2015, p. 159)

These skills and competences can be subsumed under the broader goal of audio-visual competence (or literacy), i.e., the simultaneous or consecutive reception and processing of audio and visual input (cf. Blell & Lütge, 2008, p. 128). Yet, the two information tracks are "the composite of a large and complex variety of communicating devices" (Chatman, 1990, p. 134) both on the visual and audio level. These may, for example, include noise, voice, and music on the auditory level or angles, cuts, and mise-en-scène on the visual level. Furthermore, audio-visual integration, i.e., the ways the two channels interact, is a highly individual process. Thus, it may, among other things, depend on the students' experience with audio-visual input or their knowledge of the world, which can lead to positive but also negative interference.

Henseler, Möller, and Surkamp (2011, pp. 2-3) as well as Thaler (2012, p. 178) suggest a multistep approach to working with audio-visual texts as this allows for a more sophisticated understanding and more critical perception of a film or specific scene without destroying the students' viewing experience. Having the opportuni-

ty to watch the same scene more than once can help students to gradually move from a more global towards a more detailed audio-visual understanding as they focus on different aspects of a scene exploring, as Viebrock argues, the "yet not random meaning-making processes and a general understanding of the interplay of image, sound, camera perspective, mise-en-scène, the use of colours etc." (2016, p. 18).

The lesson sequence presented here follows a pre-, while-, post-approach and integrates elements of the flipped classroom, which combines traditional classroom and at home learning (Loucky & Ware, 2017).[3] Moving part of the content delivery online or to the students' homes, where learning can be self-paced, not only provides space for more student-oriented learning later on but also allows students to engage with the series in a more individualized way as they can watch individual episodes or scenes as many times as they want, or, for example, stop it where necessary. Still, such an approach allows for the teacher to scaffold the viewing, for example through placing questions in the video or giving the students questions that they have to answer after watching the episode/scene such as: Did the character sound and look like you imagined them?

Lesson Sequence for *The Americans*

The goal of the following series of activities is to enhance students' abilities to analyze an episode from a TV series, describe the depiction of a specific character, and discuss how conflict and tension are related to their character. By following one character closely, students are encouraged to reflect aspects such as a character's traits, motivation and needs but also to explore the 'anatomy' of a scene at a deeper level, two important dimensions of (audio-visual) literacy. Furthermore, in the case of *The Americans*, students critically question the objectivity of historical narratives, look beyond stereotypical depictions of the Russian spy, and discuss how voice is given to Russian undercover agents as "previously ignored groups" (Amanda, 2017, para. 1).

During the pre-phase, the teacher introduces the students to the topic of the series. The words 'spy,' secret agent and 'espionage' are written on the black- or whiteboard and students talk about the meaning of the words with a partner. The answers are then discussed with the whole class. Now, the teacher introduces the students to the Red Scare. As background, students can be shown the cover of the "Is This Tomorrow" comic for class discussion and told about its political purpose. *I Led 3 Lives* could also be introduced as an artefact of the Cold War, and a short clip from a *YouTube* video from the series could be shown, representative of, as Büscher-Ulbrich and Lieber remind us, "the spectacular history and pervasiveness of anti-communism in the United States" (2017, p. 512). Together with the students, the teacher could collect a few events that create a rough Cold War timeline from the end of World War II until today, including major milestones of the Space Race (important for the interpretation of the "Pilot" episode), concluding with a brief discussion with the students about current events in the United States relating to these events, before moving on to the topic of espionage fiction by posing the following questions:

- Which agencies in the U.S. or elsewhere deal with espionage?
- Do you know any famous cases of espionage?
- Do you know any spies and secret agents from TV series, movies, literature, or video games?

The students are then told that they are going to focus on one famous example of a contemporary spy series: *The Americans*.

In order to analyze the sample episode later on, students need to be introduced to the basic premise and character relationships of the series. Depending on the time available, the previous knowledge of the students as well as their (language) level, this can be done in various ways, for example, using a "*The Americans* Explained" clip from *YouTube*, the trailer, or a character relationship web. Alternatively, especially if teachers are planning to work further with the series, scenes from the episode can also be watched

first. Now, each student is assigned either Philip or Elizabeth to focus on. Students should be told to watch the scenes at least twice, focusing on a more global understanding of the episode, while making notes on the premise of the series and the characters' main conflict(s) during the second viewing. In order to guide students through the viewing process and provide further scaffolding, students can be told to use the script, which can be found online, or switch on the subtitles. Furthermore, categories for analysis such as the following can be used: the Jennings' day and night life, Elizabeth's and Philip's life in the past and now, American (suburban) life and culture, gender roles, etc. In addition to this, guiding questions such as the following can be provided in order to draw students' attention to specific aspects of the series:

- Which characteristics of the spy genre, e.g., action, disguise, can you identify?
- Is the character going through a conflict in the episode?
- What is your character's attitude towards defecting to the United States? What are their arguments for and against defecting?
- What kind of conflict(s) are they going through?
- What do you think needs to happen to the character on the series to continue their character arc?

A further focus would be how camera angles, shots, or cuts are used to create meaning and also establish Elizabeth's and Philip's relationship(s). Here questions such as the following would, for example, be possible:

- How is the story told (linear or with flashbacks)?
- How does the episode influence you as a viewer through sounds, characterization, or camera angles?
- Which objects with a symbolic function can you identify? What do they symbolize?
- Which shot distances are used?
- What is the music's purpose in the episode?

The first episode of the series was selected for this activity as it focuses on the struggles of two of the series' main characters, namely Philip and Elizabeth and yields productive discussions.[4] While both characters are very different, they go through similar struggles around the obligation to their children, their nation(s), and their religious, social, and cultural values. While Elizabeth – not without struggling – continues to prioritize their mission over everything, Philip becomes more and more unwilling to self-sacrifice as he increasingly suffers from the life on the front lines and questions the morality of their actions, which makes him withdraw from active duty later in the series. These struggles are in the focus in the scenes chosen for the next activity, the jigsaw puzzle.

In the following lesson, the students get together with the other members of their group to share their image of their character in that particular episode but also talk about questions they may have. Using the jigsaw group puzzle, a cooperative learning technique, one member from each group gets together in new groups, which allows students to compare the two characters. During the post-phase, students share their results with the whole class, allowing for a multifaceted discussion of two of the series' main characters and leading into a more general talk about the competitive relationships during that period. Last but not least, the episode's themes can also be discussed in the light of current events.

In addition to this, students should also be encouraged to reflect their active viewing of the scenes and compare it with their active-passive TV consumption at home. Here, questions such as the following could be used: *How was this activity different from how you watch TV for fun or relaxation at home or on your smartphones when being on the bus or the train.*

Conclusion

TV series are becoming a well-used resource in the EFL classroom as using them can improve students' audio-visual skills. In addition, they are a particularly appropriate tool for teaching American cultural studies, especially when series like I *Led 3 Lives* and *The Americans* reflect such

direct political content that can be integrated into a lesson topic. The example lesson sequence presented here encourages students to examine different aspects of visual and verbal storytelling, not only allowing them to explore various aspects of the series itself but also how history is less shaped by 'what really happened' than reconstructed in the media. Discussing these aspects of history and reality in the making in collaborative learning settings can also help students develop strategies of examining the reliability of and negotiating the conflicting narratives that result.

Endnotes

[1] This is what Nina Krilova says, misquoting the idiom "running around like chickens with their heads cut off."

[2] See Dietrich, 2015, for a detailed discussion of how "spheres of shared secrecy" (p. 211), such as family and home in *The Americans*, function as "transgressive sites which the secret KGB operatives use to undermine the liberal capitalist system of the U.S." (p. 199).

[3] Due to the graphic sex and violence of a series recommended for age 16 or older, teachers may prefer to work with selected scenes in class instead of assigning the entire episode as home viewing.

[4] It is Paige who is perhaps particularly interesting for the secondary classroom, as pupils may be more easily able to identify with her search for meaning and identity than with the adults' conflicts. Scenes that display this search for identity, however, are hard to find, especially in the first episode, as her coming-of-age process is gradual – and we see her more from her parents' perspective and their discussion with one another than from her own.

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Enacting America in the Classroom: Introducing Drama Workshops into Pre-Service Teacher Training

Ingrid Gessner & Angelika Ilg

Besides gaining in-depth knowledge in the fields of linguistics, literature, and culture, pre-service teachers of English need to be trained in intercultural competence and reflexive processes, as well as communicative and performative teaching approaches. Heeding the performative turn in cultural studies and drama pedagogy, the article introduces an educational project that was conducted at the Pädagogische Hochschule Vorarlberg (University of Teacher Education Vorarlberg) and that was designed to offer students both a holistic and aesthetic-practical learning experience. Over the course of the semester, students developed the skills necessary to write a scholarly paper and process the insights gained in the drama workshop. From an evaluative discussion with workshop participants, we infer that the combination of discussion-based seminar and drama workshop provides an ideal setting to explore literary texts and cultural-societal questions, as well as performative skills. The article encourages and enables university teachers to carry out similar projects.

*Neben dem Erwerb von vertieftem Wissen in den Bereichen Linguistik, Literatur und Kultur müssen angehende Englischlehrer*innen in interkultureller Kompetenz und reflexiven Prozessen sowie in kommunikativen und performativen Unterrichtsansätzen ausgebildet werden. Anknüpfend an die performative Wende in den Kulturwissenschaften und an Methoden der Theaterpädagogik stellt dieser Artikel ein an der Pädagogischen Hochschule Vorarlberg durchgeführtes Lehrprojekt vor, dass den Studierenden eine ganzheitliche und ästhetisch-praktische Lernerfahrung ermöglichte. Im Laufe des Semesters entwickelten die Studierenden die Fähigkeit, eine wissenschaftliche Arbeit zu schreiben und die im ‚Drama Workshop' gewonnenen Erkenntnisse in einem kreativen Projekt zu verarbeiten. Aus einer evaluativen Diskussion mit Workshop-Teilnehmer*innen schließen wir, dass die Kombination aus diskussionsbasiertem Seminar und Theaterworkshop einen idealen Rahmen bietet, um literarische Texte und kulturell-gesellschaftliche Fragen zu untersuchen sowie performative Fähigkeiten zu erproben. Der Artikel ermutigt und befähigt Hochschullehrer*innen, ähnliche Projekte durchzuführen.*

Introduction

The effects of globalization, migration, climate change, and increasingly multicultural and multilingual societies in Europe and countries associated with the "English-speaking world," and issues like health and gender inequalities, climate injustice, racism, and anti-Semitism challenge educators to constantly reflect on the aims of teacher education programs and the methods used in these university courses. The changes affecting our society and schools are partially mirrored in the learning goals specified in the new curriculum for the Bachelor of Arts study program for students studying to become teachers of English at secondary schools in western Austria (Curriculum, 2019). Although the new study plan contains many familiar aims, such as gaining in-depth knowledge in the fields of linguistics, literature, and culture, acquiring communicative and teaching competences, there is an increased focus on abilities involving intercultural competences and reflexive processes, such as understanding complex cultural connections and relationships and interdependencies between social, intellectual, cultural, and political developments. The curriculum, however, does not offer concrete advice regarding the means that should be used to achieve these goals. In connection with these objectives and to provide high quality teaching, university instructors and researchers in the field of didactics of foreign languages (Haack, 2018; Elis et al., 2015; Haack & Surkamp, 2011) emphasize the crucial role of personal and social skills and the importance of acquiring practical experience in using new teaching methods during the phase of pre-service training.

Although the aims described are certainly on the minds of educators today, university teachers and students would profit from more examples of methods, topics, and activities suited to reach the goals stated in the curriculum. In this vein, the present article draws on the performative turn (Fischer-Lichte, 2016) in cultural studies and introduces an educational project that was conducted at the Pädagogische Hochschule Vorarlberg (University of Teacher Education Vorarlberg) and that was designed to offer students both a holistic and aesthetic-practical learning experience to support them in attaining the study aims connected with their courses.

Design and Structure of the Courses

Our experiences stem from two courses in the fields of American cultural and literary studies in the third year of the Bachelor of Arts in Education study program. Course titles and specific topics varied from "Representations of the American Family in Transition" to "Climate Change Literary Activism," but the basic goal was the same. The discussion- and case studies-based seminars introduced students to the rich field of American literatures and cultures not only on a theoretical-analytical level, but also on an aesthetic-practical level. We read and analyzed a variety of performative texts, including spoken-word poetry and plays, and we explored – and eventually tried out ourselves – how the performative arts can be used to engage in questions of identity and belonging, self-reflection and forms of activism, all of which were topics of interest in the courses. Workshopping with two performance artists from Entity Theatre e.V. Munich, an English-speaking community, we embarked on a special and fun-filled journey of devising, rehearsing, and performing plays about family and climate change.

American Families in Transition

The seminar "Representations of the American Family in Transition" aimed to provide insights into the development of American literature in the context of intellectual, social, and political developments and connections by studying exemplary, selected areas of this field of study. The topic was chosen because of the striking recurrence of "the family" as a theme in American drama (Wakefield, 2003) and because of the great potential this topic holds for exploring connections between socio-economic and political developments and cultural phenomena. It is undeniable that family structures and people's perceptions of the term have changed and have become more inclusive during the past few decades, as the topic continues to occupy an important place in American society. However, as social historians have noted, Americans display a striking tendency to idealize certain family traits and to view family and gender relations with a sense of "nostalgia for a mostly mythical past" (Coontz, 2016; cf. also Black, 2018). In the seminar students were asked to analyze the various ways in which American plays, short stories, and poems question dominant concepts of family and frequently challenge persistent myths and idealized perceptions. Another aim of the seminar was to examine the political and cultural factors that have influenced the diverse experiences of families of various ethnic groups from a diachronic perspective. Texts included poems by Anne Bradstreet, plays by Susan Glaspell (*Trifles*, 1916), Edward Albee (*Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, 1962), Lorraine Hansberry (*A Raisin in the Sun*, 1959), Sam Shepard (*True West*, 1980), Quiara Alégria Hudes (*Water by the Spoonful*, 2012) and fiction by Sandra Cisneros (*The House on Mango Street*, 1984), and Ken Liu *(The Paper Menagerie*, 2016). In addition to studying literary texts and reading excerpts from sociohistorical and feminist studies (Coontz, 2016; Friedan, 1963), the students also focused on the representation of American families in films and in two TV series: *Modern Family* (2009-2020), and *Pose* (2018-2021).

Climate Change Literary Activism

In 2019, the planet heated up to record-breaking levels, the seas continued to rise, and wildfires, storms, floods, and other manifestations of human-induced climate change made headlines every single day, but at the same time movements for environmental justice as well as climate change activist art and literature continued to thrive. Not only noting but heeding these developments, the seminar "Climate Change Literary

Activism" focused on the multiple repercussions of climate change and how they are reflected in global Anglophone cultural products, from poetry and short fiction to microplays. The course promoted the appreciation of cultural and literary works and conveyed analytical skills to understand the function, relevance, and role of the respective texts in relation to climate justice and climate change activism.

After reading and discussing a selection of programmatic texts by Amitav Ghosh (2016), Naomi Klein (2014), Julie Sze (2016), Joni Adamson et al. (2002), and Scott Slovic (2010), teacher and students set out on a journey to find out what is already being done in terms of literary activism and what we can contribute. For example, "Project Hieroglyph," an initiative founded by American writer Neal Stephenson in 2011, has produced visionary science fiction. The initial prompt for writers was to present ideas that could be realized (both technologically and artistically, i.e., methane mitigation technologies in the Arctic, or murals, and rooftop gardens) and to move away from the negative dystopian vision of much cli-fi (climate-change fiction). One of the "Project Hieroglyph" texts, Vandana Singh's cli-fi novella "Entanglement" (2014), proved to be particularly helpful for initiating classroom discussion. The protagonists in Singh's five vignettes are connected through an experimental network called Million Eyes that links people through a wristlet in crucial moments when they need help, support, or inspiration. Students fervently discussed what it would be like if technology followed the needs of people and the environment. We then delved into the rich archive of Climate Change Theater Action (CCTA) microplays. CCTA has been founded in 2015 as a worldwide series of readings and performances of short climate change plays that are presented biennially coinciding with the United Nations Conferences of the Parties (COP), where world leaders gather to discuss strategies to reduce global carbon emissions. Since COP 21, which was held in Paris, France, CCTA has brought communities together and encouraged them to take local and global action on climate. The reading list was complemented by several poems of Marshall Island performance artist Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner ("Dear Matafele Peinam," "Two Degrees," "Tell Them," 2017), and the play *Sila* (2015) by Canadian playwright and CCTA co-founder Chantal Bilodeau.

Drama Pedagogy

The Method in Context

Drama pedagogy uses elements of the theater for educational purposes (Kessler 2008, p. 37; Bonnet & Küppers, 2011, p. 41). It is based on the teaching and learning method "Drama in Education," which has a long tradition in British educational institutions. In the 1990s, Martin Schewe transferred this concept to the field of didactics of foreign languages, producing his pioneering study *Fremdsprache Inszenieren* (Schewe, 1993), which delineated the conceptional framework and concrete application of the method in the classroom. Today, drama pedagogy is considered an integral element of a communicative approach to foreign language teaching and an established method and reference discipline in the field (cf. Küppers et al. 2011, p. 7).

The method Drama in Education can be described as a collaborative process involving all participants in which the learning content is put on stage and reflected on afterwards (cf. Bonnet & Küppers, 2011). Learning typically takes place within the safe space of the imaginary and attractive world of drama that motivates learners to engage in situations they experience as if real. In contrast to purely theatrical projects, the focus does not lie on the artistic quality of the final product but rather on the educational development of the participants (Schewe, 1993, p. 112; Kessler, 2008, p. 37). Further characteristic aspects of Drama in Education are the holistic orientation of the approach and its emphasis on the physical and affective dimensions of learning.

In their introduction to their *Handbuch Dramendidaktik und Dramapädagogik im Fremdsprachenunterricht*, the editors Wolfgang Hallet and Carola Surkamp (2015) observe that dramatic texts and drama techniques are used in foreign language teaching to pursue many different aims,

including the promotion of students' linguistic, communicative, social, aesthetic, and intercultural competences (p. 5). Moreover, as the results of various studies and projects indicate (Volkmann, 2008; Kessler, 2008; Kessler & Küppers, 2008; Even, 2003), drama-based methods can effectively be applied to the three core areas of foreign language discipline: the teaching of language, literature, and culture (Schewe, 2013).

