The Art of Mixing Colors – the Concept of Multiculturalism in School Education as a Tool for Young Immigrant Integration

A comparative analysis of two case studies: Germany and Sweden

by

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Spring Semester 2013
Abstract

The present paper discusses the process of young immigrant integration from the point of view of policymakers. The focus is narrowed to application of multiculturalism in pre-primary, primary and secondary education strategies as a tool for integration. Interpretation of multiculturalism is compared in two countries – Germany and Sweden and on two levels – national and supranational. The paper is constructed on a critical analysis of the available European and national policies, reports and work papers based on five carefully chosen criteria, which are relevant for the educational process and integration. Furthermore, the paper presents the general background on the development of integration and education policies in the European Union, Germany and Sweden and explores the possible means for cooperation and information exchange. The paper’s main findings read that lately the issues of integration and education as a valuable tool for young immigrant integration has been receiving increased attention. At the same time, a lot of problems connected to immigrant education remain pending, irrespective of the efforts spent. Due to distinct perception of immigrants and roles of the host societies in the integration process, the application of multiculturalism is quite different in the two countries. Because education lies in the sphere of responsibilities of particular member-states and as there are very few available means for control and monitoring, the European Union policies and recommendations have general character. However, within the framework of European Union separate member-states have increasing opportunities for collaboration and joint elaborations.

Key words: multiculturalism, multicultural education, immigration, integration, young immigrant integration, policymaking, Germany, Sweden, the European Union.

Words: 20 673
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1. **Introduction**

“Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world” (Nelson Mandela).

This quote clearly states the importance of education not only for one person, state or nation but for everyone. Indeed, it is rather difficult to underestimate the meaning of education, specifically at the early stages of the development of a person, for creation of a strong personality, nation and state. Education begins at home, where parents provide the first and the most influential model of behavior and outlook. Daily atmosphere, in which children grow and mature, accounts for future beliefs, political choices and general responsibilities. At the same time, in many senses school education is also a bridge to the structure and characteristics of a society. It is a greatly powerful tool as well as a part and parcel of societal integration and prosperity. For instance, Loris Malaguzzi’s “Three teachers” model gives a wonderful explanation of how schools influence the development of personal opinion and perception. Thus, at schools future citizens have to face the models of significant adults (first teacher), peer groups (second teacher) and environment (third teacher), which all together shape a unique learning atmosphere, provoking a student to make decisions, follow examples and obtain useful experience.

Currently, in one way or another, the issue of immigration stays on the agenda of most countries worldwide, and the European Union (EU) member-states are not an exception. Some member-states are more successful in solving issues of national diversity, others have to struggle to protect their national boundaries and deal with countless challenges created by high numbers of both legal and illegal immigrants. The idea of a free movement of people lies in the basis of the union, but the legal framework for managing immigration and its various aspects, consequences and challenges within the EU is comparatively weak. Efforts are made to shape joint regulations regarding immigration, including educational and language policies. Immigration raises numerous questions in nearly every sphere of life, whereas this research concentrates on tools and policies for immigrant integration in the field of primary and secondary school education and language preparation.

Given the general importance of school education, it is particularly interesting to examine its correlation with immigrant integration through the lenses of multiculturalism. Immigrant children are slightly more dependent on legal national and/or EU policies and regulations than

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1 Schwartzberg, Yael. The Story of the Three (Four) Teachers Israel: The Institute for Democratic Education, 2012.
national-born students. “The provision of basic skills”\(^2\), access to language trainings or bilingual programmes will help to make these children employable and part of the society. Therefore, the research will explore two levels: national and supranational – of educational policymaking for immigrant integration as well as make a comparison of two case studies.

1.1. Purpose and Research Questions

The main purpose of this thesis is to examine the course of development of multiculturalism reflected in policies on school education as a tool for immigrant integration. Being an integral part of the process of upbringing, for young immigrants, education is also a key to social inclusion. In many cases access to primary and secondary school education, the language of instruction and the structure of curricula, etc. determine the level of integration in the host society. Schools are one of the most important societal stakeholders to function as a natural linking point between various groups of immigrants and locals as well as their families.\(^3\) Therefore, the thesis aims to identify what kind of framing of multiculturalism in education is considered to be beneficial for young immigrants in two different countries – Germany and Sweden and on two various levels – national and supranational.

First of all, the task is to understand what is meant by the integration of immigrants. It is also important to determine what components are included in the concept of multiculturalism and how various policymakers can implement it in education as well as what kind of connection there is between the two phenomena. Secondly, it is aimed to analyze how the concept of multicultural education is introduced in national educational regulations of the two countries and in common EU framework of educational policies and initiatives. The purpose is to compare educational and language strategies of the two countries regarding young immigrants and to see if there is any cooperation and expertise and knowledge exchange. Finally, the task is to identify if there is any cooperation between national and supranational levels of educational and language proficiency policymaking within the EU.

Thus, the purposes of the study are embraced in the following research questions:


1. What is the connection between multiculturalism and integration? What does the concept of multiculturalism mean for education? How can it be implemented in education and language programmes?

2. What is the difference between understanding and implementation of multiculturalism for education reflected in official strategies and regulations in Sweden and Germany? Are there available means for cooperation between ministries and other relevant organizations of the two states?

3. In what way is the concept of multiculturalism represented in general EU framework recommendations and papers regarding education and language proficiency? Is there any difference between national and supranational levels of policymaking?

1.2. Methodology

The two core items of the present paper are the concepts of multiculturalism and integration. The research aims to identify how the doctrine of multiculturalism, being a controversial and multifaceted phenomenon, is represented in various settings of education policies, trends and initiatives and in relation to young immigrant integration.

The thesis is constructed on a comparative research method, and due to its general purposes and focus, the research strategy is evolving around the concept of multiculturalism in education. Generally, a comparative research method may imply all tools of social sciences, but what makes it distinctive is inclusion of at least two nations or cultures. The comparative research includes two basic approaches: quantitative and qualitative ones. The present thesis presents “individual case studies of a small number of countries”, therefore applying a qualitative approach. Based on the theory of multiculturalism, a range of criteria has been selected to compare the cases of Germany and Sweden and determine their differences and similarities. These criteria include various aspects of multicultural education and ways of its implementation, e.g. access to education, language training, curriculum content and awareness building, etc. The choice of the five criteria is determined by their relevance in the process and system of school education. In reality, however, all of the criteria are often interconnected and overlapping.

The paper is constructed on critical and content analyses of relevant documentation. Partially, the thesis is based on the content analysis of a number of various official documents. These include,

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5 Ibid.
first of all European Commission general studies and general and country reports for the years 1976-2012, and national acts and regulations of the Ministries of Education and respective important organizations in Germany and Sweden for the years 2000-2012. And partially, it is also based on relevant literature and articles review. The data collected for the analysis includes some statistical facts, but mostly the content of either European case studies, reports and summaries or national directives, laws and acts.