The potential of Drama in Education in teacher training has been recognized in English-speaking countries and is increasingly drawing scientific attention elsewhere (Mages 2020; Haack, 2018; Fleiner, 2016; Elis et al., 2015; Athiemoolam, 2013; Haack & Surkamp, 2011). The conclusions drawn from different projects involving the implementation of drama in teacher education all point in the same direction, namely that the integration of performative elements into the regular study program are beneficial for future teachers of English: 1) the trainees' language competences are increased; 2) drama methods afford students the opportunity to gain practical experience of innovative methods; 3) students acquire important personal and professional skills. We concur with these researchers in their view that performative methods are ideally suited to enhance the professional training of future teachers and should receive a definite place in the study program.[1]

Design and Functions of the Drama-based Teaching Concept

The integration of a drama workshop into the curriculum of regular university programs constitutes the central element of the teaching concept proposed here, and the drama activities that were part of our project fulfil several important functions. All of them are connected to two principal aims: to support students in their course of studies and to enhance their professional development.

Firstly, by integrating a drama workshop into pre-service teacher training, students receive the opportunity to experience an approach to learning and teaching that is not limited to the cognitive level but involves all senses and emotions (cf. Elis et al., 2015, p. 320; Schewe, 1993, p. 8). Moreover, this holistic method holds the potential for rendering the process of foreign language learning learner-centered and based on personal experience (Surkamp & Hallet, 2015, p. 8). In addition to that, drama pedagogy is oriented towards productive skills and encourages students to be active (Elis et al., 2015, p. 319). Several studies indicate that ways of learning that involve personal experience, creativity, and in which learners take an active role, are more effective than traditional approaches (Haack & Surkamp, 2011, p. 53). While some of these findings and observations refer to younger learners, they are equally relevant for students studying in institutions at the tertiary level.

The drama workshop also intends to support students in their efforts to attain the content-based aims of courses in American literature. In this context, we would like to emphasize that drama exercises should not be regarded as activities that merely offer a pleasant diversion from dry, academic content; on the contrary, we argue that acquiring a solid basis of content-based, relevant, and current knowledge of the field is equally important for future teachers to help them become well-versed in a wide range of proven and innovative teaching techniques. As a learning experience for pre-service teachers, the project also entails the core methods of literary and cultural studies, such as critical reading, reflection, and one's own (creative) adaptation. It is a form of self-determined, student-centered learning. The course in combination with the drama workshop is thus suited for pre-service teachers, as well as more generally for any BA program in British, German, or American Studies, Ethnic Studies, interdisciplinary, gender and women's studies. Students develop a range of skills and competencies that are often implicit in the curricula anyway: critical reading and media literacy skills; and the ability to effectively communicate the findings of one's reading (through the performative act).

Engaging in drama activities may prove to be an effective strategy for approaching and mastering challenging learning content, also when working with literature. Indeed, it has been not-

ed that drama methods contain a striking potential for promoting literary learning (Surkamp & Hallet, 2015, p. 9). Relevant aspects include the motivating effect of drama techniques and playful elements in the context of working with literary texts (Schmidt 2008, p. 25), the central role of empathy and emotions, and the fact that students act autonomously and actively shape the learning process (Ilg & Theinert, 2017, p. 133). Moreover, it is certainly significant that the process of staging a literary text constitutes an experience with all senses and encourages students to constantly negotiate the meaning of the text with others (Franz & Hesse, 2011, p. 104).

Consequently, the drama workshop was designed in a way that would encourage students to intensively engage with the literary works on the course syllabus. For this reason, the course sessions before the workshop already contained exercises that invited students to reflect on the motivation of the characters, the effects of plot developments, the relevance of the socio-cultural context of the plays, and other elements. The main aim of these activities was to offer students a creative and personal approach to the literary texts that would enable them to develop a more profound understanding of American literature and culture that goes beyond the knowledge of facts that is often the result of rote learning. In fact, the results of recent studies suggest that drama pedagogical methods are valuable tools for teaching "culture," and they are also an effective means for promoting intercultural learning in the English language classroom (Kessler, 2008).

Apart from the functions described above, the drama workshop plays an important role in the professional development of pre-service teachers in various ways. On one level, it offers students an opportunity to acquire valuable practical experience they can rely on once they begin teaching. Research clearly suggests that it is important for students to be able to try out innovative didactic strategies during the phase of training, as this experience increases students' confidence and directly influences their readiness to implement the new methods encountered at university into their own teaching in the future (Haack & Surkamp, 2011, pp. 56-57).

Moreover, the workshop strengthens students' performative skills: through drama exercises the participants develop a stronger awareness of themselves and others, physically and emotionally, which has a positive effect on their communicative skills. They also learn how to create a presence on stage and acquire techniques for using their voices expertly and effectively in the classroom, an important skill for anyone planning to work in the profession of teaching (Schewe, 2011, p. 25). In addition, participating in theater projects encourages students to interact with each other and to perform on stage. Thereby, the participants gain self-confidence and expand their range of personal expression, which contributes to the overall development of their personality. As Adrian Haack convincingly argues, developing "performative competence" and "self-competence" should play an important role during pre-service training in order to achieve the goal of high-quality, student-centered instruction. In line with the idea of "teaching as performance," the potential of art is used for the learning process, and teachers assume new roles, acting as "artists of improvisation" who are capable of staging learning in a democratic process with their students (Haack, 2010, p. 37).

According to Andreas Bonnet and Almut Küppers (2011), reflection and empathy are the central principles of the drama-based teaching and learning process (p. 41); these two aspects of the method are ideally suited to strengthen the personal and social skills of students during the phase of pre-service training. Students who frequently engage in drama activities become accustomed to adopting a reflexive attitude towards themselves and their actions, an important condition for professional development and personal growth (cf. Haack, 2018; Haack, 2010).

Finally, a drama workshop that is part of the training program of pre-service teachers constitutes an aesthetic learning experience. Besides

providing insights into the performing arts and promoting students' aesthetic skills, this method can turn the process of learning a foreign language into an enjoyable experience and an artistic event (Schewe, 2011, p. 28). The combination of a course with a drama workshop produces positive effects in a study program for teachers, improving motivation and promoting the acquisition of specialized knowledge and technical skills and abilities. This, in turn, increases the chance that students who have gained experience with drama activities will integrate this experience into secondary school education as future teachers. Indeed, teachers who are trained in drama-based teaching methods are capable of effectively integrating performative teaching concepts into their own lessons and providing their students with opportunities to strengthen their performative skills. The relevance of developing performative competence in the context of foreign-language learning is an aspect that has been noted by scholars in the field of didactics who maintain that developing performative skills in the foreign-language classroom helps improve learners' performance in real-life social and cultural interactions (Hallet, 2010, p. 8).

Devising the Seminar and the Drama Workshop

Seminar

Both seminars were structured in three phases. During the first phase, the students received input in various forms, from the independent reading of academic, lyrical, dramatic, and fictional texts, to a guest lecture on the play *Sila* by Chantal Bilodeau, to student presentations. Moreover, the activities in class as well as the assignments deliberately juxtaposed different types of texts and media, including literary texts – mostly plays and poems, chapters from recent sociohistorical studies dealing with the development of the American family and climate change justice, as well as films and TV series. The students were also required to select a literary text or film from each of the two courses' reading lists, analyze it, and host a discussion focusing on the representation of the family or of climate change in this particular text. Students were asked to get at the key issues of the selected text and the session's overarching topic addressed (i.e., contemporary protest poetry; climate change [cli-fi] fiction; The Puritan family; American families in the 1950s; the American family in popular culture; American



Figure 1: Tableau exercise, creating a still image: "At the station." Photo by Ingrid Gessner.

families in contemporary American society – new directions, families by choice). As part of this assignment, students chose and presented text excerpts and developed their own critique of them; by asking and answering questions they generated a discussion among their peers.

The drama workshop constituted the central element of the second phase of the seminar and extended over two days. On the first day, the students engaged in various warm-up exercises. On the second day, the program of activities integrated the texts the students had read in their courses into the dramatic exercises. After the performance of the dramatic scenes the students had chosen and worked on, the final part of the second phase consisted of an online feedback session. Participants, performance artists, and teachers discussed their experience of the drama workshop and reflected on the potential and the challenges of the drama techniques they had encountered.



Figure 2: Moving Tableau exercise, create a moving image: "Waiting for a friend in a café." Photo by Ingrid Gessner.

The third phase included time for independent study to focus on the two requirements connected with the seminars, one of them allowing students to work creatively, the other one ensuring that students practiced academic writing and research skills; for each of the two requirements the students were given a choice between two tasks. One of the options of the first requirement consisted of writing a short play that was inspired by one of the texts discussed in the seminar. Alternatively, the students could write an essay describing their personal experience and reflections of the workshop. Neither of these options were graded. As for the second requirement, the students were able to choose between writing a mock research paper and an annotated bibliography.

The latter assignment asked students to create a bibliography on a topic of their choice that had a relation to the respective seminar topic. For each of the at least six secondary sources, they needed to be able to clarify its relation to the literary text, topic, author, or research question implied by the topic. Asking for at least one monograph or one entire collection of essays and five articles, print and web, ensured that students 1) familiarized themselves with the different forms of scholarly literature and had to find an appropriate 'mixture' of print and online sources, 2) used different search options including library catalogs and online bibliographic databases, and 3) read and reviewed at least one longer secondary work.

It seems advisable to remind students to make the scope of annotated bibliographies narrow enough so that the six works provide a good basis for a research paper on the topic (although they will not actually write such a research paper). Annotations should be abstracts of approximately 80-100 words. The following example illustrates what students should bear in mind: If they want to discuss how governments of the Global North and their legal entities deal with climate change and how this practice is criticized in South-African playwright Mike Van Graan's short CCTA play *#youtoo* (2020), students should not only look for secondary literature on the genre of drama or on the author, but they should also list articles that discuss environmental justice. An article on environmental justice



Figure 3: Moving Tableau exercise, create a moving image: "Stuck in prison." Photo by Ingrid Gessner.

might not explicitly deal with the literary work or author under discussion, but the article's findings could be applied to what the literary text criticizes.

The second option, the mock research paper assignment, asked students to pretend that they were writing a research paper. The final product, however, would be a 'mock research paper' that would consist of a title page, a table of contents page, an introduction (of about 500 – 1000 words and including a thesis statement), and a list of Works Cited (with a minimum of six secondary sources required, including at least one article from a scholarly journal, at least one article from a collection of essays [anthology], and at least one monograph). Students were required to include titles for chapters and subchapters of the body of their paper (in the 'Table of Contents' section). They were not required to write these paragraphs or a conclusion. However, in the introduction students were asked to describe the topic and to inform the audience about exactly which stance they intended to take; this stance was to be clearly identified as the thesis statement. Although they were not writing an entire seminar paper, which seems to be the standard assignment in literary and cultural studies classes to prepare students for the BA thesis, they followed all the steps necessary to write it, practicing the required skill sets along the way: close reading of the primary text, thinking about a topic, conducting research, using online bibliographies and databases, evaluating sources, taking notes, outlining, and crafting a thesis statement. Since students were freed from the actual writing task, they could use this time to engage in the creative parts of the seminar as playwrights (for the creative task, see above) and as actors in the drama workshop.

The Drama Workshop

The drama workshop was divided into three different parts or sessions. The opening session (about two times 90 minutes) that took place during the afternoon of the first day was designed to prepare the participants physically and mentally for drama pedagogical activities



Figure 4: Students perform a scene from Sam Shepard's True West *(1980). Photo by Fabian Moritsch.*

and to build trust among the group members. The students were invited to take part in ice-breakers and warm-up exercises that enabled them to become aware of their bodies, their breath, and the space in which they acted. Other activities, such as the counting exercises or the mirror exercise (Maley & Duff, 2005, p. 9) increased concentration and challenged the participants to be acutely aware of each other. Another example of a task during which the students learned to focus was a silent exercise in which they were asked to begin and stop walking upon the spontaneous initiative of individual group members. At the same time, these exercises helped to create a sense of mutual responsibility within the group, which emerged as an important objective of many exercises, such as the 'machine exercise'; during this activity, everyone had to contribute one action and one sound to an increasingly complex, always functioning machine (see table 1).

The opening session of the first day also included improvisation and characterization exercises that required imagination, visualization skills, and attention to detail. Some of these exercises involved the representation of a single



Figure 5: Students perform Mike Van Graan's #youtoo *(2020). Photo by Fabian Moritsch.*



Figure 6: Students perform Abhishek Majumdar's The Arrow *(2020). Photo by Fabian Moritsch.*

Table 1: Overview of drama activities used in first part the drama workshop (about 180 minutes), compiled by Ashok Vasudevan and Bogdan-Andrei Tabacaru (Entity Theater e.V. Munich), slightly adapted by the authors.

Theme	Exercise	Outcome
Introduction	Stand in a circle; come to the center, look at everyone eye to eye, start an action, add a sound, say your name aloud three times and one sentence about how you spent your time during COVID-19	Icebreaker – getting to know each other
Warm-up	Simple stretches for neck, shoulder, wrist, hip, ankle, knee	Warming-up the body
Warm-up	Machine Movements	Teamwork, complementing each other
Visualization	Machine Movements	Awareness of one's body
Trust	Walk around, start, and stop together	Awareness of people and objects
Focus	Game of counting to 20 facing each other and back turned to everyone else	Awareness of people and self; flow
Focus and Multitasking	(alternatingly) Count 1-2-3 in pairs	
Focus	Mirror exercises	Awareness of leader-follower-status; focus
Focus	Find your animal	Imagination and awareness of stereotypes
Story-circle	Create a story, one sentence each	Give and take, acceptance, improvisation
You are in a box	Imagine you are in a box, improvise the scene	Definition of inanimate objects, feelings of weight, attention to details
Tableau	Create a still image: at the station, on a mountain top, at a hospital	Imagination, visualization, aesthetics, creation of space
Moving Tableau	Create a moving image: e.g., waiting for a friend in a cafe, baking a cake in an unfamiliar kitchen	
Shift to Text Work	In a group: choosing a script from one of the texts from the literary seminars, thinking about necessary adaptions	Decisions on scripts

character, an animal or an inanimate object, others the creation of a whole scene: after defining a certain space, the workshop leaders briefly described a setting – a bus stop, the top of a mountain, or a table in a café – and minimal plot elements (figs. 1-3). Based on these prompts, volunteers were invited to enter the stage and improvise a scene, involving dialogue or not, depending on the scene. During these mini-performances and in the short reflection sessions following these improv exercises, the students quickly realized that the success of a performance rarely depends solely on the effort of an individual but in most cases on the collaboration of all members of the team.

In the last half hour of the first day, the focus shifted towards the literary works that had been discussed and analyzed in the two seminars. Students were divided into four teams, and each pair or small group selected a play they had read. Group 1 chose Sam Shepard's play *True West* (1980), in particular the last scene of Act 1, in which the confrontation between the two brothers has very much been brought into the open and is performed there (fig. 4). The other three groups chose short CCTA plays that can be found in the *Lighting the Way* (2020) anthology: Mike Van Graan's *#youtoo* (fig. 5), Abhishek Majumdar's *The Arrow* (fig. 6), and Madeline Sayet's *Blood on the Leaves*.

The second session of the workshop commenced on the morning of the second day (about 120 minutes) and was devoted to adapting the content and devising the scenes. Within the time frame, the students worked intensively with each other on the script, developing and preparing their scenes. This process typically required the students to take decisions as a team, concerning not only the assignment of roles, but more often the group's perception of a characters' motives or their interpretation of plot developments.

In the third session of the workshop rehearsals took place (about 120 minutes). This phase also comprised several segments in which each team worked closely with one of the two theater professionals, receiving feedback and constructive advice from them. The final highlight of the day was the performance of the four scenes on a stage, in front of the whole group.

Conclusions from the Reflection Session and Student Feedback

Two weeks after the production, participants, performance artists, and teachers met (online) to reflect on the project. When asked about their personal experience of the drama workshop, the participants unanimously reported that they had thoroughly enjoyed the activities, in particular the improvisation session, the one-on-one sessions with the performance artists as mentors, acting on stage, and watching others perform. Most of the students expressed the feeling that some of the exercises had challenged them "to step out of their comfort zone" (S1, S2); although this had unsettled them at first, it had nevertheless been a fascinating experience. The feedback session also revealed that the participants had been able to gain confidence quickly: as one student pointed out, when doing the improvisation exercises in the second part of the first session she realized "how much had changed since the beginning" (S3). Generally, the students were amazed by the rapid progress they had made and by the high quality of the final performance.

Since a central element of the teaching and learning design presented here is the connection of drama activities with studies in the field of literature, the students were asked to ponder the question whether participating in a workshop like this one can support university students and/or younger learners when working with literary texts. The answers clearly indicated that the drama methods the students had encountered in the workshop had effectively enhanced their understanding of the plays. One student summarized it in the following way: "The workshop gave us the chance to spend an entire afternoon focusing on one text and to really look at its subtleties and nuances. For me personally, it was almost as if I could suddenly

see what was written between the lines and that gave me a deeper understanding of the text and the underlying topic of our play" (S1). To sum it up, the participants themselves attributed their learning experience to two aspects: their emotional involvement during the activities and the opportunity they had had to watch others act out the roles: "I imagined the texts of the other groups very differently when reading them in the seminar, but the other students' performances showed me a new perspective and another way of looking at them" (S1). According to another student, "emotions […] played a big part, and I think that was really helpful to understand what the play is really about […] to get a better connection to the play" (S2). Another participant described her experience in the following way: "I really felt the pain of the characters. We read those plays and I knew that those environmental issues are serious problems, but […] [the emotions everyone put into their roles] definitely helped [me] to get a better understanding of the topic" (S3). Similarly, another student observed, "Although we had read and discussed certain plays, the opportunity to engage in one of them was far more intensive" (S6). The one-on-one sessions of each small group with a mentor, in which the students were encouraged to carefully consider the motives of the characters and other important aspects of their scene, were also described as highly beneficial. As one student put it, the method of the drama workshop "was more fun, you could learn more from it because you thought of it [i.e., the answers] yourself" (S4). And another student recalled: "It was incredible how he [my mentor] managed to make us reflect about the piece and think in great detail about how we wanted to perform each sentence and with what emotion" (S1).

A further point that emerged from the feedback discussion was the relevance of drama workshops for future teachers of English. In this context, the students pointed out that the drama activities had made them more aware of the role of body language, gestures, and voice in the profession of teaching; moreover, after having taken part in this workshop, they considered the method an effective means for strengthening their performative skills and overcoming existing anxieties connected with drama exercises. One of the participants observed that "a theater workshop can improve students' self-confidence because performing in front of their colleagues can help students come out of their shells" (S6). The workshop was clearly perceived by the students as an opportunity for enhancing their personal skills and professional competence. As one of them observed, "I definitely think that a teacher or a future teacher can profit from this [workshop]" (S1). Other participants valued the practical approach of the project and the innovative methods for working with groups they had encountered. Using the words of one participant, "the introductory exercises, ice-breakers, those were phenomenal … we can certainly take away methods of dealing with group dynamics." The students were also confident that these activities could increase their future students' motivation and "invigorate the flame of learning" in the classroom (S5).

Concluding Remarks and Outlook

Conducting this project showed the university teachers and researchers involved in it that a combination of critical-analytical ways of studying American literature and culture with a drama-based approach affords students excellent opportunities for engaging with literary texts and cultural questions. It also provides students with first-hand experience of holistic, performative forms of teaching and learning and increases their motivation to transfer these concepts to the secondary school classroom. Due to the unique potential of drama pedagogy, this approach is also well-suited to enhancing future teachers' personal development and strengthening professional skills and qualities important in teaching, such as flexibility, empathy, creativity, and intercultural competence, to name just a few. We therefore support the view expressed by a growing number of scholars and educators who maintain that it would be highly beneficial for pre-service teachers and their future students if more performative elements were implemented in teacher education (Mages,

2020; Schewe, 2019; Haack, 2018; Fleiner, 2016; Mewald et al., 2016; Elis et al., 2015; Haack & Surkamp, 2011) and who suggest using drama-in-education in seminars, training students in drama-based approaches to teaching and learning and integrating drama methods into the regular course of studies for teachers of English.

With this project and our description of it, we hope to have started a broader conversation on how literary studies and, even more so, acting can help advance skill sets that are crucial to American Studies but that are often only implied or suggested but rarely carried out. The course setup we described expands the limits of pure academic instruction by enabling students to share their findings and engage in a dialogue with a wider public. It is these dialogical possibilities of theater that invite dialogue and contestation as a strategy of social change.

Endnotes

[1] In the context of teacher education in Austria, a notable example of a successful drama project implemented at university level is the Elective Drama Module that has been part of the Bachelor's Studies Program at the Pädagogische Hochschule Niederösterreich (cf. Mewald et al., 2016) for more than a decade.

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Individual Contributions

Gelungene Transition vom Kindergarten in die Schule bedarf der Kooperation aller Instanzen

Regina Lins

It is the task of the pedagogical staff in elementary educational institutions and primary schools to accompany and moderate the transition. In this process, not only child-related challenges arise for the educators, but also challenges in the work with parents, in the cooperation with the other institution as well as organisational specifics. In the context of my bachelor thesis, all these challenges were examined using a mixed-methods study. It became clear that educators do not have a common definition of "school readiness" and that there are differences between the federal states of Austria. In conclusion, the transition process from nursery school to primary school is dependent on the cooperation of all professionals and institutions.

*Es ist die Aufgabe der pädagogischen Fachkräfte in elementarpädagogischen Einrichtungen und Grundschulen den Übergang zu begleiten und zu moderieren. Hierbei ergeben sich für die Pädagog*innen nicht nur kindbezogene Herausforderungen, sondern auch Herausforderungen in der Elternarbeit, in der Kooperation mit der anderen Einrichtung sowie organisatorische Besonderheiten. Im Rahmen meiner Bachelorarbeit wurden diese Herausforderungen anhand einer Mixed-Methods-Studie beleuchtet. Es wurde deutlich, dass Pädagog*innen keine gemeinsame Definition von „Schulreife" besitzen und es Unterschiede zwischen den Bundesländern Österreichs gibt. Zusammenfassend ergibt sich die Schlussfolgerung, dass der Transitionsprozess vom Kindergarten in die Schule auf die Kooperation aller Fachkräfte und Instanzen angewiesen ist.*

Einleitung

Der Schuleintritt ist oft nicht der erste Übergang, den Kinder und ihre Familien erleben. Die meisten Kinder haben davor bereits andere elementarpädagogische Bildungseinrichtungen besucht und so ihre ersten Transitionserfahrungen gesammelt. Eine feinfühlige Eingewöhnung in die erste außerhäusliche Bildungseinrichtung kann eine gute Basis für den Übergang vom Kindergarten in die Schule darstellen. Durch die vorangegangene, effektiv gemeisterte Transition können Kinder und ihre Familien beim Übergang vom Kindergarten in die Schule auf daraus gewonnene Ressourcen und Kompetenzen zurückgreifen, um diese neue Herausforderung zu bewältigen (Schmuck & Parz-Kovacic, 2015). Die pädagogischen Fachkräfte in Kindergarten und Schule steuern den Übergangsprozess. Hierbei ergeben sich für die Pädagog*innen nicht nur kindbezogene Herausforderungen, sondern auch Herausforderungen in der Elternarbeit, in der Kooperation mit der anderen Einrichtung sowie organisatorische Besonderheiten. Im Rahmen meiner Bachelorarbeit mit dem Titel „Übergang vom Kindergarten in die Schule – Transitionsprozess als pädagogische Herausforderung" wurden diese Herausforderungen anhand einer Mixed-Methods-Studie beleuchtet. Bevor die Ergebnisse zusammengefasst dargestellt werden, folgt ein Abriss des theoretischen Hintergrundes, der für die Betrachtung des Thema Übergang herangezogen wurde. Daran schließt sich ein kurzer Überblick über bereits in Österreich durchgeführte Maßnahmen und Studien an.

Gatekeeper beeinflussen den Transitionsprozess

Das Thema „Übergänge" wurde in zahlreichen Forschungsprojekten aus verschiedenen Perspektiven beleuchtet. Griebel & Niesel (2017) zeigen die verschiedenen Wurzeln der Transitionstheorien auf, u.a. die von Kurt Lewin. Für ihn ist das menschliche Leben von sozialen Weichenstellungen geprägt, die durch Entscheidungsträger*innen, sogenannte „Gatekeeper", beeinflusst werden. So wird die Transition im Bildungssystem von vier verschiedenen „Gatekeeper-Typen" beeinflusst: erstens durch Familie und Freunde, zweitens durch pädagogische Fachkräfte und die anderen Kinder in der jeweiligen Einrichtung, drittens durch Vertretungen der Einrichtungen und viertens durch interdisziplinäre Fachkräfte

(Griebel & Niesel, 2017). Die Theorie nach Kurt Lewin unterstreicht, wie wichtig alle Beteiligten im Übergangsprozess sind.

Bei der Moderation des Übergangsprozesses haben laut Hollerer (2014) die Leitung von Gruppen und Klassen des Kindergartens und der Grundschule, aber auch Träger bis hin zu gesetzgebenden Körperschaften eine besondere Bedeutung. Pädagog*innen gehen in ihrer Leitungsfunktion auf das Kind und seine individuelle psycho-physische Entwicklung ein, um es an seinem individuellen Entwicklungsstand abzuholen. Sie nehmen darüber hinaus das Familiensystem des Kindes wahr. Dieses muss die gesellschaftlich geforderten Veränderungen mittragen und bringt seine individuellen Erfahrungen mit Institutionen und Transitionen mit. Die gesetzlichen und spezifischen Vorgaben beider Bildungseinrichtungen (Kindergarten und Schule) müssen von den Fachkräften berücksichtigt und umgesetzt werden. Dennoch gibt es laut Hollerer (2014) auf jeder Leitungsebene Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten für den Transitionsprozess sowohl innerhalb (=intrainstitutionell) als auch zwischen den verschiedenen Institutionen (=interinstitutionell). Den Trägern und gesetzgebenden Körperschaften wird auf der intrainstitutionellen Ebene die Aufgabe zuteil, die Rahmenbedingungen zu schaffen und Ressourcen bereit zu stellen, die es für Konzeptentwicklung und die mittel- und langfristige Planung benötigt. Ausbildungs- und Begleitsysteme sind dafür neu zu entwickeln (Hollerer, 2014).

Transition: Entwicklung und Forschung in Österreich

Den Beginn vieler Kooperationen sieht Geißler (2014) in Verbindung mit Sprachförderungsmaßnahmen. Durch die § 15a-Vereinbarung wurde im Jahr 2008 ein Maßnahmenbündel initiiert, um Sprachschwierigkeiten frühzeitig zu erfassen und diesen mit gezielter Förderung entgegenzuwirken (Geißler, 2014).

Um die im Bildungsrahmenplan geforderte Vernetzung in Hinblick auf Transitionen zwischen den Einrichtungen Kindergarten und Schule empirisch zu belegen, wurde in der Steiermark eine Onlinebefragung von 834 Pädagog*innen durchgeführt. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass es bis zu fünfmal jährlich zu Kooperationen kommt und es erkennbare Unterschiede zwischen Stadt und Land sowie zwischen Elementar- und Grundschulpädagog*innen gibt (Hollwöger et al., 2014).

Ein Kärntner Schulversuch aus dem Schuljahr 2011/12 zeigt auf, was für einen harmonischen Übergang vom Kindergarten in die Volksschule benötigt wird: Ein motiviertes und engagiertes Team an Pädagog*innen in beiden Bildungsinstitutionen sowie eine gute Beziehungsqualität zwischen den Fachkräften, Schulkindern und Eltern bilden die Basis. Ein gemeinsamer „Lernbegriff“ wird ebenso benötigt wie eine gemeinsame Sprache in Bezug auf pädagogische und didaktische Inhalte. Es braucht räumliche und zeitliche Rahmenbedingungen, welche auf Bedürfnisse der Kinder abgestimmt werden können, eine strukturierte und vorbereitete Lernumgebung sowie Praxisreflexion (Strauß & Müller, 2014).

Anhand der Erstellung und Erprobung unterschiedlicher Übergangskonzepte konnten in Österreich wichtige Erkenntnisse gewonnen werden. Beispielsweise wird aus der Umsetzung des Campusmodells Wien 10 ersichtlich, dass eine intensive Zusammenarbeit zwischen den pädagogischen Einrichtungen die Haltung der Pädagog*innen positiv beeinflusst. Besondere Herausforderungen für die Kooperation ergeben sich durch eingeschränkte Rahmenbedingungen (z. B. Personalmangel), beschränkte räumliche Gegebenheiten sowie finanzielle und zeitliche Einschränkungen. Gemeinsame Fort- und Weiterbildungen schaffen Treffpunkte und Austauschmöglichkeiten, wodurch gegenseitige Wertschätzung möglich wird. Eine besondere Rolle kommt den Leitungen im Transitionsprozess zu: Sie brauchen eine Vision und die Kraft, Rahmenbedingungen zu schaffen und müssen Kooperation vorleben (Atzesberger & Stolba, 2014).

Auf Bundesebene wurden in den vergangenen Jahren einige Maßnahmen initiiert. Diese reichen vom verpflichtenden Kindergartenjahr über die Erstellung und Einführung des Bildungsrahmen-

plans bis hin zur Schuleingangsphase Grundstufe I, die im Volksschullehrplan Einzug gehalten hat. Es wurden Modellprojekte durchgeführt. So ist beispielsweise dem Evaluierungsprojekt „Schuleingangsphase plus" der Steiermark zu entnehmen, dass es keine ausreichenden gesetzlichen Rahmenbedingungen gibt und der Kindergarten meist nicht als Bildungseinrichtung gesehen wird. Die Kooperation wird stark durch organisatorische und rechtliche Hindernisse sowie durch Statusunterschiede der Berufsgruppen behindert (Reicher-Pirchegger, 2014).

Mit der Grundschulreform 2016/17 nimmt dies zumindest formal ein Ende, da es nun österreichweit gesetzliche Rahmenbedingungen gibt. Im Ausführungserlass, der im Schulrechtsänderungsgesetz (BGBl 1 Nr. 56/2016) verankert ist, werden Kindergarten und Grundschule als gemeinsamer Bildungsraum beschrieben. Ebenso wird darüber der förderbezogene Datenaustausch geregelt. Die im Kindergarten gewonnenen Erkenntnisse über die Entwicklungssituation eines Kindes sollen von den Erziehungsberechtigten bei der Schuleinschreibung des Kindes vorgelegt werden (siehe BGBl Nr. 76/1985 in der Fassung vom 03.12.2020 unter § 6 Abs. 1a).

Mit der Erstellung eines Konzeptes für den Übergang vom Kindergarten in die Schule wurden das Charlotte Bühler Institut für praxisorientierte Kleinkindforschung und das BIFIE (2016) betraut. Das Konzept liegt nun für ganz Österreich in Form des Leitfadens „Schülerinnen/Schülereinschreibung Neu – Leitfäden zur Grundschulreform" vor.

Mixed-Methods-Studie zur Erfassung der pädagogischen Herausforderung in der Übergangsgestaltung

Fragestellung

Anhand der Mixed-Methods-Studie (einer Kombination von qualitativen und quantitativen Forschungsmethoden) wurde folgender Frage nachgegangen: Welche Herausforderungen ergeben sich für Pädagog*innen im Transitionsprozess vom Kindergarten in die Schule und in der Umsetzung der vorliegenden Transitionskonzepte?

Erhebungsinstrumente[1]

Leitfadeninterviews – Qualitative Erhebung und Auswertung

Für die qualitative Erhebung wurden Leitfadeninterviews mit zwei Elementarpädagoginnen und zwei Grundschulpädagoginnen in den Bundesländern Kärnten, Vorarlberg und Wien im Jahr 2016 geführt. Es wurde darauf geachtet, dass jeweils eine der Pädagoginnen aus einer ländlichen (2) bzw. einer städtischen (1) Umgebung stammt. 2017 fand ein weiteres Leitfadeninterview mit einer Pflichtschulinspektorin statt. Dieses zielte darauf ab, eine übergeordnete Sichtweise zum Thema zu erhalten, da die Interviewpartnerin bei der Erstellung und Implementierung eines Übergangskonzeptes mitgewirkt hatte. Die Auswertung fand mit der inhaltlich strukturierenden qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse nach Udo Kuckartz statt (Lins, 2018). Es wurden vier Hauptkategorien mit folgenden Subkategorien gebildet:

- Herausforderungen in Bezug auf das Kind (Subkategorien: Kognitive Entwicklung des Kindes verbunden mit Schulreife; Emotionale Entwicklung; Körperliche bzw. Motorische Entwicklung)
- Herausforderung in der Elternarbeit
- Herausforderung in der Kooperation mit der anderen Einrichtung
- Herausforderung in Bezug auf die organisatorischen Besonderheiten (Subkategorien: Besonderheiten der Schule; Besonderheiten des Kindergartens) (Lins, 2018, S. 17–23)

Fragebogenumfrage bei Pädagog*innen – Quantitative Erhebung und Auswertung

Die quantitative Erhebung fand ebenso in den Bundesländern Kärnten, Vorarlberg und Wien statt. Hierfür wurden 30 Fragebögen zu gleichen Teilen an Elementarpädagog*innen und Grundschulpädagog*innen verteilt, um folgende Hypothesen zu überprüfen (Lins, 2018):

Hypothese 1: Den Pädagog*innen ist nicht bekannt, dass ein bundesweites Übergangskonzept besteht.

Hypothese 2: Der Transitionsprozess kann aufgrund fehlender Kooperationsbereitschaft der jeweils anderen Fachgruppe nicht angeregt werden.

Hypothese 3: Der Transitionsprozess wird durch fehlende Rahmenbedingungen beeinflusst.
Hypothese 4: Die Übergangsgestaltung ist im städtischen Umfeld herausfordernder als im ländlichen.
Hypothese 5: Die Übergangsgestaltung ist vom Bundesland abhängig (Lins, 2018, S. 15).

In der quantitativen Erhebung wurde dem Aspekt nachgegangen, ob die Herausforderungen im städtischen bzw. ländlichem Umfeld überwiegen und ob es Unterschiede zwischen den Bundesländern gibt. Die Auswertung der Fragebögen erfolgte mittels einfaktorieller ANOVA kombiniert mit Post-hoc-Test durch das Computerprogramm SPSS (Software zur statistischen Datenanalyse) (Lins, 2018).

Ergebnisse der qualitativen Erhebung

Die Auswertung zur Subkategorie „Kognitive Entwicklung des Kindes verbunden mit Schulreife" verdeutlicht, dass kein einheitliches Bild von kognitiver Entwicklung oder von Schulreife besteht, weder innerhalb einer Fachgruppe noch fachgruppenübergreifend. Jede Pädagogin empfindet etwas anderes als bedeutsam. Beispielsweise zählt Elementarpädagogin (1) kindliche Fähigkeiten im motorischen, emotionalen Bereich, die Fähigkeit der optischen Differenzierung sowie das Bestehen in der Gemeinschaft, das Sich-Trennen-Können von den Eltern als Grundvoraussetzung für das Kind für einen positiven Schuleinstieg auf. Für Grundschulpädagogin (1) sind grundlegende selbständige Tätigkeiten, wie beispielsweise das Anziehen, das Aufräumen der eigenen Kleidungsstücke und Vorbereitung der eigenen Arbeitsmittel die Basis für Schulreife (Lins, 2018).

In der Subkategorie „Emotionale Entwicklung" sind sich die Elementarpädagoginnen einig: Im Übergangsprozess geht es für die Kindergartenkinder darum, Selbstbewusstsein aufzubauen. Die Grundschulfachkräfte gewichten hier unterschiedlich. Für die Grundschulpädagogin (1) sollten Kinder das Bewusstsein für verpflichtende Aufgaben mitbringen. Grundschulpädagogin (2) nimmt Unterschiede in der emotionalen Entwicklung wahr, welche durch Geschwisterkinder, Geschlecht, die Trennung von der Mutter, Sprachschwierigkeiten oder Migration beeinflusst werden können (Lins, 2018).

Bei der Kategorie „Herausforderungen in der Elternarbeit" wurde der Fokus in der Auswertung des Interviewmaterials nicht nur auf die Gestaltung der Elternarbeit in den beiden Bildungsinstitutionen gelegt, sondern ebenso auf die Wahrnehmung elterlicher Bedürfnisse und Partizipationsmöglichkeiten. Nur aus dem Interview mit Grundschulpädagogin (1) wird ersichtlich, dass elterliche Bedürfnisse von der Pädagogin wahrgenommen werden. Dabei thematisiert sie die Abnabelung und Verabschiedung zwischen Eltern und Kindern sowie die Erwartungen, dass Kinder bestimmte Fähigkeiten bereits in die Schule mitbringen sollen, darunter Fähigkeiten, die teilweise Stressauslöser für Eltern werden können. Sie betont, dass es eine Verständigung darauf benötigt, dass es ein gemeinsamer Weg, von Eltern, Kindern und Pädagoginnen ist und die Ziele gemeinsam erreicht werden. Alle anderen Äußerungen der interviewten Pädagoginnen beziehen sich auf den Wunsch nach Weiterbildungen, um ihre Kompetenzen im Umgang mit Eltern bzw. für Elterngespräche zu verbessern und erweitern zu können.