1.3. Limitations and Specifications

Much effort is made to wholly determine the terms “integration” and “immigrants”. Interestingly enough, there is a hardly one universal definition of these terms, while debates about their meaning and connotation are ongoing throughout the academic world. Within the paper the term “immigrant” is used rather broadly along the lines of UNESCO’s description as “any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country”\(^6\). Although this definition excludes an important part of newcomers, such as, for instance, refugees and asylum seekers, it does not play an important role for the results of this research. Moreover, the description does not specify the duration of living in a country and omits the group of occupational travelers, such as circus workers, fairground workers and showmen/women, seasonal workers, and itinerant Gypsies/Roma/Sinti/Saami\(^7\). The main purpose of this study is, nevertheless, to analyze the educational and language opportunities created in particular countries for all non-national born young people, regardless of their origins, reasons of immigration or political status. Furthermore, the terms “immigrants”, “migrants” and “newcomers” are used interchangeably with no great difference in meaning. Tourists are not considered immigrants as long as they do not make a decision to reside permanently in the country and obtain the access to school education.

Therefore, due to the objectives of the present thesis, such information as immigrant’s national or ethnical background, religion, gender as well as reasons and purposes or immigration is irrelevant. The research also does not take into account whether the immigrants are of first, second, third or other generation. On the contrary, the question of age is important. The focus of the paper is on secondary school education and language programmes for foreign-born children and with at least one foreign parent.

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The term “integration” raises even more questions and can be described in a varied number of ways. It is not and clearly beyond the scope of the paper to discuss the efficiency, necessity, limits and all aspects of the integration process. The focus is narrowed to the prerequisites and first steps towards societal integration, furthermore it is discussed from the point of view of policymaking rather than immigrants themselves. There is no particular aim to compare the various levels of integration governance as well as the distribution of responsibilities between the stakeholders of the host society, but rather analyze the strategies of youth integration through the concept of multiculturalism.

Primarily, the analysis concentrates on formal primary and secondary school education, although it does not strictly limit itself to it. Innovative educational initiatives and various informal education strategies, including extra-curricular activities and additional language courses, are also within the scope of the study.

The choice of the case studies – Germany and Sweden – is determined by a number of reasons. First of all, the topic of immigration is of great importance and relevance for the two states, while the way of dealing with this issue and the way of solving it are, most probably, different and special. Secondly, these two countries have interesting and varied historical background of immigration, having notable consequences in the current societal processes and composition. Thirdly, both countries are highly industrialized developed states with considerable social security systems. Finally, Germany and Sweden have different history, attitude and play different roles within the European Union. Having both similar and distinct features of their profiles, it is interesting to make a comparison of the situation in the two countries and explore the possible platforms for cooperation and expertise exchange. At the same time, the aim of the thesis embraces not only these two states, but also the EU level. While it is not possible to make a full comparison due to the lack of legal and structural organization on the European level, certain traits might be traced.

The research is based on the analysis of a number of documents, particularly, a great part of the texts analyzed come from the European Commission, providing data for the supranational perspective, on one hand, and national reports and studies, on the other hand, as well as relevant documents issued by respective German and Swedish national institutions. The sphere of education lies within the responsibility of national rather than supranational policymakers, but

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due to the specifics of the topic, it is possible to find relevant European policy frameworks, recommendations and reports. Indeed, many aspects, such as “innovative teaching and learning projects, facilitating networks of professional expertise and creating platforms for consensus, comparisons, benchmarking and policymaking”, etc. can be done at the European level\textsuperscript{9}. Documents for countries’ analysis are taken from respective Ministries of Education and a number of other organizations. Particularly, in case of Germany “responsibilities for education and culture are decentralized to the Länder, but the federal government is responsible for foreign affairs and thus for cultivating international relations in the field of education and training”\textsuperscript{10}. Therefore, in case of Germany, the analysis is concentrated on the documentation of the federal state Berlin. All the documents taken for the analysis are dated between the years 1976 and 2012.

### 1.4. Organization of the Study

The thesis is organized in several chapters. Following the first introductory chapter, the second chapter focuses on the concept of integration. Briefly, relevance, definition, and problematic questions of the concept of immigrant integration are outlined. The chapter also presents main actors, general components, and strategies within the process. It emphasizes the importance of various levels of organization and participants. Finally, it accounts for the importance of young immigrant integration and creation of a range of opportunities for them, as well as lists important benefits of successful integration.

The third chapter dwells upon the theoretical framework behind multiculturalism. It starts with the issue of the term definition and description of the main points behind the concept. Then its connection to the concept of integration is shown, developing further to give examples and provide explanation for what is meant by multicultural education and what its characteristics and requirements are. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a range of criteria, based on the literature review, to make an analysis of the case studies.

The forth chapter outlines a broad context of the EU as a case study analyzed. Firstly, the chapter gives the background on immigration and integration in the European Union. Brief historical background, common legal framework and spheres of competences are discussed. Secondly, the educational framework is presented. Furthermore, the course of development of the concept of multiculturalism in education on the European level is discussed.

\textsuperscript{9} Supra note 7 at 8.

The fifths chapter provides the background on immigration and integration in the two countries analyzed – Germany and Sweden. Historical backgrounds, scopes and major societal problems raised by immigration are outlined. Moreover, the basic framework and strategies of immigrant integration of both countries are presented. Besides, the chapter talks about education systems in Germany and Sweden and its importance for young immigrant integration; it also describes the processes of policymaking in regard to multicultural education and social inclusion.

The sixth chapter contains the comparative analysis of the practical measures taken on the European level as well as on national level in two given member-states to ensure multicultural education, overall access to education, and improvement of social inclusion. Findings of the official documents under examination and major differences and achievements of the case studies are presented. The chapter also provides the data on cooperation and expertise exchange between the countries and levels of policymaking. Finally, the last chapter outlines the paper conclusions.

2. Immigrant Integration

Social integration is a complex idea; it may bear different meanings for various people and organizations. Indeed, immigration and integration being complex issues themselves raise even more complex questions on various political and social levels and in numerous spheres of life. Nowadays, there is hardly a state which does not have to deal with newcomers and spare human and capital resources to prepare laws, policies and regulations on societal integration and raise social awareness regarding this issue. Therefore, the main purpose of this chapter is to provide explanation for the concept of “immigrant integration”, list the challenges it raises, as well as most important tools for its achievement and most important benefits.