Bezüglich der „Herausforderungen in der Kooperation mit der anderen Einrichtung" wurden die Aufgabenverteilung und Verantwortungsübernahme in den Fokus genommen. Dabei wurde beleuchtet, wer auf wen zugeht, damit die Kooperation zwischen den Einrichtungen jährlich beginnt, wie dabei der Austausch zwischen den Berufsgruppen stattfindet sowie welche Erwartungen die Fachkräfte dabei an die andere Berufsgruppe haben. Dem Interview mit der Pflichtschulinspektorin ist zu entnehmen, dass es die Aufgabe der Schulleitung ist, auf die Fachkräfte im Kindergarten zuzugehen. Bei einigen Volksschulen bedeutet dies die Kontaktaufnahmen mit mehreren Kindergärten. In diesen Fällen sollten die Lehrpersonen der zukünftigen ersten Klassen zur Entlastung mitwirken. Dies scheint jedoch noch nicht überall verankert zu sein, denn nur Elementarpädagogin (2) schildert dies und merkt an, dass es dadurch jährlich eine Ungewissheit bezüglich der Zusammenarbeit gebe, da nicht immer alle Lehrpersonen die Bereitschaft

dazu haben. Anhand der Interviews wird deutlich, dass die Kooperation zwischen den Einrichtungen sehr stark von den jeweiligen Personen abhängt. Die Ausführungen der Pflichtschulinspektorin verdeutlichen, dass es die enge Zusammenarbeit mit der jeweiligen Landesregierung benötigt, um rechtliche, organisatorische und personelle Angelegenheiten zu klären. Nur so können die benötigten Rahmenbedingungen für die Kooperation geschaffen werden. Des Weiteren wird deutlich, wie abhängig die Kooperation auch vom Informationsfluss ist. Hier sieht die Pflichtschulinspektorin die Herausforderung im Informationsfluss zwischen der Schulleitung und den Lehrpersonen der angehenden ersten Klassen. Die Informationen über die einzelnen Kinder, welche die Schulleitungen vom Fachpersonal des Kindergartens erhalten, sollten bei den betreffenden Lehrpersonen ankommen. Dies ist besonders an all jenen Schulen wichtig, an denen die Übergangskooperation allein von der Leitung durchgeführt wird. Das Bewusstsein für die Wichtigkeit dieser Informationen ist auf Seite der Lehrpersonen zu schärfen. Diese Informationen bilden die Basis für ihre Arbeit.

Die Herausforderungen in Bezug auf die organisatorischen Besonderheiten liegen in der Volksschule bei der Einschätzung der Schulreife, der örtlichen Lage der Einrichtungen und der Anzahl der Kindergärten, welche im Einzugsgebiet einer Volksschule liegen. Aus Sicht der Pflichtschulinspektorin ergab sich für die übergeordnete Instanz die Herausforderung der Honorierung des zusätzlichen Aufwandes der Lehrkräfte. Die Erhöhung des Stundenausmaßes führte zu einem höheren Personalaufwand, und dementsprechend galt es, Lehrkräfte dafür zu finden.

Die Besonderheiten des Kindergartens umfassen einerseits die Feststellung der kindlichen Fähigkeiten und Kompetenzen anhand von Checklisten und Beobachtungsbögen, andererseits schildert Elementarpädagogin (1), dass es in einem Jahr ein detailliertes Übergangskonzept gab und im nächsten wiederum keines. Mit dem Wegfall des Konzeptes gingen auch die Ressourcen für die Übergangsgestaltung verloren. In der Einrichtung von Elementarpädagogin (2) gibt es kein Übergangskonzept. Diese Interviews weisen darauf hin, dass die Ressourcenfrage im Kindergarten auf Landesebene noch nicht geklärt ist. Dies scheint jedoch auf höherer Ebene nicht wahrgenommen zu werden, denn die Pflichtschulinspektorin erklärt, dass aus ihrer Sicht die rechtliche Unsicherheit bezüglich der Informationsweitergabe die größte Herausforderung des Kindergartens war und dies durch die Gesetzesänderung nun geklärt sei (Lins, 2018).

Ergebnisse der quantitativen Erhebung

Die Überprüfung der Hypothese 1, Bekanntheit des bundesweiten Übergangskonzeptes ergab, dass 13 von 22 Elementarpädagog*innen ein selbst entwickeltes Konzept umsetzen, dies tun ebenso 16 von 19 Grundschulpädagog*innen. Nur eine teilnehmende Person aus dem Kindergartenwesen verwendet ein von Träger/Erhalter vorgegebenes Konzept.

Hypothese 2 beschäftigte sich mit der Kooperationsbereitschaft der Fachgruppen. Hier konnte unter Anwendung der ANOVA kein signifikanter Unterschied zwischen den Bundesländern oder zwischen Stadt und Land festgestellt werden.[2]

Bei der Überprüfung der dritten Hypothese konnte ebenfalls kein signifikanter Unterschied zwischen den Bundesländern bzw. städtischem oder ländlichem Umfeld gefunden werden.

Die Hypothesen 4 und 5 befassten sich mit der Übergangsgestaltung im städtischen und ländlichen Umfeld sowie Bundesland. Hierbei ergab die Überprüfung mittels ANOVA einen signifikanten Unterschied zwischen den Berufsorten ($p=0{,}024$) und im Hinblick auf die Unterstützung durch ein vorliegendes Konzept ($p=0{,}019$). Der Post-Hoc-Test verdeutlicht den Unterschied zwischen den Bundesländern. Der größte Unterschied besteht zwischen Vorarlberg und Wien mit $p=0{,}04$. In allen anderen Bereichen konnte kein signifikanter Unterschied festgestellt werden. Somit konnten die Hypothesen 1 bis 4 nicht bestätigt werden, jedoch Hypothese 5 ist zutreffend: Die Übergangsgestaltung ist vom Bundesland abhängig (Lins, 2018).

Fazit

Die Herausforderungen im Übergang vom Kindergarten in die Schule sind für die pädagogischen Fachkräfte der beiden Bildungsinstitutionen sehr vielfältig und werden noch verstärkt durch organisatorische Besonderheiten und unterschiedliche Herangehensweisen. Die Ergebnisse aus der Mixed-Methods-Studie verdeutlichen, dass die Kommunikation und der Informationsfluss zwischen den pädagogischen Fachkräften durch fehlende gemeinsame Definitionen von z. B. „Schulreife" nicht erleichtert werden und daher Missverständnisse vorprogrammiert sind und zu Verunsicherung und Stress auf Elternseite führen können. Es wird auch verdeutlicht, dass es immer noch große strukturelle Unterschiede zwischen Kindergarten und Schule gibt. Während für das Schulwesen weiterhin zeitliche und finanzielle Ressourcen für die Übergangsgestaltung bereitgestellt werden, scheint dies für das Kindergartenwesen nur für die Zeit der Pilotprojekte der Fall gewesen zu sein. Ob hier nur der Informationsfluss zwischen den verschiedenen Instanzen ins Stocken geraten ist, ist unklar. Fakt ist, dass im Elementarbereich die zeitlichen, finanziellen und personellen Ressourcen für die Übergangsgestaltung teilweise noch nicht geschaffen worden sind. Durch die qualitativen Ergebnisse wird deutlich, dass die Eltern bei der Übergangsgestaltung noch zu wenig wahrgenommen werden bzw. auf Seiten der Pädagoginnen eine gewisse Unsicherheit besteht, da alle Befragten den Wunsch nach Weiterbildung äußern.

Schlussendlich stellt sich auch die Frage, wie Pädagog*innen beider Bildungseinrichtungen die bereitgestellten Leitfäden wahrnehmen, so dass beispielsweise eine gemeinsame Definition von „Schulreife" geprägt und ein gemeinsamer Konsens darüber entwickelt werden kann, welche Fähigkeiten ein Kind vor dem Schuleintritt erlangen muss (siehe dazu Charlotte Bühler Institut & BIFIE 2016, S. 7–19 oder Schulreifeverordnung BGBl II Nr. 300/2018). Dafür müssen für die Fachkräfte beider Bildungsinstitutionen Strukturen für einen laufenden Austausch über kindliche Spiel- und Lernprozesse geschaffen werden. Die Ausführungen der Interviewpartnerinnen machen die bestehende Kooperationsbereitschaft deutlich. Es besteht dringender Klärungsbedarf, ob nicht auch Elementarpädagog*innen die Übergangsgestaltung einleiten dürfen, wenn die Schulleitung ihrer Pflicht nicht nachkommt. Des Weiteren müssen Richtlinien entwickelt werden, welche anderen Möglichkeiten zur Einleitung der Übergangsgestaltung herangezogen werden können, damit der Start der Übergangsbegleitung nicht von einer einzigen Person abhängig gemacht wird.

Zu guter Letzt bedarf es auch eines Konzeptes für die Elternarbeit. Die Interviewauswertung zeigt, dass „Elternarbeit" bisher nur ein Randthema ist. Die Wahrnehmung der Eltern mit ihren Themen und Bedürfnissen als wichtige „Gatekeeper" im Übergangsprozess muss gefördert werden. Eltern benötigen, um ihre Verantwortung wahrnehmen zu können, alle relevanten Informationen zum Übergang, zur Schulfähigkeit und für Fördermöglichkeiten, denn das Gelingen des Transitionsprozesses vom Kindergarten in die Schule ist auf die Kooperation aller „Gatekeeper" angewiesen.

Endnoten

[1] Da die Datenerhebung im Rahmen einer Bachelorarbeit erfolgte, was eine starke zeitliche Einschränkung bedeutet, könnte argumentiert werden, dass die Ergebnisse nicht repräsentativ sind. Werden Sie jedoch mit anderen umfangreicheren österreichischen Studien verglichen, weichen die Ergebnisse jedoch nicht stark von diesen ab, sondern ergänzen bzw. bestätigen diese.

[2] Das Ergebnis der Hypothese 4 könnte auf die Rücklaufquote der Fragebögen in Bezug auf Stadt und Land zurückzuführen sein. Eine Definition von „Stadt" und „Land" bei der Erstellung des Messinstrumentes „Fragebogen" könnte zu anderen Ergebnissen führen.

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Sommerzeit wird Sprach(en)lernzeit: Sichtweisen von Lehramtsstudierenden der Primarstufenausbildung auf das Konzept der Sommerschule sowie praktische Implikationen für die Didaktik

Pia Frick, Elke Kikelj-Schwald & Simone Naphegyi

Der Fokus des Beitrags liegt auf einer rückmeldebasierten Weiterentwicklung des Lehrveranstaltungskonzepts zur Vorbereitung von Studierenden der PH Vorarlberg (PHV) auf die Unterrichtstätigkeit in der Sommerschule 2020. Nach einer Beschreibung der Genese und des Organisations- und Lehrveranstaltungskonzepts der Sommerschule folgen die Darstellung und Diskussion einer qualitativen Evaluationsstudie. Aus den Daten lässt sich die Notwendigkeit einer zielgerichteten Überarbeitung des Lehrveranstaltungskonzepts ableiten. Exemplarisch werden im Rahmen einer fachdidaktischen Auseinandersetzung Überlegungen zum Erwerb der Nominalphrase im Deutschen und ein Curriculum zum Genuserwerb vorgestellt.

The article focuses on a feedback-based further development of a course concept to prepare students of the PH Vorarlberg (PHV) for summer school teaching. A description of the genesis and the organizational structure and course concept of the summer school is followed by the presentation and discussion of a qualitative evaluation study. From the data, the need for a targeted revision of the teaching concept can be deduced. Examples involving considerations for the acquisition of the nominal phrase in German and a curriculum for the acquisition of the genus (grammatical gender of nouns) are presented in the context of a didactic discussion.

Genese der Sommerschule

Die starken Fluchtbewegungen aus dem Nahen Osten nach Europa haben vor allem ab dem Schuljahr 2015/16 im Pflichtschulbereich eine veränderte Situation geschaffen. Wintersteiger und Zelger (2017, S. 5) sprechen davon, dass die massive Zunahme von Neuankommenden neue Tatsachen schaffe. In Zahlen ausgedrückt heißt das, dass bis zum Stichtag 30.06.2017 österreichweit 15.627 Schüler*innen aus der benannten Fluchtmigrationsbewegung seit Beginn des Schuljahres 2015/16 in die allgemeinen Pflichtschulen aufgenommen wurden. 1001 davon waren es im Bundesland Vorarlberg (Bundesministerium für Bildung, 2017). In Österreich sind Kinder und Jugendliche unter 15 Jahren schulpflichtig, unabhängig davon, ob sie im Asylverfahren oder bereits als Flüchtlinge anerkannt oder subsidiär schutzberechtigt sind (Siebert, 2018, S. 5). Da davon auszugehen war, dass der Großteil dieser Schüler*innen in ihren Herkunftsländern keinen Kontakt zur deutschen Sprache hatte, wurden sie grundsätzlich als Schüler*innen mit außerordentlichem Status aufgenommen. Zum damaligen Zeitpunkt war noch kein verpflichtendes Messinstrument wie MIKA-D für die Zuweisung eines außerordentlichen Status im Einsatz. Die maximale Dauer für diesen Status beträgt zwei Jahre. Für diese Zeit sind Deutschfördermaßnahmen vorgesehen, um die anschließende Eingliederung als ordentliche*r Schülerin*in zu ermöglichen.

Bereits im November 2015 wurde von der Bundesregierung ein 50 Punkte-Plan zur Integration von Asylberechtigten und subsidiär Schutzberechtigten verabschiedet. Das Ziel dieser Empfehlungen lag darin, die über die Flüchtlingsbewegungen nach Österreich zugewanderten Personen möglichst rasch zu integrieren. Als dritter Punkt wird in diesem Dokument die gezielte Sprachförderung in der Schule durch Sprachförderklassen und Sprachförderkurse am Nachmittag sowie in den Sommerferien aufgelistet. Die flächendeckende Umsetzung der gezielten Sprachförderangebote in den Sommerferien, betitelt als Sommerschule, wurde durch die Coronabedingten Schulschließungen nach dem Schuljahr 2019/20 erstmals flächendeckend im gesamten Bundesgebiet umgesetzt.

Die Sommerschule fand 2020 im Rahmen eines zweiwöchigen Programms vom 30. August bis 12. September an verschiedenen Schulstandorten in Österreich statt. Ziel der Sommerschule war (und

ist) es vor allem, Lernrückständen entgegenzuwirken, die auf Grund der verringerten Schulbesuchszeiten durch die Coronapandemie entstanden waren. Das Bildungsangebot richtete sich vor allem an außerordentliche Schüler*innen sowie allgemein an Schüler*innen mit einem starken Aufholbedarf im Fach Deutsch. Die betreffenden Kinder sollten in diesem Zeitraum individuell und gezielt sprachlich gefördert werden (Bundesministerium Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2020, S. 5).

Organisationskonzept

Initiiert wurde das Projekt Sommerschule 2020 vom Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung in Zusammenarbeit mit den Pädagogischen Hochschulen, den Universitäten, den Bildungsdirektionen der Länder und den Schulleitungen der Standorte (Bundesministerium Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2020, S. 4). Vorrangige Aufgaben der Pädagogischen Hochschulen waren der Rekrutierungsprozess der Lehramtsstudierenden, die fortlaufende Betreuung und Beratung der Kandidat*innen und die damit verbundenen Informationen über ihren möglichen Einsatz in der Sommerschule. Für die PH Vorarlberg (PHV) wurde Elke Kikelj-Schwald (Fachbereich Deutsch) mit der operativen Leitung der Organisation der Sommerschule für die Primarstufe betraut.

Von Seiten des Ministeriums war ursprünglich vorgesehen, die Sommerschule vor allem mit Lehramtsstudierenden der Primarstufe (ab dem 6. Studiensemester), der Sekundarstufe I sowie mit Lehrpersonen, die sich freiwillig für diesen zweiwöchigen Einsatz zur Verfügung stellten, durchzuführen. Die zentrale Aufgabe dieser Pädagog*innen war in erster Linie die Unterstützung der Lehramtsstudierenden bei der Planung und Organisation ihres Unterrichts. Je nach Bedarf wurden diese Lehrpersonen auch im Unterricht gemeinsam mit Studierenden eingesetzt (Bundesministerium Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2020, S. 7).

Für ihre Unterrichtstätigkeit an den Schulstandorten und dem verpflichtenden Besuch einer begleitenden Lehrveranstaltung wurde den Studierenden eine Abgeltung in Form von 5-ECTS-Anrechnungspunkten, anrechenbar auf pädagogisch-praktische Studien, zugesagt (Bundesministerium Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2021, S. 6). Einen weiteren Anreiz für die Studierenden sahen die Initiator*innen vor allem in der Möglichkeit der Vertiefung der eigenen praktischen Lehr- und Lernerfahrungen und dem Kennenlernen neuer Schulen und Standorte (Bundesministerium Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2021).

Das Interesse der Lehramtsstudierenden der Primarstufe war vorerst nicht sehr groß, was vor allem der geringen Vorlaufzeit der Sommerschule geschuldet war. Lediglich Studierende der unteren Semester bekundeten Interesse, für die höhersemestrigen Studierenden schien der Einsatz in der Sommerschule aus curricularen Gründen weniger attraktiv. An der PHV wurden weitere Maßnahmen ergriffen, um Studierende für die Unterrichtspraxis in der Sommerschule zu motivieren. Es wurde vereinbart, die begleitende Lehrveranstaltung flexibel zu gestalten, die Präsenzzeiten zu verringern und den Anteil des Selbststudiums zu erhöhen. Um das versprochene Unterrichtsangebot flächendeckend gewährleisten zu können, rekrutierte die Bildungsdirektion zusätzlich Lehrpersonen an verschiedenen Standorten. In Vorarlberg nahmen an 20 Standorten 1.548 Schüler*innen, 12 Buddys, 128 Lehrpersonen und 55 Lehramtsstudierende an der Sommerschule 2020 teil, wobei auf die Primarstufe der PHV 11 Studierende entfielen. Davon befanden sich acht Personen im 4. Semester, eine im 2. und zwei im 6. Semester.

Konzeption und Durchführung der begleitenden Lehrveranstaltung

Den Pädagogischen Hochschulen wurde von Seiten des Ministeriums der Auftrag erteilt, eine begleitende Lehrveranstaltung im Ausmaß von 2,5 ECTS zu konzipieren. Die Herausforderung bestand darin, die heterogene Studierendengruppe in kurzer Zeit fachdidaktisch und methodisch auf die Sommerschule vorzubereiten. Die Konzeption und die Leitung dieser Lehrveranstaltung wurde an der PHV von Vizerektor (VR) Heiko Richter und Elke Kikelj-Schwald übernommen. Die Fachgruppe

Deutsch, vertreten durch Simone Naphegyi, begleitete mit ihrer Expertise im Volksschulbereich die Verantwortlichen konzeptionell. Interdisziplinär unterstützt wurden die Verantwortlichen auch von Hochschullehrpersonen aus den Fachgebieten Mathematik, Musik und Sachkunde.