2.1. What Is Integration?

The term “integration” has multiple meanings. According to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, integration means: 1) “the act or process of combining two or more things so that they work together”; and 2) “the act or process of mixing people who have previously been separated, usually because of colour, race, and religion, etc.”. Within a society, stratification of its population may be based on a number of factors, including nationality, religion, gender, age,
economic background and many more. Deriving from the provided definitions integration will take place when two or more actors are involved and it will mean involvement and possible change or adjustment of all of them. However, some social practices tend to question this issue.

Social system theories differentiate between two concepts of integration – the system and social ones. In reality, both types of integration are mutually related and dependent. The system integration embraces “the cooperative functioning of institutions, organizations, and particular mechanisms: the state, the legal system, markets, corporate actors, and finance system”\(^{13}\). While social integration is focused on the inclusion at individual level\(^ {14}\).

“Social integration” is a particular type of integration; it is defined as the process, involving all the diversity of levels and actors in society, targeted to create one unity with a range of common values, principles and freedoms\(^ {15}\). It means that all members of the society, regardless of their origin, social and economic background, enjoy equal rights and opportunities. In this sense, social integration is opposed to “social exclusion”, a process of “systematic and institutional discrimination and other forms of rejection that leave out persons or groups from the mainstream system of economic, social, and political relationships”\(^ {16}\). As can be seen, the term social integration has a rather broad scope. Governmental actions, policies and regulations concerning this question may have economic, political or cultural character; concern gender, sexual orientation, religious and other issues; and aim at both local population and migrants.

“Immigrant integration” is part of societal integration and has a narrower meaning, although it concerns an extremely wide range of spheres of life. One of the possible definitions of the term may read as “a dynamic, two-way process in which newcomers and the receiving society work together to build secure, vibrant, and cohesive communities”\(^ {17}\). This definition, which lies in the basis of the present paper, suggests that reaching some level of integration is possible only when a variety of actors in the society takes the responsibility and participates. There must be cooperation and information exchange between the government and various governmental and non-governmental organizations and entities, local population and immigrants themselves.

\(^{13}\) Ziółek-Skrzypczak M. Managing Integration of Immigrant Youth in the United States, Germany and Poland. (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorades der Philosophie an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität). 2011, 27.


\(^{16}\) Ibid.

\(^{17}\) Supra note 3 at p. 29
Generally, the integration policies, being a result of the system integration, have a great importance and influence on social integration\textsuperscript{18}.

2.2. The Process of Immigrant Integration

It is quite debatable whether a complete integration could and should be reached, where a clear border between integration and assimilation lies and also what the final target of integration is\textsuperscript{19}. But it is more obvious that the process of integration is lengthy and requires active commitment of immigrants themselves as well as a certain degree of participation and reaction from the host society.

Commonly, within social sciences the process of integration is considered to include four basic concepts: acculturation, placement, interaction and identification. The concepts are of consequential and interrelated character. During the acculturation period an individual familiarizes with general background of the society. Placement helps the newcomer to win a position in a society, including personal, professional, social, political or any other life. During the interaction period relationships and networks are built by the individual to finally foster his/her identification with a social system during the last phase\textsuperscript{20}. Therefore, the process of integration is rather complicated and includes changing of the immigrant’s identity or building an additional layer to the existing one.

National identity, same as any other, is an extremely complex phenomenon, nearly impossible to capture. For many immigrants, years may pass till the question of identity re-construction arises, if at all. Indeed, the main concern of a significant percentage of immigrants during the first years of immigration is adjusting to new culture, habits and way of living, learning the local language and striving to find employment. When the adjustment period is facilitated by efforts from the host society and authorities, the process of integration becomes less painful and the perception of immigrants is less negative\textsuperscript{21}.

The structure of any society includes various groups and stakeholders. To enable efficient immigrant integration, there must be a number of stakeholders contributing to the process. The list of most important actors includes: government, immigrant and ethnic communities and

\textsuperscript{18} Supra note 11 at 27.
\textsuperscript{19} Supra note 13 at 17-19.
\textsuperscript{20} Bosswick, W. and Heckmann, F. \textit{Integration of Migrants: Contribution of Local and Regional Authorities}. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. 2006, 5
\textsuperscript{21} Supra note 3 at 26.
organizations, host community institutions, public schools, business sector, labor unions, faith-based institutions and philanthropy groups. All of these actors have their own particular interests and roles in the process of immigrant integration. Interestingly enough the interconnection between newcomers and all of these groups serves as a good example of two-way mutually dependent relationships. For instance, governmental decisions, resources and spheres of influence form the basis of societal wellbeing, including provision of legal, capital and structural framework for integration. For many public schools young immigrants constitute a pending problem, decreasing overall achievement level and requiring additional resources. When integrated successfully and possessing required qualifications and skills, immigrants bring in intercultural competence and additional expertise to the business sector. Thus, on one hand, immigrants depend on assistance, services and opportunities provided by these actors and, on the other hand, successful integration ensures certain benefits for most of them. In any case, this process is unlikely to take place without adaptation and mutual openness and understanding.

Apart from various groups and stakeholders, states and societies also have various levels of organization, particularly state or national as well as local levels. While general mainstream approach to immigrants comes from the national level, “migrants ultimately settle in local communities, and require support from local stakeholders.” Furthermore, institutions working with immigrant on the local level are also represented by organizations created by immigrant groups, including religious and other entities. Within the European Union the third supranational level adds up. Due to the scopes and relevance of the issue, increasing attention is paid towards creating common basic principles for immigrant integration policies and fostering common values and strategies. Similarly, only cooperation between these levels may lead to positive change and results.

Due to a variety of historical, social, economic, cultural and other reasons, the context of immigration changes from region to region and from country to country. As a result, the number and character of strategies for immigrant integration is also subject to change. “The combination of strategies depends on immigrants’ needs, available resources, and the goals of the integration effort, etc.” An important factor for implementing such strategies is increased social awareness and ability and opportunity to explore the needs and most pending issues within the communities

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22 Supra note 3 at 27.
25 Supra note 3 at 28.
and on other levels and, consequently, use most appropriate and efficient resources and measures.

2.3. Contributing to Integration

Within the present thesis, the process of integration is considered to be two-way, requiring the interaction of two parties at different levels\(^{26}\). In such a situation, the role of the host community gains particular importance. Furthermore, various actors of the receiving community, depending on their spheres of interest, influence and activities, may both encourage and prevent integration, consequently changing the general image of newcomers within this society.

There are numerous ways to facilitate and contribute to the process of integration and most often only a successful combination of them leads to positive results. Key pathways include: community-wide planning, language and education policies, health, well-being, and economic mobility, cultural and social interaction as well as civic participation and citizenship\(^{27}\). These pathways can at the same time serve as an indication of the societal readiness to receive and include immigrants. All the abovementioned strategies require strong legal basis and a nationwide organizational structure. They involve active governmental participation and controlling.