Für die Studierenden war der Besuch der begleitenden Lehrveranstaltung verpflichtend. Die Planungsphase für das Unterrichtspraktikum erstreckte sich über mehrere Wochen und umfasste neben Präsenzveranstaltungen auch entsprechende Arbeitseinheiten (Workloads). Angelehnt an die pädagogischen Leitlinien des Bundesministeriums und der unseres Erachtens umfassenden Vorgaben und Empfehlungen zur Sommerschule wurden in den Lehrveranstaltungen folgende Inhalte erarbeitet bzw. vermittelt:

- Besprechung der Unterrichtsvorbereitungen für heterogene, mehrsprachige Lerngruppen mit besonderem Fokus auf die Vermittlung von Deutsch als Zweitsprache
- Hilfestellung bei der Unterrichtsplanung und bei der Erstellung des Stundenplans
- Entwicklung eines gemeinsamen Pools an Ideen und Materialien
- Unterstützung bei der Erstellung von Lernpaketen und bei der Auswahl von geeigneten Lern- und Differenzierungsmaßnahmen
- Besprechung und Erarbeitung von begleitenden Projekten (Bundesministerium Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2020, S.8)

Von Seiten des Bildungsministeriums wurde neben der Förderung der Unterrichtssprache Deutsch vor allem "themenzentriertes und projektbezogenes" Arbeiten eingefordert. In der Broschüre "Sommerschule 2020" lässt sich Folgendes nachlesen:

> Am Ende der Sommerschule soll als Projektergebnis ein Produkt vorliegen, das die Schülerinnen und Schüler „anfassen" und präsentieren können. Das Produkt kann zum Beispiel ein Kurzvideo, ein Hörtext, Blog, Podcast, Poster, Theaterstück oder eine Zeitung sein. Sowohl bei der Auswahl des Produkts bzw. des Projektergebnisses als auch bei der Gestaltung des Weges dorthin besteht für die Unterrichtenden der Sommerschule ein gänzlich freier Gestaltungsspielraum. (Bundesministerium Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2020, S. 9)

Für die zielgerichtete Planung der Förder- und Unterstützungsmaßnahmen schien es den Autorinnen notwendig, dass die Studierenden in Kenntnis über den aktuellen Sprachstand der Lernenden gesetzt werden. Als Grundlage für die gezielte sprachliche Förderung erarbeiteten Simone Naphegyi und Elke Kikelj-Schwald deshalb im Vorfeld der Sommerschule Erhebungsraster für alle vier Schulstufen für die individuelle Unterrichtsplanung und Unterrichtsvorbereitung der Lehrpersonen. Ergänzend zu den Rahmenangaben zum Kind wurden auch spracherwerbsrelevante Kriterien miteinbezogen. Diese Raster wurden in Anlehnung an die Pilotkompetenzprofile (Bundesministerium Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2019, S. 11–14) für den Bereich Deutsch konzipiert. Mit Hilfe dieses Instruments sollte der Sprachstand der Schüler*innen vorab von den Lehrkräften der Regelschule erfasst und an die Sommerschulstandorte und in weiterer Folge an die Studierenden kommuniziert werden. Leider standen die endgültigen Schulstandorte lange nicht fest, die Erhebungsraster konnten dadurch erst sehr spät verschickt werden. Viele Lehrpersonen befanden sich zu der Zeit schon in den Ferien, sodass einige Studierende bei der Planung ihrer Fördermaßnahmen auf keine Informationen zurückgreifen konnten.

Ein wesentliches Ziel der Sommerschule war die Kompensation von möglichen Lernrückständen im Fach Deutsch, um die Anschlussfähigkeit der Schüler*innen an die nächste Schulstufe zu gewährleisten. Die Empfehlungen des Bildungsministeriums, die Unterrichtsschwerpunkte ausschließlich auf die Sprachförderung im Unterrichtsfach Deutsch verbunden mit projektbezogenem Arbeiten zu legen, war für die Verantwortlichen der PHV zu eng gefasst. Sprachförderung und Sprachbildung findet nicht nur im Fach Deutsch, sondern auch fächerübergreifend in anderen Bereichen wie Mathematik und Sachkunde statt.

Zentrales Anliegen der Hochschullehrpersonen bei der Vermittlung der Lehrinhalte im Rahmen der begleitenden Lehrveranstaltung war es deshalb auch, das Bewusstsein der Studierenden für die sprachliche Förderung im Kontext des jeweiligen fachlichen Lernens zu schärfen. Ergänzend zum projektbezogenen Arbeiten und der Stärkung der

Unterrichtssprache im Fach Deutsch wurde auch eine tägliche Fördereinheit in Mathematik empfohlen, mit dem Ziel, mathematisches Vokabular zu klären, sprachliche Anforderungen zu identifizieren und entsprechende Sprachhandlungen einzuüben (Eisen et al., 2017, S. 3ff).

Während des zweiwöchigen Praktikums an der Sommerschule wurden die Studierenden der Primarstufe intensiv von Praxisbetreuer*innen der PHV betreut. Die verantwortlichen Hochschullehrpersonen unterstützten die Studierenden bei der Projektentwicklung, bei der Unterrichtsplanung und insbesondere bei der begleitenden Reflexion des eigenen Unterrichtshandelns bei verbindlichen Besuchen vor Ort. Zwischen der Projektleitung und den Praxisbetreuer*innen fand ein regelmäßiger Austausch statt.

Empirische Erhebung zur Evaluation der Sommerschule

Angesichts dieser beschriebenen Umstände ist es von besonderem Interesse, die Sichtweisen der beteiligten Studierenden zu erheben, die 2020 Unterrichtserfahrungen im Rahmen der Sommerschule gewinnen konnten. Die nachfolgend beschriebene Erhebung geht der Frage nach, welche Perspektiven auf individuelle Herangehensweisen im Zusammenhang mit der Vermittlung der Unterrichtssprache Deutsch im Rahmen der Sommerschule nachgezeichnet werden können. Für die Didaktik im Fachbereich Deutsch (Primarstufe) stellt sich die Frage nach der Ableitung möglicher praktischer Implikationen besonders im Hinblick auf den geplanten Ausbau der Sommerschule.

Forschungsdesign und Kurzbeschreibung der Forschungsmethode

Für die Beantwortung dieser Fragestellung wurde ein qualitatives Forschungsdesign gewählt, das dem einer Fallanalyse nahekommt. Die Gruppe von Studierenden der PHV, die im Rahmen der Sommerschule unterrichtet haben, ist mit 11 Teilnehmer*innen eine überschaubare Gruppe.

Gruppendiskussionen sind mehrheitlich qualitativ ausgerichtet, streben Natürlichkeit der Erhebungssituation, Kommunikativität und Offenheit an (Vogl, 2019, S. 695) und eignen sich deshalb als Methode zur Evaluation. Für die Gruppendiskussionen wurden drei Kleingruppen mit jeweils 2 bis 4 Studierenden gebildet, die Unterrichtserfahrung im Rahmen der Sommerschule gewinnen konnten. Für die Gruppenzusammensetzung war das Kriterium ausschlaggebend, dass die Teilnehmenden einer Diskussionsgruppe nicht am selben Schulstandort in der Sommerschule tätig waren. Jede Gruppe diskutierte entlang eines eigens dafür konzipierten Leitfadens in separaten Räumen. Die Gruppendiskussion diente in dieser Untersuchung als Medium, um Einzelmeinungen im Kontext der Evaluierung der Sommerschule in validierter Form (Vogl, 2019, S. 695) zu erheben.

Datenerhebung und Datenauswertung

Die Gruppendiskussionen wurden als Audioaufnahmen aufgezeichnet und nahezu vollständig geglättet transkribiert. Die Transkripte wurden entlang inhaltlich-semantischer Regeln angefertigt, die einen einfachen Zugang zum Gesprächsinhalt zulassen (Dresing & Pehl, 2018, S. 18).

Für die Auswertung der verbalen Datengrundlage aus den Gruppendiskussionen wurden diese einer qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse nach Mayring (1982/2015) unterzogen. Die qualitative Inhaltsanalyse beinhaltet für die Auswertung der verbalen Daten aus den Gruppendiskussionen strukturierende und zusammenfassende Elemente (Mayring 2000/2015). Die Haupt- und Unterkategorien für die inhaltliche Strukturierung (Mayring, 2015, S. 103) des Datenmaterials wurden zunächst deduktiv aus dem unter Punkt 2 beschriebenen Organisationskonzept und den Kriterien des Leitfadens festgelegt.

Induktiv wurden die Kategorien für die inhaltliche Analyse aus dem vorliegenden verbalen Datenmaterial erweitert. Eine weitere Strukturierung des Datenmaterials erfolgte in Anlehnung an die von Zelger (2019, S. 7) für sein Forschungsverfahren GABEK vorgeschlagene Bewertungskodierung (positiv, negativ, neutral), da die Studierenden mit ihren Aussagen nicht nur Erfahrungen beschreiben, sondern auch Bewertungen zum Ausdruck bringen (Zelger, 2019, S. 393). So

konnten Problemfelder und Erfolgsgebiete identifiziert werden, die nachfolgend aufgezeigt werden.

Datendarstellung und Interpretation

Die Datendarstellung und Interpretation erfolgen zunächst nach strukturell organisatorischen und in weiterer Folge nach personenbezogenen und fachlich inhaltlichen Kriterien.

Strukturell organisatorische Kriterien

Erste Unstimmigkeiten traten aus Sicht der Studierenden bereits beim Anmelde- und Rekrutierungsprozess im Vorfeld der Sommerschule auf. Versprechungen von Seiten des Ministeriums wie z.B. die freie Wahl der Standorte als auch der kollegialen Tandems wurden nicht eingehalten. An vereinzelten Schulstandorten wurden von den Studierenden unklare Verhältnisse im Hinblick auf die Zuständigkeiten (Schulleitung/Bildungsdirektion) geortet, wie dies stellvertretend in der folgenden Aussage einer*s Studierenden zum Ausdruck kommt:

> 1_ST1: (.) weil jeder hat es dem anderen in die schuhe geschoben- ich bin nicht zuständig das ist die bildungsdirektion und alles hat schon lange die leiterin gekriegt- also es war zäh (.) so gerade weil es nicht stimmig war wer jetzt da zuständig ist und verantwortlich (.)

Von anderen Schulstandorten wird seitens der Studierenden von einem reibungslosen Ablauf mit klaren Vorgaben und einem zuvor kommunizierten organisatorischen Konzept berichtet. Diese Schulstandorte sind eindeutig in der Überzahl. Die Unterstützung und Begleitung seitens der Schulleitungspersonen wird von den Studierenden sehr geschätzt und positiv bewertet und kann als Schlüsselfaktor für eine gelingende organisatorische Bewältigung der für die Studierenden sehr herausfordernden und neuen Situation gewertet werden. Dies kommt stellvertretend in folgendem Zitat zum Ausdruck:

> 2_ST3: also wir waren in xxx (Name einer Ortsgemeinde) und das war super (.) weil uns hat die direktorin sehr sehr unterstützt [...] jegliche unterstützung seitens der direktorin bekommen (.) sie hat hin und wieder einmal kurz hereingeschaut in die klasse (.) aber hat uns eigentlich machen lassen (.) was auch voll fein war (.)

Die größte Herausforderung in diesem Prozess war, dass in den Institutionen, die die Sommerschule initiierten und organisierten, aufgrund der Coronasituation rasch entschieden und gehandelt werden musste. Die Akteur*innen konnten nicht auf jahrelang erprobte und gereifte Konzepte und Szenarien zurückgreifen. Aus Sicht der Studierenden erscheint die Zusammenarbeit der verschiedenen Einrichtungen ausbaufähig. Damit in Zukunft mehr Lehramtsstudierende für die Sommerschule angeworben werden können, sind strukturelle Verbesserungen im Hinblick auf die Zusammenarbeit der Kooperationspartner und eine verlässlichere und transparentere Kommunikation aller Beteiligten wünschenswert.

Personenbezogene Kriterien

Der persönliche Lernfortschritt im methodisch-didaktischen Bereich wird von allen Studierenden durchgängig sehr positiv bewertet. Die bewusste Wahrnehmung und Erfahrung von Selbstwirksamkeit im Rahmen der Sommerschule kann in diesem Zusammenhang zentral herausgestrichen werden. Das Sich-Erproben als Lehrperson und die Übernahme von Verantwortung für die Lernenden in einem Freiraum, den die Sommerschule konträr zu regulären Praktika bietet, wird von allen Studierenden ausschließlich als sehr positive Erfahrung gewertet, die sie mit Stolz erfüllt. Ebenso birgt der konzeptionelle Freiraum, den das Sommerschulkonzept den Studierenden auf inhaltlicher und methodisch-didaktischer Ebene bietet, ein hohes Motivationspotential in sich und wirkt selbstwertstärkend auf die Studierenden. Hier werden von den Studierenden Vergleiche zu traditionellen Tages- und Blockpraktika gezogen und der Mehrwert der Erfahrungen und des Ausprobierens neuer didaktischer Ansätze in der Sommerschule durchgängig positiv hervorgehoben. Im folgenden Zitat einer*s Studierenden kommt dies sehr treffend zum Ausdruck und steht stellvertretend für eine Erfahrung, die durchgängig von allen Studierenden geteilt wird:

> 1_ST3: und das hat mir so gefallen (.) dass man die inhalte auch so frei wählen hat dürfen und wie man den unterricht gestaltet (.) da habe ich so viel gelernt und wirklich einen ganzen tag einmal in einer klasse stehen und unterrichten und das für zwei wochen (.) in

> der art und weise war für mich der hammer- (.) da habe ich so viel gelernt und es hat mir auch voll spaß gemacht und ich habe auch voll selbstbewusstsein im unterrichten gekriegt (.)

Nicht nur für sich in der Rolle als Lehrperson, sondern auch für die mehrsprachigen Lernenden orten die Studierenden im Setting der Sommerschule einen geschützten Raum. Bereits nach dieser doch kurzen Phase der Sommerschule nehmen sie Lernfortschritte in einzelnen Bereichen der Deutschkompetenz bei den Lernenden wahr. Möglicherweise erlaubt gerade eine neue Lernumgebung und eine neue Lerngruppe den Schüler*innen, sich unbefangener in der Unterrichtssprache zu erproben, als dies im regulären Schulalltag wahrgenommen wird. Diese Wahrnehmung der Studierenden stützt sich auf Erfahrungen aus bisherigen Unterrichtspraktika.

Aus einer Gruppendiskussion geht hervor, dass die Studierenden eine doch nicht unerhebliche Leerstelle im Bereich spezifischer und gezielter Deutsch-als-Zweitsprachendidaktik und sprachbewusster Unterrichtsgestaltung im Rahmen der begleitenden Lehrveranstaltung identifizieren. Diese Leerstelle wird von den Studierenden im vierten Studiensemester in ihrem bis dato erworbenen Fachwissen im Regelstudium und in der begleitenden Lehrveranstaltung gesehen.

Dies kommt in der folgenden Aussage einer*s Studierenden des vierten Semesters zum Ausdruck:

> 1_ST4: wir sind bei der durchführung der sommerschule auch draufgekommen- (.) dass wir relativ wenig zu dem daz spezifischen bereich gemacht haben- (.) also auf was du jetzt genau acht geben musst- wie du ein arbeitsblatt sprachsensibel aufbereitest (.) und mit den kindern besprichst und so und ich finde (.) da hätten wir eigentlich schon noch viel mehr dazu lernen können (.) auf das ist man nicht eingegangen (.)

Diese in den Gruppendiskussionen identifizierte und zum Ausdruck gebrachte persönliche und strukturelle Leerstelle im fachdidaktischen Bereich der spezifischen Deutsch-als-Zweitsprachendidaktik soll für die Entwicklung und Überarbeitung der Lehrveranstaltungen für das Sommerschulkonzept 2021 aufgegriffen und in eine erweiterte Neukonzeption miteinbezogen werden. Eine zielgerichtete Anpassung der Inhalte der Lehrveranstaltung an die Bedarfe, die die Studierenden im Rahmen dieser Evaluationsforschung zum Ausdruck gebracht haben, soll die Wirksamkeit in dieser Hinsicht erhöhen.

Nachfolgende Ausführungen im nächsten Abschnitt zeigen exemplarisch, wie eine vertiefte fachdidaktische Auseinandersetzung im Grammatikbereich aussehen kann. Mit der Fokussierung auf den Genuserwerb wird ein dominierendes Thema aufgegriffen, das für die Studierenden aus dem Regelstudium aber nicht neu ist: Wir möchten sie befähigen, auf ihr erworbenes Wissen zum Spracherwerb zuzugreifen und entlang einer Lernerprogression – quasi als Hintergrundfolie – Sprachthemen einzuordnen, zunehmend selbst didaktisch aufzubereiten und zur Verfügung stehende vorhandene Unterrichtsmittel gezielt auszuwählen. Eine gemeinsame Suche nach attraktiven Kontexten für das Sprachlernen im Lernsetting Sommerschule kann das Ganze abrunden.

Ausblick – Schaffen einer didaktischen Konzeption zum systematischen Erwerb der Nominalphrase

Artikelfehler bei mehrsprachigen Kindern begegnen uns in allen Schulstufen, sodass Studierende bereits nach den ersten Kontakten in der Schulpraxis mit Fragen nach einer geeigneten didaktischen Intervention kommen. Mit den vorliegenden Ausführungen soll ein didaktischer Leitfaden für diesen Lernbereich zur Diskussion gestellt werden, der förderdiagnostischen Charakter aufweist. Die heterogenen Lernstände von Schüler*innen, sei es in Klassen oder in der Sommerschule, lassen sich darin verorten und anstehende Lernschritte werden sichtbar. Ausgewählte didaktische Beispiele runden die Ausführung ab.

Sprachliche Fähigkeiten von Kindern sind ein Spiegelbild der Lernumgebung

Das umfängliche Erlernen einer Sprache ist kein Kinderspiel. Die familiäre Umgebung und vorschulische Kinderbetreuungseinrichtungen sind hier

intensiv gefordert. Nach Schätzungen weisen heute ca. ein Drittel der Schulanfänger sprachliche Defizite auf (news4teachers, 2017). Wie wir schon länger wissen, bieten Eltern mit höherem Bildungsgrad ihren Kindern bessere sprachliche Anregungen als Eltern mit geringer Schulbildung. Kommt Mehrsprachigkeit dazu, erhöht sich der Anspruch an die Umgebung dramatisch. Die Familiensprache *sollte* – meist ganz ohne institutionelle Unterstützung (!) – weiter ausgebaut *und* die neue Sprache möglichst schnell auf bildungssprachlichem Niveau gelernt werden.