The impact of integration is a social product shaped by institutional structures\(^{28}\). Policymakers prepare the framework of integration, while newcomers and local population fill it with content and make it possible. “In many cases, poor integration policy has contributed to negative perception of immigrants”\(^{29}\), leading to strengthening “fortress” immigration policies instead of concentrating on the immigrants already in the country. Laws of the country and governmental policies define all aspects of its citizens’ life; for immigrants their sphere of influence range from giving permissions to entry, to granting the right to obtain citizenship. Naturalization might not be the ultimate sign of immigrants’ integration, but from the legal point of view it equalizes the rights and freedoms of newcomers and country’s citizens. Therefore, it is greatly the task of the efficient governmental regulations to create the basis of immigrant integration and ensure the well-being of all members of the society. Still, although the role of integration policies is


\(^{27}\) Supra note 3 at 32.


\(^{29}\) Supra note 20 at 5.
important, it should not be overestimated: “they are only an attempt at or a tool for integration but not a guarantee that integration will be achieved”\textsuperscript{30}.

Children are the future of any society and require special attention and treatment. Due to their fragile psychological state, developing character and sensibility, the atmosphere around children should ensure comfortable living and learning environment, safety and care. Immigrant children require even greater attention. Their development and maturation takes places in hostile surroundings with a different language and within different systems. Facing greater difficulties than adult immigrants, immigrant children often have better chances to become part of their host society. Moreover, immersing two cultures and two or more languages they enrich the host society and make it more cosmopolitan. To make a better contribution, immigrant children need access to education, proper language preparation and healthcare, vocational training, job counseling, recognition of qualifications, workplace discrimination prevention\textsuperscript{31}, etc. Therefore, policies and recommendations targeted at young immigrants should be of particular importance within laws on immigration. Unfortunately, in reality “national policies designed to manage immigration are rarely accompanied by strong policies to support integration, particularly where this relates to the adaptation of labour market and education policies to the needs of immigrants”\textsuperscript{32}.

Provided the support and cooperation of the various actors in the receiving society, immigrant integration may lead to a number of positive results. Among them open and democratic society, where all its members share and enjoy equal opportunities, rights and freedoms; increased global competitiveness and economic productivity are listed\textsuperscript{33}. Young immigrants create even greater opportunities due to their higher flexibility, ability to adjust and multilingual and multicultural character; their integration into the society is a direct consequence of whether they are perceived as a threat or rather as a challenge requiring certain measures.

3. **Multiculturalism**

The concepts of immigration and integration are often mentioned in the context of “multiculturalism” and “multicultural society”. The idea of mixtures of various nationalities and ethnicities on one territory or in one state is not new, but lately it has acquired new importance, scope and meanings. Development of the European Union and its particular values and

\textsuperscript{30} Supra note 11 at 49.
\textsuperscript{31} Supra note 11 at 59.
\textsuperscript{32} Supra note 23 at 2.
\textsuperscript{33} Supra note 3 at 30.
principles has a direct influence on societies within its member-states, requiring adaptation and provoking both positive and negative reactions of the population. The present chapter first presents an overview of the multiple meanings of multiculturalism, secondly, it links multiculturalism and immigrant integration, and thirdly, it briefly explains the concept of multicultural education and concludes with the criteria for case studies comparison.

3.1. What Is Multiculturalism?

Defining what “multiculturalism” is raises lengthy discussions among scientists, researchers and even countries and continents. Indeed, it is debatable whether it can be called a philosophy, practice or concept\(^\text{34}\), or whether it is an ideology, a new political theory or just a new application of traditional political ideas and concepts\(^\text{35}\); its vision varies from one state to another, depending on local historical, cultural and political background. Multiculturalism also bears multiple meanings and a lot of both appraisal and criticism.

From a historical perspective multiculturalism has seen both an increase and a decrease of adherence to it. Multicultural policies and minority issues played important role during 1970-90s both on international and national levels in the Western World. But starting from middle 1990s there was a “retreat from multiculturalism” and an increased attention was paid to national identity building, developing a strong sense of national belonging and a common set of values and freedoms. Populist political and national movements gained a wide support in a number of countries. This tendency is closely connected to the criticism of multiculturalism and its failure to ensure social homogeneity and integration\(^\text{36}\). The terms immigration and minorities were becoming synonyms to increased criminal rates, underemployment, poor education and social challenges.

The definitions and understanding of multiculturalism depends on whether it is described as “a descriptive category, a normative concept, a set of personal or public attitudes and a group of measures and policies”\(^\text{37}\). Such multiple meanings of the term may lead to a certain degree of confusion when conducting research connected with immigrant integration.

\(^{34}\) Supra note 23 at 7.
\(^{37}\) Supra note 23 at 7.
When presented as a normative category the term “multiculturalism” implies that a country’s populace composition is of plural nature, and is closely connected to the issue of immigration, including its various social, cultural and other consequences. When described as an interpretation of the concept of “culture”, multiculturalism means that the culture of a particular nation, due to its changing nature, embraces elements and parts of the cultures of people living on its territory. In this sense immigrants are mostly perceived as “enriching the cultures of the host societies”. Therefore, it also recognizes immigrants’ rights and tendencies to keep their native languages and cultural peculiarities. When mentioned as a personal attitude or a public mode, being multicultural interprets that immigrants and representatives of different cultures are treated in a tolerant, respective and supportive way. This meaning is opposed to chauvinism, suppression and persecution. When referred to as a political and constitutional principle, multiculturalism advocates to the “political, legal and cultural structure of multiethnic societies” and describes the composition within the whole country. In this connotation multiculturalism has a close connection to the immigrant integration policies, “requiring acculturation and adaptation on the part of immigrants”. When referred to as multicultural policies on the level of municipalities, multiculturalism implies acknowledging the cultural differences of various groups within the community and supporting their development.

Most of the criticism regarding multiculturalism revolves around its poor efficiency in resolving social and socio-economic problems created by multiple nationalities within the country. It is also argued that multiculturalism damages or destroys attempts to build a distinctive national identity and homogeneity. Furthermore, national and ethnical diversity should be wisely dealt with, rather than considered a goal of national policies. It is believed to be impossible to treat all multiple cultures and languages represented in the societies as equal, primarily due to the definition and visions of culture itself. Moreover, the idea of cultural recognition as a tool for integration is also controversial in itself; particularly, some authors argue that when leaving their countries of origin, immigrant in a way lose the privilege of having native cultures and languages as predominant and official ones in the area of residence, etc.

Within the present paper the definition of multiculturalism reads as “a system of beliefs and behaviors that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or

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38 Byram, M. Multicultural Societies, Pluricultural People and the Project of Intercultural Education. The Council of Europe, Language Policy Division. 2009, 5.
39 Supra note 23 at 7.
40 Supra note 23 at 8.
41 Ibid.
society, acknowledges and values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society.”\textsuperscript{43} The abovementioned definition contains a number of points, crucial for the analysis and purposes of this study. First of all, the given society recognizes that their structure is not homogeneous, which requires a certain set of actions. Secondly, while the representatives of the distinct cultures are treated lawfully and with respect, the receiving society understands the necessity of contributing to their inclusion. And thirdly, it suggests that if the right actions are taken, the receiving society would benefit from its multicultural character.

Given the numerous definitions and research questions regarding multiculturalism, it is necessary to specify that the present paper does not aim to contribute to the debate on the nature of multiculturalism or define whether it is successful or not in the given states or generally in the European Union. The social structure of both states – Germany and Sweden as well as the EU consists of multiple nationalities and, therefore, it is interesting to trace how their governments and policymakers deal with this and what kind of opportunities they create.

### 3.2. Multiculturalism and Immigrant Integration

Multiculturalism in relation to immigration stands out from the one related to other groups in the society, but its purpose remains the same – contributing to the creation of “inclusive democratic societies.”\textsuperscript{44} Interestingly enough, while, for instance, in Canada and Australia multiculturalism has a very broad scope, targeted at national identity building and is connected to the “accommodation of national minorities and indigenous groups”, in European countries it is mostly concentrated on the issues of immigration\textsuperscript{45}. During the period of retreat, the term “multiculturalism” was avoided and such terms as “diversity, pluralism, intercultural dialogue, or community cohesion” were used to determine the policies and actions\textsuperscript{46}.

Unlike minority groups or indigenous population, immigrants, as a rule, do not claim territorial autonomy, rights on certain lands or official language status. Generally, there does not exist one universal definition of multiculturalism policy in relation to immigrants; such policies vary from country to country and often overlap with other closely related issues, including integration, obtaining citizenship or antidiscrimination. The most common policies pertaining to the immigrant multiculturalism policies include: “constitutional, legislative, or parliamentary

\textsuperscript{43} Rosado, C. Toward a Definition of Multiculturalism. Rosado Consulting. 1997, 3.
\textsuperscript{44} Supra note 38 at 8.
\textsuperscript{45} Supra note 23 at 11.
\textsuperscript{46} Supra note 38 at 14.
affirmation of multiculturalism at all levels, its adoption in school curricula, ethnic
terpretation in the mandate of public media or media licensing, exemption of dress codes,
allowing of dual citizenship, the funding of ethnic groups organizations, bilingual education and
affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups47.

An ideal approach to immigrant integration would be the one, allowing and fostering preservation
of the immigrants’ national identities and cultural heritage while they are integrating into all the
variety of institutions of their host community in the majority language48. Recognizing the
multinational nature of immigrants and working toward finding mutual understanding improve
and facilitate the process of integration. Assuring the rule of law, antidiscrimination policies and
employment opportunities are also in the basis of integration. For young immigrants schools and
other educational establishments are one of the first and most important institutions to face.
Within multicultural societies it should be recognized that the process of integration is lengthy
and requiring, therefore, well-thought long-term programmes and policies.

3.3. Multicultural Education

Criticism, negative attitudes and threats created by and in relation to immigration are
consequences of both immigrants’ as well as receiving societies’ actions. Education is one of the
major tools to eliminate such negative consequences and prevent their emergence. Therefore, in
relation to the issues of immigration and multiculturalism the main tasks of education are to
accommodate the needs of the society and develop intercultural and multicultural competences.

Multicultural education respects diversity in the society49. It started to appear in the agendas of
national governing bodies of the USA, Canada and Australia in 1970s. During this period first
signs of multicultural recognition were introduced into the school curricula. In the EU similar
developments began as early as 1950s following the societal changes brought by economic
development. Attention was paid to such questions as students’ native language, religion and

47 Supra note 38 at 7.
48 Andersen F.C. The Concept of Multiculturalism and Implications for School Leadership. University of Oslo,
49 Portera A. Intercultural Education in Europe: epistemological and semantic aspects. Intercultural Education. Vol.
19, No. 6. 2008, 482-483. Accessed April 1
http://www.euc.illinois.edu/eucdw2011/documents/PorteraInterculturalEdinEurope.pdf
cultural level, up to creation of new special subjects within the curricula. However, stronger theoretical background and practical strategies were formed only after 1980s\textsuperscript{50}.

In most cases schools are the primary place where children have to encounter various groups and types of their peers, including representatives of different nationalities. Not only children spend a considerable part of their every-day time in schools to acquire basic skills and competences, but they also learn to behave and cooperate in various circumstances. It means that adult attitudes and political views have their origins in the values, atmosphere and education people were brought up and matured. Generally, the process of education greatly depends on the organization process of particular schools as well as competences and proficiency of their teachers and educators. At the same time, it is of great importance to prepare the basis for the structural organization of national education, teacher education as well as general requirements and regulations managing school education on the national level.

School education possesses a number of various opportunities to develop the student’s intercultural competences and facilitate young immigrant integration. These include, first of all, language policies and language education as well as curriculum structure\textsuperscript{51}. Educational strategies are supposed to “identify and address” cultural differences and encourage intercultural cooperation and communication. “Effective intercultural dialogue requires the acquisition of intercultural competences, including multiperspectivity and the ability to see oneself in familiar situations and events from the perspectives of cultural “others””\textsuperscript{52}. Not only the language of instruction and a range of options for a second language, but all subjects of the school programme reflect to a certain extent the mode of the national identity and they are designed to construct skills and knowledge base for schoolchildren for successful integration in the society. Therefore, for young immigrants having access to this variety of subjects is of crucial importance.

When dealing with students of various national and cultural backgrounds, a lot of questions raise as, for instance, to what extent it is necessary to distinguish between these varied backgrounds. On the one side, students have the right to conserve their original national, linguistic and cultural aspirations and identity and, on the other side, social integration requires certain knowledge and adherence to local cultural, structural as well as language traditions and norms\textsuperscript{53}. Balancing the

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{51} Supra note 36 at 3.
\textsuperscript{52} Supra note 36 at 8-9.
\textsuperscript{53} Supra note 48 at 16.
two issues and finding a compromise in teaching methodologies, beneficial for both majority and minority groups, are important challenges to be addressed by multicultural education.

Given the aims, components, challenges and perspectives of multicultural education, it is possible to distinguish a range of criteria to compare the two case studies of the present paper. The first starting point of the comparison is entry requirements, i.e. what makes the child eligible to go to school. The focus should be on the basic skills needed, language requirements, and affordability of school education.