Der Erwerb jeder Sprache wird maßgeblich beeinflusst von Beginn, Dauer und Qualität des Sprachkontakts sowie den Sprachlernerfahrungen mit der Erstsprache. Fakt in Bezug auf unsere mehrsprachigen Kinder ist: Die Sprachlernsituation ganz vieler mehrsprachiger Kinder ist suboptimal. Suboptimal in Bezug auf den Ausbau der Erstsprache und suboptimal in Bezug auf die Lernsituation in der Zweitsprache. Die meisten dieser Kinder erwerben im Kindergarten zwar rasch alltagssprachliche Kommunikationsfähigkeit in Deutsch, aber im letzten Kindergartenjahr bleiben sie häufig stehen (Penner, 2005). Diese Stagnationen entstehen, weil attraktive Lernsituationen zum Erwerb der Bildungssprache nicht ausreichen oder fehlen. Je weniger das familiäre Umfeld hier zu leisten imstande ist, umso größer wird die Aufgabe für die Schule im Sinn eines gesamtgesellschaftlichen Auftrags zum Ausgleich von Benachteiligung.

Der deutsche Genuserwerb bei Kindern mit einer anderen Erstsprache

Alle Bestrebungen, den Erwerbsverlauf von Deutsch als Zweitsprache zeitlich zu erfassen, erfolgen über Beobachtungen von Kindern in dieser – mehrheitlich suboptimalen – Lernsituation und sind nur grobe Schätzungen. Kinder mit extrem günstigen Lernbedingungen (z.B. von Eltern mit hohem Bildungsgrad, in mehrsprachigen Kindergärten und Schulen) zeigen ganz andere Erwerbsverläufe und werden in Folge eher mit dem Attribut „bilingual" versehen.

Selbst bei frühem Sprachlernbeginn (mit 3-4 Jahren) und institutionalisierter Unterstützung im Kindergarten stellt der Genuserwerb im Deutschen eine sehr komplexe Aufgabe dar und ist bis Schuleintritt noch lange nicht abgeschlossen (Kaltenbacher & Klages, 2007; Müller, 2014; Grimm & Karas, 2014).

Phasen der Genus- und Kasusentwicklung:

Phase 1: Fehlen jeglicher Genusmarkierung (keine Artikel, keine Pronomen)

Phase 2: Artikel *der* u/o *die* tauchen auf und dienen aber nicht der Genusmarkierung, sondern sind Ausdruck von bestimmter oder unbestimmter Referenz. (**Der* Frau will **ein* Kuchen nehmen) Pronomen für Subjekte tauchen auf. (**Sie* nix Geld.)

Phase 3: Jetzt erkennen viele Kinder e-Formen als typisch für die und sie (**die Junge*), Einsilber dagegen als typisch für der (**der Frau*, **der Kind*), auch als *Schwa-e-Regel* und *Einsilber-Prinzip* bezeichnet.

Die Übergeneralisierung von ein als unbestimmter Artikel ist typisch. Artikel haben noch immer die Funktion, bestimmte oder unbestimmte Referenz anzuzeigen (*die* Tasche / **ein* Tasche, in der weiteren Verwendung **er* oder **sie* noch ohne Kongruenz).

Phase 4: Fortschritt im Kasuserwerb – Subjekte und Objekte werden unterschieden und z.B. Objekte durchgängig mit einem anderen Artikel (meist **den*) markiert. Zunehmend mehr korrekte Akkusative und auch Dativformen tauchen auf.

Die *Phasen 1-4* werden im frühen Zweitspracherwerb relativ zügig durchlaufen, sodass nach 10 bis 18 Kontaktmonaten in der Regel ein zweigliedriges Kasussystem aufgebaut ist (Subjekte und Objekte werden unterschieden, wenn auch nicht unbedingt korrekt markiert!). Hier stehen viele Kinder bei Schuleintritt.

Phase 5: Genus als grammatische Kategorie wird allmählich erkannt und das Natürliche-Geschlechts-Prinzip *(NGP)* zur Genuszuweisung angewendet. Die Klassifikation eines Substantivs als m/w wird jetzt über mehrere Sätze hinweg kongruent beibehalten (ein Hund – der Hund – den/dem Hund – er/ihn/ihm).

Die *dritte Genuskategorie (das)* wird nun ebenfalls aufgebaut. Jetzt zeigt sich auch in der Verwendung der Pronomina die Fähigkeit, sie zunehmend richtig aufzulösen, indem Genus, Kasus und Numerus Berücksichtigung finden. Sowohl Subjekte als auch Objekte können damit gemeint sein. Diese Erwerbsphase wird häufig erst nach ca. 7 Jahren Sprachkontakt im Alter von 9 Jahren erreicht (Klages & Gerwien, 2014, S. 94).

Bemerkenswert für diesen doch recht mühsamen und langwierigen Erwerbsverlauf der Nominalphrase ist die Tatsache, dass Lerner*innen aus den Artikeln erst dann das Genus eines Substantivs erschließen können, wenn sie die Funktion der Markierung von Kasus und Numerus verstanden haben (*die Schule*, aber *in der Schule* und *die Bücher*). Das braucht Zeit und viele korrekte Hinweise. Reichhaltiger Input, der zusätzlich dem Aufbau der Satzstruktur dient, liefert solche Hinweise. Diese Erkenntnis ist für die Didaktik zentral:

> Dies hat für den Unterricht mit mehrsprachigen Kindern zunächst die Konsequenz, dass die sehr verbreiteten Übungen zur Artikelzuordnung ohne die Verknüpfung mit den Funktionen des Kasus vermutlich nicht besonders hilfreich sind, da die Bedeutung des Artikels bzw. Determinators in diesen isolierten Übungen für die Kinder nicht transparent ist. (Jeuk, 2008, S. 147)

Lernschritt I: Die Satzstruktur ist Ausgangspunkt für den Genuserwerb

Die Genusentwicklung hängt mit der Entwicklung des Satzbaus eng zusammen. In lernersprachlichen Äußerungen ohne Artikel ist die Reihung der Wörter entscheidend: Subjekt vor Objekt. Mit Erwerb der V2-Stellung und Verbflexion zeigen Lerner*innen an, dass sie die unterschiedliche Bedeutung von Subjekt und Objekt erfasst haben und zunehmend beginnen, Objekte anders als Subjekte zu markieren.

Der Erwerb vom einfachen Satz (mit SPO) über Klammerstrukturen bis zum Anwenden der Inversion verläuft sehr unterschiedlich schnell, ganz stark abhängig vom sprachlichen Umfeld. Literarischer Input, wiederholt angeboten, bietet ideale Lernchancen. Erfolgreiche Lerner*innen im Bereich des Satzbaus zeigen früher ein zweigliedriges Genussystem (Kaltenbacher et al., 2010, S. 46):

- Artikel *die* nach dem Schwa-e-Prinzip (*die Schere, die Birne, die Sonne, die *Junge*)
- Artikel der nach dem Einsilberprinzip (übergeneralisierend auf viele sächliche Nomen – *der Tisch, der Kopf, der *Kind, der* Blatt*)

Akkusativformen für Objekte (meist übergeneralisierend *den*) und für Dative tauchen jetzt auf **(Phase 4)**. Nach wie vor inkorrekte Genuszuweisungen und mangelnde Kohärenz im Diskursverlauf verstellen hier oft den Blick auf den wirklichen Lernfortschritt:

> **Die* Löwe hat **den* Maus gesehen. **Er* hat *sie *gefresst.*

Das Subjekt (Löwe) ist phonologisch ein weibliches Wort, erhält deshalb den Artikel *die, das Akkusativobjekt (Maus) wird hier obligat mit dem Akkusativmarker *den versehen. Der zweite Satz beginnt mit einem Pronomen, das sich auf dieser Lernerstufe, unabhängig von der Form (er oder sie), immer auf das Subjekt bezieht. In der rechten Verbklammerposition finden wir eine übergeneralisierte, d.h. regelhaft gebildete Form des Partizip II. Wunderbar regelhaft gelernt!

Genuserwerb im Kindergarten?

Kaltenbacher et al. (2010) berichten aus einer erfolgreichen Studie mit 51 Kindergartenkindern, die über 2 Jahre hindurch gezielte Sprachförderung in Kleingruppen im Umfang von wöchentlich ca. 3-4 Stunden von geschulten Kräften mit diesen Förderschwerpunkten erhielten. Von diesen Kindern erreichten 85 Prozent am Ende des 2. Förderjahres ein zwei- oder dreigliedriges Genussystem und ein zweigliedriges Kasussystem. Der Einstieg in den Dativerwerb zeigte sich zudem bei einem Großteil der Kinder.

Der hohe Aufwand, mit dem dieses Ergebnis in der Studie von Kaltenbacher et al. (2010) erzielt wurde, belegt, wie herausfordernd dieser Lernbereich ist, insbesondere für sozioökonomisch benachteiligte Kinder. Montanari (2012) berichtet in ihrer Studie von 17 6-Jährigen, die nach einer Kontaktdauer mit Deutsch von mindestens 3 Jahren (inklusive Sprachförderung in Kleingruppen) untersucht wurden. Hier zeigten nur 3 Kinder ein Genussystem.

Sie bringt im Kontext des Genuserwerbs aber auch die Problematik einer unzureichend beherrschten Familiensprache Deutsch ins Spiel. Dieser familiensprachliche Input auf niedrigem Niveau wirkt sich in diesem Fall hemmend auf den Genuserwerb aus. Kinder aus Familien mit ausschließlich L1 als Familiensprache oder aus Familien mit einem hohen Niveau in Deutsch als L2 zeigten sich erfolgreicher.

Lernschritt II: Das Natürliche-Geschlechts-Prinzip und die Herstellung von Kohärenz

Für den*die Lerner*in müssen zwingend beide Funktionen von Genus ins Spiel kommen: Die Gewährleistung von Referenz (Wer ist Subjekt?) und Kohärenz (Auf wen nehme ich Bezug?), sobald sprachliche Handlungen über Satzgrenzen hinweg beschrieben werden. Nur eine von diesen Funktionen ausgehende Sichtweise liefert letztendlich klare Hinweise zum Genuserwerb: Mehrere Lexeme, die sich auf dasselbe Substantiv beziehen (vorwiegend Artikel und Pronomen), erfüllen im Diskurs gemeinsam die Aufgabe, das Genus des Substantivs anzuzeigen. Je besser Kinder längere diskursive Passagen verarbeiten können, je klarer der Kasus beherrscht wird, desto zahlreicher und stimmiger sind die Genushinweise, die sie aus dem Diskurs entnehmen können. Solange Kinder Probleme mit der Kongruenz in ihren Äußerungen haben, so lange sind auch Genusprobleme selbst bei häufigen Substantiven zu beobachten (Montanari, 2012, S. 26). Aus dieser Perspektive ist ein Artikeltraining im Nominativ wenig zielführend.

In Bezug auf die frühe Verwendung von Pronomen gilt, dass 5-jährige Kinder mit Deutsch als L1 und 5-jährige Kinder mit Deutsch als L2 in der gleichen Weise Pronomen entschlüsseln: Als Referenz für das Pronomen gilt in erster Linie das Subjekt oder der erstgenannte Ausdruck des vorausgegangenen Satzes. Kinder mit Deutsch als L1 haben allerdings das Genus etwa im Alter von 3 Jahren erworben und lernen in Bezug auf Pronomen rasch die Koordinierung mehrerer Hinweise, können also Genus, Numerus, Verbform und semantische Informationen im vorangegangenen Diskurs in Zusammenhang bringen. Ihre Lernerhypothese erweitert sich und 7-Jährige wissen also bereits, dass Pronomen sich sowohl auf das Subjekt als auch auf das Objekt im vorausgegangenen Satz beziehen können. Damit sind sie mehrsprachigen Kindern im Sprachverständnis längere Zeit überlegen.

Für mehrsprachige Kinder stellt sich dieser Entwicklungsschritt erst viel später ein: Sie beginnen ohne gezielte Unterstützung erst mit 9 Jahren (!) damit, den vorausgegangenen Diskurs für die Pronomenauflösung zu nutzen. Ein Nachteil, der sich im Umgang mit bildungssprachlichen Texten auf das schulische Fortkommen in allen Lerngegenständen auswirkt. Als didaktische Implikationen empfehlen die Autor*innen, verstärkt Kontexte mit Pronomen – zu Beginn mit Bezügen zum Subjekt, später dann auch zum Objekt – in der Förderung vorzusehen, wobei der Fokus auf dem Merkmal Genus liegen soll (Klages & Gerwien, 2014, S. 96).

Als gezielte Unterstützung beim Einstieg in das Natürliche-Geschlechts-Prinzip mit Einhaltung von Kohärenz im Diskursverlauf bietet sich bereits zu einem frühen Zeitpunkt der Themenkreis Familie an. Ohne Reduzierung auf einzelne Formen wird das gesamte Paradigma in sinnvollen Zusammenhängen präsentiert und angewendet:

> *der Opa, der Vater, der Bruder – ein Opa /den Opa /dem Opa /er /ihn /ihm /sein*
>
> *die Mutter, die Tante, die Schwester – eine Mutter /der Mutter /sie /ihr*

Dialekt bzw. Alltagssprache mischen hier beim Erwerb mit und zeigen mitunter klar auf, welcher Einfluss stärker ist. Das Primat der Mündlichkeit – auch in der Schule (!) – und mangelnde Routine in der Bildungssprache nach 5 Schuljahren sind keine Seltenheit: „Ayse seine T-Shirt farbe ist blau“ (E., 11 Jahre, Sommerschule 2020).

Die Rolle der Schule: Kognitiv anregendes Sprachlernen fördern unter Nutzung von Schrift

Genus als Kategorie ist also bei vielen mehrsprachigen Kindern im Schulalter noch nicht erworben. Der Schule kommt jetzt eine zentrale und aktive Rolle beim Sprachlernen zu.

Nach allem, was wir bisher wissen, wird der Ausbau der Sprache im schulischen Kontext zunehmend kognitiv gesteuert. Die entscheidende Frage

ist, wie Wissen adaptiv aufgebaut und mit bereits bestehendem Wissen verbunden wird. Schuhmacher & Stern (2018) sprechen in diesem Zusammenhang von „verstehendem Lernen" und betonen, dass schulische Lerngelegenheiten nur dann ihre Wirkung entfalten können, wenn sie den Schülern Gelegenheit geben, ihr bereits vorhandenes Wissen – auch wenn es fehlerhaft ist – zu aktivieren: „Wer erfolgreich lehren will, muss herausfinden, ob der Fehler eines Schülers auf mangelnde Routine oder auf ein tiefgreifendes konzeptuelles Missverständnis zurückzuführen ist" (Schuhmacher & Stern, 2018, S. 171).

Dies gilt auch in Bezug auf den verzögerten Erwerb des „Natürliches-Geschlechts-Prinzips" bei älteren Lerner*innen. Für den Aufbau von „intelligentem Wissen", das auch für die Übertragung in neue Situationen taugt, benötigt es zwei Schritte:

- 1. Schritt: Lehrperson identifiziert und diagnostiziert das Lernproblem und macht dem Kind das Problem bewusst bzw. was es noch nicht verstanden hat.
- 2. Schritt: Das „Grundproblem", in unserem Fall die Sinnhaftigkeit unterschiedlicher Genera als ein inhärentes Merkmal von Nomen im Deutschen muss bewusst werden. Dies muss das Kind über altersangemessene Lernaufgaben *selbst* herausfinden.

die Maus Er ist schneller als sie. Wer ist das?
der Hase Warum weißt du das?
das Reh Welche Hilfe gibt dir der Artikel?

der Mann Es spielt mit ihm. Wer spielt mit wem?
die Frau Sie begrüßt es. Wer begrüßt wen?
das Kind Warum weißt du das?

Schumacher und Stern (2018) haben im Bereich MINT zu kognitiv aktivierenden Lernformen geforscht und festgestellt, dass sich mit kleinen Veränderungen oft lernwirksame Effekte erzielen lassen. Durch das Bearbeiten von im Kern ähnlich gelagerten Fällen sollen die Schüler*innen selbst eine realistische Chance bekommen, Lösungsvorschläge zu formulieren, bevor ihnen das grammatische Konzept vorgestellt wird. Dieses Vorgehen wird als „Erfinden mit kontrastierenden Fällen" (Schumacher & Stern, 2018, S. 173) bezeichnet und erweist sich als wesentlich lernwirksamer und befähigt anschließend zu besseren Transferleistungen als herkömmliche Erarbeitung und anschließendes Üben.

Erster Schritt: Welche *Formen **eines** Genusparadigmas* gehören zusammen? Familienthema, Rollenspiele, Handlungen, Sachunterrichtsthemen, Sprachspiele, literarische Texte liefern geeignete Kontexte. *Schriftgestütztes Vorgehen* ist zwingend und bietet die ungewohnten Sprachformen zur längerfristigen Betrachtung und Regelableitung an.

Der Hase mit den himmelblauen Ohren
Es war einmal ein kleiner Hase
mit himmelblauen Ohren.
Als er merkte,
dass die Ohren der anderen Hasen
nicht die gleiche Farbe hatten,
fing er sich an zu schämen.....
(Auszug, Bollinger, 2014)

Zweiter Schritt: Zusammengehörige Formen ***zweier*** Genusparadigmen sollen jetzt kontrastiv erkannt und in Diskursen zunehmend Kohärenz eingehalten werden. Die Pronomen beziehen sich vorwiegend auf das Subjekt. Die zusammengehörigen Formen eines Paradigmas in Texten müssen mehrfach gelesen, mit Farben markiert und besprochen werden. In eigenen Paralleltexten kann dann das Gelernte übernommen werden:

Die dumme Augustine
Jeden Tag tritt der dumme August
im Zirkus auf. Er läuft auf den Händen,
er reitet auf dem Esel, er macht Musik.
Manchmal ..... stolpert er über die
eigenen Füße und fällt auf die Nase...

[Die dumme Augustine] ist auf den
Händen gelaufen, sie ist auf dem Esel
geritten, sie hat Musik gemacht und
zwischendurch ist sie immer wieder
über die eigenen Füße gestolpert
und auf die Nase gefallen. ...
„Donnerwetter, die kann das aber!
Hätten sie ihr das zugetraut?".....
(Auszug, Preußler, 1972)

Tabelle 1: Ein Curriculum für den schulischen Genuserwerb.