The second point revolves around the education curriculum. The main issues concerning school curricula are: content integration – involvement of various perspectives and analyzing data relevant for all stakeholders; knowledge construction – raising understanding about multiple social, cultural and other dimensions, investigation of differences, recognition of multiple values and traditions; equal treatment; elimination of prejudices; contributing to awareness building and construction of school and social culture. Are such skills as critical and analytical thinking, exploring, tolerance, and etc. represented in curriculum plans and requirements? The question is whether these aspects are reflected and supported on national level.

The third point of the comparison concentrates on language policies. The main questions concerning languages are: what the language of instruction is, whether there are subjects taught in different languages, what foreign languages are taught in schools, whether there is any special funding of bilingual education. At the same time, the immigrants should have a possibility to preserve their native languages and do not face strong hindrance in finding the opportunity to use them.

The forth point of comparison is about extra-curricular education and opportunities for cooperation between various schools, parents and other actors within society. The question is whether such cooperation is supported and funded. Addressing parents and other actors, having influence and contact to children, is an indirect but quite efficient measure for developing and improving the issue of integration.

The last point concentrates on teacher education. The main questions concerning teacher education are: if teachers are prepared to work in multicultural environment, what the language requirements are, if they are taught various discourses, etc.

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55 Supra note 13 at 77.

56 Ibid.
4. The Context for the Case Studies: the European Union

Presenting the full picture of educational policies and requirements in the respective countries and on the EU level as well as acquiring the full understanding of the reasons behind the introduction of such policies and procedures necessitates the outline of these case studies’ general historical, legal and organizational background. The demographic changes, occurring over the course of the past decades, vary from country to country throughout all Europe, but require well-thought and coordinated strategic as well as organizational addressing. Some of these changes are caused by migration, some are affected by it and others might be improved due to successful immigrant-related regulations. Thus, to be able to benefit from migration, the EU “needs to find a way to better cope with its diverse and multicultural societies through more effective integration of migrants”\(^57\). The present chapter firstly dwells upon the course of development of immigration and immigrant integration policies in the EU, listing most important points in focus as well as instruments for their implementation. Secondly, it talks about the framework for policymaking process in the field of education, outlining most important documents and recommendations. And thirdly, it lists most important findings on the implementation of multiculturalism in education on the EU level.

4.1. Legal and Organizational Framework of Immigrant Integration on the EU Level

Immigration pertains to the area of responsibility of particular states. However, its universal and multifaceted character has lead to the necessity of addressing this issue from the common European level. Currently, the EU immigration policy is still being developed, although its roots stem from as early as 1970-80ss. It is being designed to “establish a framework for legal migration, taking fully into account the importance of integration into host societies”\(^58\). Therefore, the importance of legal and organizational background for immigrant integration is acknowledged on both national and European levels.

First relevant efforts to shape common EU approach to the integration of third country nationals date back to 1999 and the adoption of the Tampere Programme. The programme recognized that


all legally residing third country nationals should enjoy the freedoms and benefits provided by the union of European states. At the same time, the programme emphasized the necessity of refraining illegal immigration and strengthening control of the external EU borders as well as developing comprehensive policies on asylum and immigration. It also dwelled upon the question of introducing measures on immigrant integration, enabling them to reside freely, receive education and employment. Furthermore, it read to take additional measures to eliminate racism, discrimination and xenophobia.

Further considerable improvements in establishing the EU framework for immigrant integration policy-making were made in the year 2004 due to agreement on the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy. “They underline a holistic approach to integration and aim at assisting EU States in formulating integration policies”\textsuperscript{59}. Among other things, the Common Basic Principles state that “integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States”, “employment is a key part of the integration process”, “basic knowledge of the host society’s language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration”, “efforts in education are critical to preparing immigrants to be more successful and more active participants in society”, “access to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services is a critical foundation for better integration”, “frequent interaction between immigrants and Member State citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration” and “participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, supports integration”\textsuperscript{61}. These fundamental principles constitute the basis of the EU initiatives in the field of immigrant integration\textsuperscript{62}. The process of implementation of the Common Basic Principles is outlined in the Common Agenda for Integration, presented in 2005. It also frames “supportive EU mechanisms and instruments to promote integration and facilitate exchange between integration actors”\textsuperscript{63}.

Finally, most recent developments and legal basis of this area are provided by the 2007 Lisbon Treaty\textsuperscript{64} and are reflected in the 2009 Stockholm Programme, the 2011 European Agenda for Integration and the Europe 2020 Strategy. The focus of these documents remains on measures to improve social and economic status of immigrants, enabling them, including the young

\textsuperscript{60} The European Commission website. Integration. Last modified April 26, 2013 http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/immigration/integration/index_en.htm
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{64} Supra note 57.
generations, to obtain skills and qualifications necessary for employment; but it also emphasizes the importance of actions on local level.

Some aspects of immigrant integration are regulated not only by national, but also the EU legislation. Particularly, a number of Council Directives for the period between the years 2003 to 2011 concern issues of “conferring and withdrawing long-term resident status granted by a Member State in relation to third-country nationals”, family reunification, “admission for the purposes of studies, pupil exchange, scientific research and highly qualified employment”\(^65\). Furthermore, the EU legislation on fundamental rights and non-discrimination also concerns immigrant integration. Particularly, a number of Council Directives for the period between the years 2000 and 2010 concern issues of “equal treatment in employment and occupation, equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, combating racism and xenophobia”\(^66\). These directives and regulations, although not directly targeted at immigrants, are designed to entitle them to the same set of rights and freedoms as the rest of the population and ensure their access to social protection, social benefits and healthcare, education and vocational training, etc.

The European Union possesses and utilizes a number of instruments to promote the issue of immigrant integration, which can be generally attributed to the following categories: “financial support, policy coordination and legislation”\(^67\). These instruments, listing ministerial conferences, integration forum, handbooks on integration, integration modules and various indicators, etc., are being constantly improved and expanded. For instance, Ministerial Conferences aim to “facilitate a continuous political debate on integration at ministerial level”, a European Fund for the Integration of third-Country Nationals is designed to “support the efforts of Member States to enable third-country nationals to fulfill the conditions of residence” and introduction of a range of indicators to monitor the results of the integration policies in various areas among the member-states\(^68\).

4.2. Educational Framework in the EU


\(^67\) Supra note 62.

Along with immigration policy, education and language policies remain primarily the responsibility of member-states. Moreover, such a specific aspect of education as in relation to young immigrants may involve cross-ministerial activities and coordination\(^\text{69}\). At the same time, due to the relevance of education for immigrant integration and the scope of issues to be addressed, on the European level this area “is coordinated by the European Commission’s Directorate-General for Education and Culture… and governed by the Strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training”\(^\text{70}\).

European educational policy framework concerns a number of important fields, including early childhood and school education, higher education and vocational training, as well as adult education. Early childhood education and care has been on the European agenda for a long time, although it has seen the shift of focus from predominantly socio-economic and gender equality character to “children’s rights, questions of citizenship, equality of educational opportunity, and social cohesion”\(^\text{71}\). Communication on Early Childhood Education and Care issued in 2011 is an important up-to-date source of the European Commission’s directions in this field. The EU strategy embraces assurance of accessibility, affordability and quality of early childhood education, reduction of the number of “early leavers of education”, creation of the basis for lifelong learning, as well as assurance of equal treatment and non-discrimination\(^\text{72}\).

The 2008 Green Paper on Migration and Mobility outlines the challenges of school education in regard to immigrants and actions to be taken for their improvement. Particularly, the paper shows the data proving that “many children of migrants suffer from educational disadvantages” and exemplifying reasons for such disadvantages. Furthermore, it points out that the European Commission may facilitate and coordinate efforts of separate member-states and advise on actions to be taken\(^\text{73}\).

The 2009 Green Paper on Promoting the Learning Mobility of Young People as well as the 2010 Council Recommendation on Learning Mobility encourage member-states to promote exchange


\(^{72}\) Ibid.

opportunities among university students. The papers also dwell upon issues of modernization and competitiveness of higher education in Europe.\textsuperscript{74}

Improvement in accessibility and continuity of vocational education is addressed in the 2010 Communication on vocational education and training in the context of the Europe 2020 strategy. Finally, the 2006 Communication on Adult Learning, among other things, mentions the necessity of life-long education for immigrants and creation of various formal and informal learning opportunities.

Outlining the education framework also requires defining the terms and areas of formal vs. non-formal and informal; pre-primary, primary and secondary education. One of the widely accepted definitions used nationally as well as internationally are Internal Standard Classification of Education (ISCED).\textsuperscript{75} Generally, formal education is “education that is institutionalized, intentional and planned through public organizations and recognized private bodies, and – in their totality – constitute the formal education system of a country”\textsuperscript{76}. It usually occurs in specifically designed institutions and follows specifically designed system to ensure a continuous education process for students. While non-formal education even though it is “institutionalized, intentional and planned by an education provider, … is an addition, alternative and/or complement to formal education within the process of lifelong learning of individuals”\textsuperscript{77}. It applies to people from various age groups and differs time and intensity. Finally, informal education can be defined as intentional but non-institutionalized; it embraces activities taking place in families, communities or workplaces\textsuperscript{78}.

“The ISCED definition of pre-primary education is limited to the institutionalization of education and learning activities for individuals prior to their entering primary education”\textsuperscript{79}. At the same time, with the promotion and prevalence of life-long education, the clear borders of the definitions are vanishing. For instance, in some countries home care is considered pre-school education\textsuperscript{80}. Education programmes for early childhood might be less structured but should

\textsuperscript{74} The European Commission Website. Integration in different policy areas. Education and training. Last modified May 16, 2013 \url{http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/Integration_in_other_policy_areas.cfm}
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{78} Supra note 74 at 12.
\textsuperscript{79} Supra note 73 at 16.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.
include a well-thought and efficient set of exercises and activities, enabling children learn and develop under careful guidance by means of playing, discovery and interaction with peers.\footnote{Supra note 74 at 26.}

The ISCED definition of primary education programmes includes provision of basic skills in “literacy and numeracy” as well as knowledge and skills necessary for further education. It usually excludes programme specialization. A shift from early childhood to primary education is distinguished by introduction of nation-wide “primary, elementary or basic educational” programmes and institutions.\footnote{Supra note 74 at 30.}

Lower secondary education aims at consolidating previously acquired skills and expertise to provide the basis for lifelong education. “Programmes at this level are usually organized around a more subject-oriented curriculum, introducing theoretical concepts across a broad range of subjects.”\footnote{Supra note 74 at 33.} The shift from primary to lower secondary education is distinguished by introduction of specialization.

The ISCED definition of upper secondary education specifies the provision of skills and knowledge sufficient to finish school education, assuring access to tertiary education and/or jobs. Curricula and programmes vary greatly in specialization and are characterized by “in-depth instruction … and an increased range of options … available”; they are generally divided into general or vocational ones.\footnote{Supra note 74 at 38.}

### 4.3. Multiculturalism in School Education on the EU level

The purpose of the present paper is not concentrated on evaluating the general efficiency of multiculturalism as a doctrine for integration of immigrants, but rather tracing how it is reflected in the policymaking process on various levels and how it can influence societal integration. It is, although, necessary to mention that the scholarly perception of the multiculturalism as a doctrine for immigrant integration is controversial.

On one hand, it is argued that starting from 1990s there has been a backlash from multiculturalism\footnote{Supra note 38 at 3.} as well as “the lack of public support for official multiculturalism policies.”\footnote{Supra note 42 at 8.}
Furthermore, its inability to address key problematic issues has lead to the loss of its popularity in a number of European states, including, for instance, Britain and the Netherlands\textsuperscript{87}.

On the other hand, a number of scholars, including W. Kymlicka, state that the opportunities offered by multiculturalism have been rather overestimated, whereas in reality instead of failure, it has positive results and tendencies. Furthermore, it is argued that the cases of particular countries are so varied and in some cases multicultural policies have not been applied wholly and actively\textsuperscript{88} to be able to fully determine the efficiency of multiculturalism.

It is fair to say that it would not be useful trying to estimate the overall success or failure of multiculturalism on the European level. Firstly, integration and especially education policies are subject to national competency and, secondly, starting points and prerequisites are too varied among the EU countries. However, this section tends to exemplify most important applications of multiculturalism in the sphere of primary and secondary school education in relation to immigrant integration. Based on the analysis of the abovementioned documents and a range of criteria chosen, the following set of recommendations and strategies have been identified.

Prior to listing the findings, it is necessary to mention that the documents analyzed vary in types and address the issue of immigration from a vast number of perspectives. For example, these documents embrace the Council of the European Union conclusions, recommendations, working papers and reports for the European Commission among others. One of the most widespread points of immigrant integration is through the lenses of employment opportunities, followed by legislation and legal regulation, fundamental rights and equal treatment as well as education. The aims of the present paper limit the perspective focus on primary and secondary education and language training. Secondly, it is of great importance to emphasize that immigrant integration raises concern and is quite widely represented in the EU policies. Positive signs of the integration process contribute to the achievement of common EU targets and aspirations\textsuperscript{89}.