Phase	Aufgaben für die Lerner*innen	Didaktische Hinweise
Genus Phasen 1–4	*Erwerb der Satzstruktur:* *SPO – Sätze* mit richtig abgewandeltem finiten Verb *Verbklammern* – mit Perfekt – mit Partikelverben – mit Modalverben *Inversionen*	– Verbabwandlung visualisieren – mit Satzgliedern arbeiten: z.B. Präpositionalgruppen als Ganzes (an Land / in der Luft / im Wasser) – NGP mit Familienmitgliedern: Artikel und Personalpronomen zuordnen für Subjekte – NGP erweitern (ein schnelles rotes Auto) und Endungen markieren – Partikelverben auseinanderschneiden und zusammensetzen
Phase 5	*Verbendstellung in Gliedsätzen* *Erwerb des NGP im zeitlichen Verlauf* – Zusammengehörige Formen *eines Genusparadigmas* erkennen – Kohärenz herstellen mit *Pronomen für Subjekte* – Zusammengehörige Formen *zweier Genusparadigmen* kontrastiv erkennen – Kohärenz herstellen mit *Pronomen für Subjekte* – *Pronomen für Objekte und mehrdeutige Kontexte* durch Einbezug weiterer Informationen (Numerus, Verbform, semantische Informationen) einsetzen	– Variation und Ausbau der Satzmuster – Subjekt-Verb-Zusammenhang und Positionierungen im Satz – Argumentieren – Begründen – Erklären mit geeigneten Mustern lernen – Ver*bend*stellung gehäuft anbieten (z.B. Auswahlantworten …) *Didaktische Angebote für den impliziten und expliziten Erwerb* *Genus der Familienmitglieder:* der Vater – den Vater – dem Vater – er – ihn – ihm – sein / der Onkel, der Opa, der Bruder… die Mutter – die Mutter – der Mutter – sie – ihr – ihr (nicht seine!) / die Oma, die Tante, die Schwester – sächlicher Artikel: Verwendung von „das" als Artikel (bisher häufig als Hinweiswort!) das Mädchen/das Baby – dem Baby – es – ihm – sein/seine/seinen *Genus als „inhärentes Merkmal" von Nomen als „Kategorie"* – der Frosch – ein Frosch – den Frosch – dem Frosch – er – ihn – ihm – die Kaulquappe – eine Kaulquappe – der Kaulquappe – sie – ihr Der Junge gibt dem Affen eine Banane. Das ist sein Lieblingsfutter.
Didaktische Grundsätze: Schriftgestützt arbeiten und Feldermodell verwenden! Verknüpfungen mit geeigneten literarischen Angeboten suchen.		

Mangelnder *Routine* muss mit sinnvollen Lernaufgaben begegnet werden, in denen bekannte Themen (Kohärenz aufrecht zu erhalten mittels Personalpronomen) in neue Herausforderungen – z.B. ein „Sommerschul-Projekt" – verpackt sind.

Auch Sprachspiele sind hier eine sehr gute Möglichkeit, Kinder auf unterschiedlichen Erwerbsstufen mit dieser Thematik kreativ Erfahrungen sammeln zu lassen und herzeigbare Produkte zu gestalten (Belke & Belke, 2020). Durch die generative Fortführung eines Musters kommt es zur Vertrautheit mit korrekten Formen, was eine implizite Regelableitung ermöglicht, hier in Bezug auf die zu den Nominalphrasen zugehörigen Pronomen. Unterschiedliche Schwierigkeitsgrade sind möglich:

> ***Der kleine Affe*** *hat auch schon*
> *zuhause ein eigenes Telefon.*
> *Rufst du* ***ihn*** *an,*
> *sagt* ***er*** *sofort:*
> *Hier ist der Affe,*
> *wer spricht dort?*
> *Wie lesen hier auf diesem Blatt,*
> *wie gern* ***er*** *unseren Anruf hat.*
>
> ***Die kleine Ziege*** *hat auch schon*
> *zuhause ein eigenes Telefon.*
> *Rufst du* ***sie*** *an,*
> *sagt* ***sie*** *sofort:*
> *Hier ist* ***die Ziege****,*
> *wer spricht dort?*
> *Wir lesen hier auf diesem Blatt,*
> *wie gern* ***sie*** *unseren Anruf hat.*
> *(mündliche Überlieferung)*

Etwas anspruchsvoller ist das folgende Sprachspiel, weil es nicht innerhalb eines Genusparadigmas bleibt. Zudem erfordert es das schwierige weibliche Possessivpronomen „ihr". In einem „Hilfekasten" sind – sortiert nach Genus – Satzglieder zum Austauschen:

> ***Der Prinz*** *las der* ***Prinzessin*** *aus dem*
> *Märchenbuch vor, als* ***sie*** *ihren Ring verlor.*
> *(ihren Kamm, ihren Kaugummi … = ihn)*
> *Auf der vorletzten Seite stand,*
> *wie* ***sie*** *ihn wiederfand.*
>
> ***Der Opa*** *las* ***der Oma*** *aus der Zeitung vor,*
> *als* ***sie*** *ihre Brille verlor.*
> *(ihre Geldtasche, ihre Geduld… = sie)*
> *Auf der vorletzten Seite stand,*
> *wie* ***sie*** *sie wiederfand.*
> ***Ömer*** *las Ayse aus dem Busplan vor,*
> *als sie ihr Handy verlor.*
> *(ihr Herz, ihr Piercing, ihr Ticket…= es)*
> *Auf der vorletzten Seite stand,*
> *wie* ***sie*** *es wiederfand.*
> *(Sprachspiel in Anlehnung an Frantz Wittkamp)*

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Inklusiver Unterricht und Standardisierung, Herausforderung für die Lehrer*innenbildung: Eine Mixed-Methods Studie zu relevanten Einstellungen und Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen

Petra Hecht & Christoph Weber

This article is devoted to teachers' attitudes and self-efficacy beliefs as well as their subjective norms about inclusion. They are anchored in the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) as predictors of willingness to teach inclusive classes. Based on a longitudinal study of the teacher training colleges (Pädagogische Hochschulen) of Upper Austria and Vorarlberg, findings on the development of attitudes and self-efficacy beliefs are reviewed. The longitudinal study is complemented by an analysis from group discussions, addressing teachers' subjective norms. The analysis shows that teachers are confronted with contradictions in everyday school life due to systemic demands, which lead to major challenges in the implementation of an inclusive school.

Der Artikel widmet sich den Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen und Einstellungen sowie den subjektiven Normen von Lehrpersonen zur Inklusion. Sie werden im Rahmen der Theory of Planned Behaviour (Theorie des geplanten Verhaltens) als Prädiktoren für die Bereitschaft, in inklusiven Klassen unterrichten zu wollen, betrachtet. Im Beitrag werden Befunde aus einer Längsschnittuntersuchung der Pädagogischen Hochschulen Oberösterreich und Vorarlberg zur Entwicklung der Einstellungen und Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen aufgegriffen. Dabei interessierten sowohl die Änderungen der Einstellungen zur Inklusion im Beruf und die Verläufe der Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen. Die Längsschnittuntersuchung wird durch eine Analyse aus Gruppendiskussionen ergänzt, wobei die subjektiven Normen der Lehrpersonen als weiterer Erklärungsfaktor adressiert werden. Die Analyse zeigt, dass Lehrpersonen durch systembedingte Anforderungen mit Widersprüchen im schulischen Alltag konfrontiert werden, die bei der Umsetzung einer inklusiven Schule zu großen Herausforderungen führen.

Auftakt

Seit der Ratifizierung der UN-Behindertenrechtskonvention im Jahr 2008 verpflichtet sich Österreich zur Umsetzung einer inklusiven Schule, mit dem Ziel, Menschen mit Behinderungen die volle Teilhabe an der Bildung zu erleichtern. Damit kommt Lehrpersonen die zentrale Aufgabe zu, die Vielfalt aller Kinder mit ihren Bedürfnissen derart wertzuschätzen (Faber et al., 2018), dass Partizipation und soziale Teilhabe im Unterricht gewährleistet sind (Krawinkel et al. 2017).

Mit der Neuausrichtung der Lehrer*innenausbildung wird versucht, dieser Forderung nachzukommen (Feyerer, 2018; Holzinger et al., 2019). Inklusionspädagogische Inhalte sind bei der Ausbildung aller Lehrpersonen verbindlich und Schwerpunktsetzungen im Bereich der inklusiven Pädagogik sind verpflichtend anzubieten. Das Lehramt für Sonderschulen gehört damit der Vergangenheit an und eine Vorbereitung auf inklusive Anforderungen wird für sogenannte Regelschullehrkräfte wie auch für Lehrkräfte mit Schwerpunktsetzung enorm wichtig. Im Zuge dieser Reformprozesse interessieren besonders die Einstellungen und Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen (SWK) von Studierenden in Bezug auf die Umsetzung eines inklusiven Unterrichts (Hecht et al., 2016), denen eine zentrale Schlüsselfunktion bei der Etablierung einer inklusiven Schule beigemessen werden (EADSNE, 2010). Sowohl Einstellungen als auch Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen werden daher seit dem Jahr 2011 von den Pädagogischen Hochschulen (PH) Oberösterreich (OÖ) und Vorarlberg (VB) in mehreren Studien aus quantitativer und qualitativer Perspektive untersucht. Der vorliegende Artikel beruht auf den bisherigen Befunden einer quantitativen Längsschnittuntersuchung (Hecht & Weber, 2020) und ergänzt diese durch Ergebnisse aus Gruppendiskussionen mit Lehrpersonen, die im Zuge der Weiterführung des Projekts wiederholt umgesetzt wurden (Hecht et al., 2016).

Theoretische Rahmung

Das Interesse an inklusionsrelevanten Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen und Einstellungen zu Inklusion geht auf ein theoretisches Konzept zur allgemeinen Erklärung von Verhalten zurück. Auf Basis der theoretischen Grundlagen der Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 2005) erfahren die Konstrukte eine umfassende Verankerung für die Vorhersage inklusiven-pädagogischen Handelns (Armitage & Conner, 2001; Sharma & Jacobs, 2016). In diesem Sinne werden im Artikel zugrundeliegenden Forschungsprojekt Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen (Self-Efficacy Beliefs) und Einstellungen (Attitudes) als zentrale Prädiktoren für die Bereitschaft (Intention), in inklusiven Kontexten tätig zu sein, untersucht. Als ein weiterer Aspekt werden auch die subjektiven Normen adressiert. Sie stehen, bezugnehmend auf Ajzen (2005), im Zusammenhang mit der Unterstützung und dem positiven Zuspruch von Personen, die persönlich als relevant wahrgenommen werden. Im vorliegenden Kontext sind es beispielsweise die Schulleitung, Kolleg*innen oder andere Personen des schulischen Umfelds. Zusammen bildet sich aus diesen drei Faktoren, die Bereitschaft (Intention), sich in inklusiven Umgebungen engagieren zu wollen. Im Folgenden wird der aktuelle Forschungsstand zu Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen und Einstellungen aufgezeigt, bevor die Ausgangslage für die vorliegende Untersuchung und die Relevanz der subjektiven Normen erläutert werden.

Internationale Befundlage zu Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen und Einstellungen von Lehrpersonen

Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen im Lehrer*innenberuf

Das Interesse zur Erforschung der Selbstwirksamkeit (SWK) von Lehrpersonen hat eine lange Tradition. Wie Zee und Koomen (2016) in einer Synopse aus den vergangenen vier Jahrzehnten aufzeigen, wurden vielfältige Wirkungen ermittelt. So sorgen selbstwirksame Lehrpersonen für eine hohe Unterrichtsqualität, ein positives Klassenklima und ein effizientes Klassenmanagement. Zudem zeigen sie eine höhere Bereitschaft (Commitment) und Interesse für den Beruf (Geijsel et al., 2009). Auch in Hinblick auf den Schutz vor einem Praxisschock stellten Kim und Cho (2013) Vorteile fest.

Für Ausbildungsinstitutionen ist daher interessant, inwiefern das Studium zu einer nachhaltigen Stärkung von Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen beitragen kann. Die Befunde dazu sind nicht eindeutig: Es zeigten sich in Abhängigkeit des Studiensemesters und des Ausbildungsgrades höhere Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen (Schulte et al., 2008), es werden aber auch Schwankungen in Praxisphasen (Klassen & Durksen, 2014) oder Rückgänge im Berufseinstieg beschrieben (Bandura, 1997; Woolfolk Hoy & Spero, 2005). Überhaupt zeigten sich negative Zusammenhänge zwischen SWK und beruflicher Erfahrung (Lauermann & König; 2016), es wird aber auch von kurvilinearen Zusammenhängen berichtet, die mit Beginn der Karriere anstiegen und sich mit zunehmender Berufserfahrung wieder verringerten (Klassen & Chiu; 2010). Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen von Lehrpersonen sind somit nicht statisch, sondern verändern sich über die Zeit.

Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen in inklusiven Kontexten und ihre Bedeutung für inklusive Einstellungen

Die Bedeutung von Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen für inklusive Kontexte, ergibt sich u.a. aus Befunden, die aufzeigen, dass selbstwirksame Lehrpersonen Schüler*innen ausdauernder unterstützen, offener gegenüber neuen Ideen sind, einen hohen Einsatz zeigen und eher bereit sind, neue Methoden einzusetzen, um die Bedarfe der Schüler*innen gezielt aufzugreifen (Bandura, 1997; Tschannen-Moran & Wolfolk-Hoy, 2001; Romi & Leyser, 2007). Ferner zeigt sich, dass Lehrpersonen, die Erfahrungen im gemeinsamen Unterricht von Kindern mit und ohne besondere Bedürfnisse haben, höhere Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen und auch positivere Einstellungen zu einer inklusiven Schule aufweisen als Lehrpersonen ohne diese Erfahrung (Hellmich & Görel, 2014). Inklusionsrelevante Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen werden daher als zentrale Drehschrauben im Zusammenhang mit den Ein-

stellungen von Lehrpersonen zur Inklusion untersucht (Savolainen et al., 2020). Dies ist u.a. in der Annahme begründet, dass Lehrpersonen mit hohen Kompetenzerwartungen bzw. einem starken Vertrauen in die eigenen Fähigkeiten im Umgang mit einer vielfältigen Schüler*innenschaft, auch positive Einstellungen zeigen und damit eine Teilhabe von Kindern in Regelschulen eher begrüßen. Malinen et al. (2012) haben überzeugend aufgezeigt, dass es sich dabei um eine Frage der Handhabbarkeit und weniger um die Frage nach der richtigen Einstellung handelt. Zusammenfassend verdichteten sich die Belege, die weitgehend auf Querschnittsdaten basieren, dass Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen die Einstellungen zur Inklusion prädizieren bzw. zusammen mit den Einstellungen die positive Bereitschaft zu inklusivem Unterricht vorhersagen (Ahmmed et al., 2014; Schüle et al., 2016; Hellmich & Görel, 2014; Malinen et al., 2012, Yada et al., 2018).

Befundlage zu Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen und Einstellungen von Lehrpersonen an den Pädagogischen Hochschulen Oberösterreich und Vorarlberg

Quantitative Befunde

Nachdem bisher zumeist Querschnittsstudien oder Längsschnittuntersuchungen mit wenigen Messzeitpunkten vorliegen (Klassen & Durksen, 2014; Bosse et al., 2016), leistet die mehrjährige Studie der Pädagogischen Hochschule Oberösterreich (PHOOE) und der Pädagogischen Hochschule Vorarlberg (PHV) einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Aufklärung und zum Verlauf von Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen, wie auch zu den inklusionsrelevanten Einstellungen vom Beginn der Ausbildung bis in den Beruf (Hecht & Weber, 2020). Auf Basis von mehreren unabhängigen Stichproben wurde es möglich, die Entwicklung der Konstrukte von Beginn der Ausbildung bis ins frühe Berufsleben in den Blick zu nehmen (siehe Hecht & Weber, 2020). Die Untersuchung fällt darüber hinaus mit zentralen Befunden auf, die zum Teil bisherigen Annahmen entgegenstehen (Hecht & Weber, 2020). Es zeigt sich, dass (1) die Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen im Verlauf vom Studium zum Beruf ansteigen, was für die inklusionsrelevanten Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen in Bezug auf eine individualisierende Unterrichtsgestaltung und die Fähigkeit zur interdisziplinären Kooperation signifikant ist. Für den Verlauf der Einstellungen wird deutlich, dass die Einstellungen zwar vom Beginn der Ausbildung bis in den Beruf eine signifikant positive Entwicklung durchlaufen, die positiven Einstellungen zur Inklusion im Berufseinstieg aber wieder rückläufig sind. Für die Zusammenhänge der Variablen über den zeitlichen Verlauf (2) ergaben sich ferner – und konform mit anderen Autor*innen (Bosse et al., 2016) – hohe Autokorrelationen, was die untersuchten Variablen insgesamt als stabile Konstrukte ausweist. Allerdings zeigten sich diametral zu den bisherigen Forschungsbefunden (Malinen et al., 2012; Savolainen et al., 2020), dass zeitverzögerte Effekte nicht wie erwartet von den Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen zu den Einstellungen, sondern ausschließlich von den Einstellungen zu den Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen ermittelt werden konnten. Zusammenfassend wurde über die Zeit hinweg deutlich, dass Studierende, die vormals negative Einstellungen zeigten, auch später weniger selbstwirksam in Bezug auf die interdisziplinäre Kooperation und auch in Bezug auf die individualisierende Unterrichtsgestaltung waren. Diese Ergebnisse stehen somit der bisherigen Annahme entgegen, wonach Studierende mit hohen Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen auch positive Einstellungen entwickeln.

Fragestellung und Methode

Das Argument, dass die Stärkung positiver Kompetenzerwartungen in der Ausbildung zu inklusionsbefürwortenden Einstellungen führt (Malinen et al., 2012) muss auf Basis der vorliegenden österreichischen Ergebnisse überdacht werden. Die Längsschnittstudie wirft somit Fragen auf, die erstens für Ausbildungsinstitutionen und zweitens für die inklusive Unterrichtsentwicklung an den Schulen von Bedeutung sind. Vor allem der Faktor der Unterstützung aus dem schulischen Umfeld, der im Rahmen der Theorie des geplanten Verhaltens einen Prädiktor für die Intention, inklusiv unterrichten zu wollen, darstellt, scheint in Bezug auf den Rückgang

inklusionsrelevanten Einstellungen im Beruf von besonderem Interesse. Diese Fragen sollten im Rahmen der Studie in Form von Gruppendiskussionen geklärt werden:

1. In welcher Art und Weise kommt es dazu, dass die inklusiven Einstellungen im Beruf rückläufig (und damit nicht nachhaltig) sind?
2. Nehmen die Lehrpersonen ihr schulisches Umfeld als unterstützend in Hinblick auf die Umsetzung inklusiven Unterrichts wahr?

Zur Validierung und in Ergänzung zu den quantitativen Befunden wurden wiederholt Gruppendiskussionen mit ehemaligen Studierenden durchgeführt. Dabei war es das Ziel, in Anlehnung an das Konzept der Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 2005) die Bedeutung der subjektiven Normen bzw. der Werthaltungen für die Einstellungen in einem qualitativen Zugang erneut aufzugreifen und auch die Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen vor dem Hintergrund des aktuellen schulischen Kontexts der ehemaligen Studierenden und jetzigen Lehrpersonen zu beleuchten. Der vorliegende Beitrag greift auf zwei Gruppendiskussionen aus dem Jahr 2017 mit je fünf Teilnehmenden zurück. Sie waren zum Zeitpunkt der Untersuchung im Schnitt fünf Jahre berufstätig. Im Fokus der Diskussionen mit den vormals Studierenden und jetzigen Lehrpersonen stehen (1) die Einstellungen zu Inklusion, (2) die inklusionsrelevanten Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen und (3) die subjektiven Normen. Einstellungen werden über Haltungen, Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen über positive Kompetenzerwartungen und die subjektiven Normen über die Unterstützung vor Ort durch die Schulleitung bzw. die Kolleg*innen kategorisiert. Letzteres erfolgt theoriekonform in der Annahme, dass inklusionsförderlichen Normvorstellungen sich aus dem unterstützenden Verhalten durch relevante Personen aus dem Kontext erschließen (Ahmmed et al., 2014). Die subjektiven Normen konnten daher erst in der Diskussion mit den Lehrpersonen ermittelt werden. Im Rahmen der Analyse wurden die Themen und Unterthemen in den Gruppendiskussionen einer formulierenden Interpretation unterzogen und dabei Stellen mit hoher Dichte ermittelt (Bohnsack, 2010; Lamnek, 2005). Des Weiteren werden in einem Mixed-Methods Ansatz die quantitativen Befunde aus Hecht und Weber (2020) den Ergebnissen aus den Gruppendiskussionen gegenübergestellt.

Qualitative Befundlage zu Einstellungen, Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen und subjektiven Normen – ausgewählte Befunde

Die Einstellungen (1) der Diskussionsteilnehmenden waren zur Zeit des Studiums durch eine hohe normativ geprägte Zustimmung geprägt, es wurden aber auch Bedenken in Bezug auf Kinder mit Mehrfachbehinderung deutlich (Hecht et al., 2016). Diese waren auch nach einer beruflichen Erfahrung von durchschnittlich fünf Jahren noch spürbar. Es scheint, dass diese Bedenken – im Gegensatz zum Umgang mit allgemeinen Lernschwierigkeiten, die von den Lehrpersonen kaum als Problem wahrgenommen werden – nicht völlig ausgeräumt werden konnten. Ebenfalls wurden im Studium Leistungsdruck und Orientierung an der Norm im Unterricht der Regelschule angemerkt, eine Schwierigkeit, die in der wiederholten Diskussion mit den Lehrpersonen detailliert beschrieben wurde (Hecht, 2019). Mit dem Zwang zur Leistungsbewertung wurde Leistung zur zentralen Heterogenitätsdimension, die vor allem im Übergang von der Volksschule („zum Schluss musste ich denen so Gas geben“) zu weiterführenden Schulen als „Stress“ bezeichnet wurde, „dass es mir selbst nicht mehr gut gegangen ist und ich das Gefühl hatte, dass es ihnen (Anmerkung: den Schüler*innen) nicht gut geht, weil sie einen Stress hatten.“ In bestimmten Fällen wurde die Bescheidung eines sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs als Entlastung betrachtet. Es wurde allerdings auch deutlich, dass es Unterschiede in der Handhabung an den Schulen gibt und eine sonderpädagogische Bescheidung nicht überall als Lösung für den Erhalt von zusätzlichen Ressourcen betrachtet wird: „Kinder auf SPF abtesten, ist bei uns nicht so.“ Dabei war es den Lehrpersonen bewusst, dass mit der Bescheidung eines sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfs ein „Stempel drauf“ ist. In diesen Fällen wurde der Wunsch nach Zuteilung von Ressourcen ohne dieses Etikettierungs-Dilemma deutlich formuliert.

Bezüglich der inklusionsrelevanten Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen (2) ergab die Analyse der Gruppendiskussion mit den Studierenden ein differenziertes Bild von Überforderung bis Machbarkeit, wobei die Arbeit im Team als Gelingensfaktor im Umgang mit Heterogenität betrachtet wurde (Hecht et al., 2016). Im Beruf formulieren die Lehrpersonen Grenzen, wenn Kinder leistungsmäßig zurückbleiben. In diesem Fall ist der Wunsch nach Unterstützung in der Unterrichtsgestaltung groß, wobei sich die Hoffnungen in Bezug auf die Zusammenarbeit nicht in dem Maße, wie im Studium erwartet, zu erfüllen scheinen. Im Studium herrschte die Meinung, dass die „Chemie im Team" stimmen muss. Im Beruf stehend, merkten die Lehrpersonen an, dass die Zusammenarbeit Rücksprache und damit Zeit erfordert, dass eine geteilte Übernahme der Verantwortung und ein geklärtes Professionsverständnis die Basis für eine Arbeit im Team bilden. Auch die Elternarbeit wurde thematisiert, die gleichfalls in geteilter Verantwortung getragen werden will, was aber nicht immer der Fall war. Allerdings können in den Einschätzungen zur Teamarbeit Unterschiede ausgemacht werden. Die Aussagen variierten von „Wir harmonieren überhaupt nicht" bis hin zu „Froh, dass wir zu zweit sind".

Inwieweit die Lehrpersonen durch relevante Personen im schulischen Kontext unterstützt werden, zeigte sich an den Aussagen und Wahrnehmungen der Lehrpersonen zur Schulleitung, zu Kolleg*innen und zu den Stützlehrpersonen bzw. Kolleg*innen im Team. Als förderlich wurde wahrgenommen, wenn die Leitung auf Selbst- und Mitbestimmung der Lehrpersonen setzte, wenn es beispielsweise um inklusive Fragen wie die Besetzung von Lehrpersonen in inklusiven Klassen ging. Eine normativ-positive Haltung der Schulleitung ohne aktive Unterstützung wurde als wenig hilfreich eingeschätzt. Vom Kollegium wurde eher wenig Unterstützung wahrgenommen, wenn unter den Lehrpersonen verschiedene Vorstellungen in Bezug auf die Gestaltung von Unterricht vorherrschten. Widersprüche traten zutage, wenn in der Schule eine Diskussion um offene Unterrichtsformen gegen geschlossene Formate geführt wurde. Bezüglich der Zusammenarbeit mit Stützlehrpersonen wünschten sich die Lehrer*innen eine hohe Professionalität. Außerdem wurde die Stützlehrperson besonders geschätzt, weil der Austausch im Team einen Perspektivenwechsel auf die Schüler*innen erlaube. Hatten die Lehrpersonen an der Professionalität der Stützlehrperson Zweifel, wurde die Zusammenarbeit als zusätzliche Belastung erfahren. Als eine zentrale Gelingensbedingung ging die gemeinsame Planung von Unterricht hervor.

Gegenüberstellung quantitativer und qualitativer Befunde

Die Aussagen der Lehrpersonen lassen darauf schließen, dass die positive Entwicklung der Einstellungen während des Studiums im späteren Berufsleben einer harten Probe ausgesetzt werden, die vermutlich auf eine ungünstige Kombination systemrelevanter Faktoren zurückgeht. Ebenfalls ist mit einer Rückbindung der Befunde aus den Gruppendiskussionen auf die quantitativen Befunde denkbar, dass sich die bereits im Studium vorhandenen Bedenken im beruflichen Alltag bestätigen könnten. Beide Interpretationsweisen erschließen sich aus der wahrgenommenen Unvereinbarkeit von standardisierenden Maßnahmen und der Beurteilungspraxis (Sturm, 2015), die schon im Studium als mögliches Hindernis bei der Umsetzung inklusiven Unterrichts angemerkt wurden. Die Schüler*innenleistung wird zur zentralen Heterogenitätsdimension, wobei der Umgang mit Leistungsheterogenität als von Widersprüchen geprägt wahrgenommen wird, der die Lehrer*innen an ihre Grenzen bringt und Stress verursacht.

Die Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen, die sich während des Studiums u.a. in der erhofften Unterstützung durch eine kooperative Unterrichtspraxis formierten, scheinen im Beruf nicht in dem erwarteten Ausmaß gestärkt zu werden. Dieses Ergebnis kann u.a. konform in Bezug auf die zeitverzögerten Effekte von den Einstellungen auf die Selbstwirksamkeit zur Arbeit im Team interpretiert werden. Diese wird als konfliktreich erfahren, was vermutlich auf ungeklärte

Zuständigkeiten zwischen Regelschullehrperson und Stützlehrperson zurückgeht (Wild et al., 2018). Auch inklusive Anforderungen im Umgang mit Heterogenität werden als hoch eingeschätzt. Es wird deutlich, dass die Lehrpersonen den hohen Erwartungen an die eigene, inklusive Unterrichtspraxis nicht immer gerecht werden. Dies zeigt sich u.a. in dem Wunsch, den Kindern beim Lernen ausreichend Zeit lassen zu wollen, und gleichzeitig dem Leistungsdruck standzuhalten, der bei einem bevorstehenden Übertritt der Schüler*innen in eine weiterführende Schule verstärkt wahrgenommen wird.

Ausblick und Perspektiven

Ziel des vorliegenden Artikels war es, mit Blick auf die Implementierung einer inklusiven Schule, die Forschungstätigkeit und Befundlage zu den Einstellungen, den Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen und der subjektiven Normen von Lehrpersonen an den Pädagogischen Hochschulen Oberösterreich (PHOOE) und Vorarlberg (PHV) aufzuzeigen. Dabei wurden die bisherigen quantitativen Ergebnisse in einem Überblick dargestellt und die Ergebnisse zu den Einstellungen und Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen als Ausgangspunkt für einen Mixed-Methods Ansatz aufgegriffen. Im Besonderen interessierten die Befunde, wonach inklusionsfreundliche Einstellungen im Beruf rückläufig (1) und Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen (2) entgegen der bisherigen Annahme keine zeitverzögerten Wirkungen auf die Einstellungen zeigten. Dabei sollten Gruppendiskussionen in Anlehnung an die theoretischen Überlegungen zum Konzept der Theorie des geplanten Verhaltens (Ajzen, 2005) Aufschluss darüber ergeben, inwiefern der schulische Kontext ggf. für diese Entwicklung von Bedeutung sein könnte. Insbesondere die Unterstützung aus dem schulischen Umfeld stand für die Heranbildung der subjektiven Normen in Bezug auf eine inklusive Schule im Fokus.

In Rückbindung an die quantitativen Befunde, die im zeitlichen Verlauf Effekte von den inklusionsrelevanten Einstellungen zu den Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen zeigten (Hecht & Weber, 2020), deutet die Analyse auf eine Bestätigung der im Studium bereits vorhandener Einstellungen im späteren Beruf hin. Nur wenn die „Chemie im Team" stimmt, erschien die Arbeit im Team schon im Studium als vorstellbar. Diese verkürzte Vorstellung von einer erfolgreichen Teamarbeit könnte einer positiven Entwicklung von Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen entgegenstehen, weil Schwierigkeiten erst gar nicht angegangen und damit überwunden werden können, was für die Heranbildung von Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen entscheidend wäre. Auch die Bedenken in Bezug auf standardisierende Maßnahmen in der Schule fanden ihre Bestätigung im schulischen Alltag, was sich an dem ungelösten Zwiespalt zwischen Förderung einerseits und dem Zwang zur Selektion andererseits festmachen lässt.

Diese Überlegungen in Bezug auf die systembedingten Widrigkeiten dürfen allerdings nicht zu Verallgemeinerungen führen, sondern müssen sowohl vor dem Hintergrund individueller Einschätzungen als auch vor dem Hintergrund des schulischen Kontexts betrachtet werden. So werden kooperative Unterrichtspraxen im realen Schulleben immer noch wenig umgesetzt (Schwab et al., 2015), selbst wenn Lehrpersonen die Kooperation als bedeutsam erachten. Die Bedeutung des Kontexts geht aus einer Studie von Urton, Wilbert und Hennemann (2014) hervor, wonach sich ganze Kollegien hinsichtlich ihrer Einstellungen als auch ihrer Selbstwirksamkeitsüberzeugungen im Umgang mit inklusiven Settings unterscheiden können. Ähnliche Unterschiede deuten sich auch in der vorliegenden Studie an, wonach Schulen durchaus über inklusive Praktiken vor Ort verfügen können, die einen erfolgreichen Umgang mit sich widersprechenden Anforderungen finden. Damit kann auf die Bedeutung eines unterstützenden Umfelds bei inklusiven Anforderungen geschlossen werden, welche für die Heranbildung inklusionsfreundlicher, subjektiver Normen als förderlich angenommen werden kann.

Nichtsdestotrotz dürfen systembedingte Widersprüche nicht außer Acht gelassen werden, da sie nicht allein auf pädagogischem Wege zu

lösen sind. Analyse und Ergebnisse legen nahe, dass inklusive Einstellungen durch systembedingte Leistungsprinzipien bestätigt bzw. ins Wanken geraten können und die Verwirklichung partizipativer Strukturen als visionäre Vorstellung verbleibt (Schwab, 2016), wenn Studierenden und auch Berufseinsteigende keine Möglichkeit sehen, wie die gegenwärtigen Differenzen zu überwinden sind (Hackbarth & Martens, 2018). Was die Ausbildung betrifft, müssen angehende Lehrpersonen auf diese schulischen Realitäten vorbereitet bzw. durch Mentoring im Berufseinstieg begleitet werden. Die Bewältigung des Spannungsfelds zwischen persönlichem Anspruch und der selektierenden Funktion von Schule muss gezielt in den Fokus genommen werden (Hackbarth & Martens, 2018). Dabei gilt es, die Einstellungen und Bedenken in Bezug auf inklusive Settings aufzugreifen und Handlungsstrategien für die Gestaltung von Unterricht und die Zusammenarbeit im Team anzubieten (Wild et al., 2018).

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Elizabeth Fincher, M.Ed., Teaching English Language Learners and Curriculum and Instruction, PhD Student at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in the Department of Theory and Practice of Teacher Education. Research interests in early and middle grades ESL literacy and multicultural Latino literacy, reading self-efficacy, cultural competence in teacher education.

Pia Frick, Mag., Lecturer of German Didactics, Institute for Primary Education and Learning Development, University College of Teacher Education Vorarlberg, research interests in language and written language acquisition, and early language support.

Ingrid Gessner, Dr. phil. habil., Professor of English and American Studies at the University College of Teacher Education Vorarlberg, research interests in Visual Culture Studies, and the Environmental and Medical Humanities, projects on questions of identity, memory, and history.

Klaus-Dieter Gross, Dr., Regensburg, Studiendirektor a.D., research focus on the interactions of literature, painting, and music in American cultural history and on the history of the Naturfreunde movement in both Europe and the USA; chief editor of NaturFreundeGeschichte/NatureFriendsHistory (geschichte.naturfreunde.org)

Petra Hecht, Dr., Senior Researcher at the University College of Teacher Education Vorarlberg. Research interests in inclusion and teacher professionalization.

Stefan Hiebler, Mag., Teacher of English, Psychology and Philosophy at Gymnasium Schillerstraße, Feldkirch, Austria. Visiting Lecturer at the University College of Teacher Education Vorarlberg and Item Writer for the Standardized Austrian English Matriculation Exam. Research interests in teaching, testing, and assessing English.

Regina Holze, PhD candidate in English Linguistics at the University of Passau, Germany, PhD project combines Speech Act Theory and Securitization in the COVID-19 pandemic, research interests in crisis communication and framing as well as post-colonial language and narratives of minorities in conflict.

Angelika Ilg, Mag. Dr., M.A., Senior Lecturer in the English Department, University College of Teacher Education Vorarlberg, research interests in Multilingualism, Creative Approaches to Teaching Literature, Literature of the American South.

Nils Jaekel, Dr., University Lecturer, Faculty of Education, University of Oulu. Work experience in international contexts including six years in the United States. Research focus in early foreign language education, Content and Language Integrated Learning, learner and teacher efficacy, individual differences in second language acquisition and intercultural competence in EFL.

Elke Kikelj-Schwald, Mag., Lecturer in the German Department, University of Teacher Education Vorarlberg, research interests in oral language action, continuous language education, children's literature and library didactics.

Regina Lins, B.A., social and kindergarten educator, research assistant in the field of elementary education at the University College of Teacher Education Vorarlberg. Research interests in the transition from kindergarten to primary school, quality of interaction, and child aggression.

Christian Ludwig, Dr., Visiting Professor of Teaching English as a Foreign Language at the Freie Universität Berlin, Germany. Research interests in teaching literature, graphic novels, and moving images.

Simone Naphegyi, Dr., B.Ed., M.A., Lecturer in the German Department, Institute for Primary Education and Learning Development, University of Teacher Education Vorarlberg, PhD candidate at the TU Darmstadt (Department of Linguistics – Multilingualism), several years of teaching experience in the elementary school sector with focus on German language support for multilingual learners, experience as head teacher and adult educator.

Magdalena Paulus, lawyer, retired attorney, and author, over decades enthusiastically involved in evangelical networks, lived in North Carolina and Nebraska for several years. Currently serves as deputy spokesperson for women in the Vorarlberg Women's Network, attached to the Gender Department of the government of Vorarlberg.

Elizabeth Shipley, Dr., Lecturer at Karlsruhe University of Education, Germany, research projects in fantasy and science fiction, creative writing, and gender and cultural studies.

Sandra Stadler-Heer, PhD, Senior Lecturer of TESOL at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Germany, convener of the AILA Literature in Language Learning and Teaching Research Network. Research interests in Anglophone literatures and the development of professional competences of foreign language teachers.

Klara Stephanie Szlezák, Dr., Studienrätin, Teacher of English and French at Gymnasium Neutraubling and Lecturer in American Studies at the University of Passau, Germany. Research and teaching interests in the fields of Jewish American literature and culture, visual culture studies, memory studies, and museum studies.

Brian Trenaman, German Lecturer at University of Malaya, Director of the DAAD Information Center Malaysia, research focus in philosophy of language and identity.

Christoph Weber, Dr., Researcher at the University College of Teacher Education Upper Austria, with a focus on research methods, and research on educational inequalities.

Florian Zitzelsberger, PhD candidate in American Studies at the University of Passau, Germany, PhD project at the nexus of narratology and queer theory, research interests include Queer Studies and Performance Studies as well as the American film musical and ecocriticism, current book project on "Posthuman Drag."