Following the analysis of various EU documents, it is necessary to point out the critical importance of education, especially early childhood and primary school education, constantly emphasized throughout these documents. It is stated that education establishes the basis for the development of the EU competitiveness and social cohesion and in the long-term considerably

\textsuperscript{87} Supra note 42 at 3.
\textsuperscript{88} Supra note 38 at 1.
http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/UDRW/images/items/docl_988_232042490.pdf#zoom=100
outperforms all its costs\textsuperscript{90}. Although, educational strategies, including the process of immigrant children inclusion, are implemented on national and regional levels, the EU member-states are committed to cooperate on the supranational level and the European Commission’s task is to facilitate and coordinate this cooperation\textsuperscript{91}.

General European milestones in education targeted at immigrant children and reflecting, in one way or another, the issue of multiculturalism, include: “extending and increasing flexibility of education”, “respecting pupils’ individual needs”, “development of personal curricula approaches and quality standards”, “widening access and improving equity of participation”\textsuperscript{92}, as well as “combating school segregation” and providing “language support”\textsuperscript{93} among others.

In terms of the entry requirements and access to education the documents analyzed underline that often children of immigrants experience the lowest access, especially to pre-school early childhood education and care\textsuperscript{94}. Therefore, “such educational disadvantage should be addressed by providing high quality education and targeted support, and by promoting inclusive education”\textsuperscript{95}. Education systems of the EU member-states “should aim to ensure that all learners – including migrants – complete their education” and are given the possibility to have access to this system\textsuperscript{96}.

Member-states and their respective schools are encouraged to constantly modernize education curricula at all school levels. The EU recommends adapting respective school curricula based on the European Framework of Key Competences, providing input on “key competences that all people require for a successful life in a knowledge society”\textsuperscript{97}. At the same time, governments of the respective member-states should foster “diversity in all its forms and anti-discriminatory practices”, acknowledge “children’s right to active participation in society and rights to develop their full potential through education and successful learning”\textsuperscript{98}.

To facilitate the process of integration and adaptation in the host community, the governments of the member-states should be committed to support measures targeted at language preparation: “organizing and developing a receptions system which would include intensive study of the


\textsuperscript{91} Supra note 71 at 12.

\textsuperscript{92} Supra note 88

\textsuperscript{93} Supra note 57 at 22.

\textsuperscript{94} Supra note 89 at 11.

\textsuperscript{95} Supra note 90 at 22.

\textsuperscript{96} Supra note 90 at 22-23.


\textsuperscript{98} Supra note 69 at 44.
language or languages of the host country, providing more opportunities as appropriate for teaching these children their mother tongue and culture, if possible in school. Furthermore, authorities of the local communities are recommended to assess “the need for the setting up of schools in which teaching would be in more than one language” and promote the “language teaching outside the traditional school system”.

It is recognized that the process of integration is improved when school education is combined with activities after school hours and in cooperation with children’s families and a broader local community. Therefore, member-states are fostered to provide “more information for families on the training and educational opportunities available to them”101, ensure “cooperation between parents, immigrant communities and schools”102.

Teacher education and preparation criterion embraces knowledge and skills required for classroom instruction, support and tutoring of students, cooperation with parents and local community as well as design and adaptation of education programmes for specialized and individualized student instruction. Throughout the documents, the necessity of responsive, adaptive and multicultural and multilingual attitude towards teaching process is emphasized. Teachers should be encouraged to recognize a child’s native language and support the acquisition of second language.103 Furthermore, teachers’ qualification should ensure skills to identify “children with special education needs” and elaborate “strategies for their inclusion”, facilitate intercultural cooperation and interaction, including parent involvement, “encourage learning in the contexts of diversity” as well as promote “democracy, solidarity, active citizenship, creativity and personal fulfillment”104. At the same time, to enable qualitative teacher staff and preparation, educational institutions of the member-states are recommended to elaborate programmes encouraging “cultural awareness and expression”, “recruit a diverse workforce that reflects the diversity of the communities”, and offer “specialized opportunities in inter-cultural education”105, as well as promote and foster constant updating of teaching skills throughout the professional life106.

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100 Supra note 97 at 3-4.
101 Supra note 97 at 4.
103 Supra note 69 at 36.
104 Supra note 69 at 37-38.
105 Supra note 69 at 39-41.
106 Supra note 88 at 51.
To counterbalance the assumptions and suggestions of policymakers, it is necessary to illustrate opinion of the general public. For instance, the Aggregate Report on Migrant Integration prepared by the Eurobarometer on the behalf of the European Commission in May 2011 shows some interesting results. The target group of the report embraces both local and immigrant population of varied age group in a number of EU member-states; consequently, it illustrates opinions of a wide societal strata. Thus, the most important strategies and areas to encourage immigrant integration include “improving integration in private companies, in the public sector, at school and more generally by improving public understanding”. The survey confirms that the most common places where immigrants interact with local public are first of all all work places and secondly schools.

Opinions of immigrants compared to non-immigrants varied slightly on the issue of how to improve immigrant integration in schools. On one hand, immigrants mostly emphasized the importance of local language knowledge and having an opportunity to improve cultural exchanges. Non-immigrants, on the other hand, placed special importance on extra-curricular activities and other types of social interaction between children promoting social integration. However, both groups agreed on the necessity of developing formal as well as informal social and cultural activities targeted at schoolchildren.

Finally, interestingly enough, immigrants as well as non-immigrants expressed the opinion that acquiring citizenship is not absolutely necessary and does not necessarily mean successful integration. Whereas, immigrants acknowledge the benefits and privileges provided by the legal citizen status, many of them also admit that the cost and effort required for citizenship obtaining are hardly worth losing their own original citizenship.

Concluding the findings, it should be noted that the EU recommendations, mostly, have rather general character. Indeed, such issues as inclusion, dialogue, respect for human and children rights, high quality and accessibility of education, etc. are mentioned repeatedly, whereas step-by-step actions for their achievement are extremely difficult to find. Various researchers suggest several factors accounting for this. Particularly, the fact that education remains within the sphere of competence of separate member-states prevents the detailed elaboration of the topic on the European level. Furthermore, even though the EU participation in the sphere of education for immigrants is slowly increasing, currently, there are no available means for tracing and assessing

108 Ibid.
109 Supra note 107 at 3.
the effect and the implementation process of the EU communications on national and regional levels\(^\text{110}\).

5. The Context for the Case Studies: Germany and Sweden

Prior to comparison of the educational policymaking process in the two countries, it is important to present and understand the course of development and organizational structure of their immigrant integration and education strategies and to see the historical discourses of these processes. Reasons behind the current interpretation and implementation of multiculturalism in education have their origins in the historical background of the two states. The chapter is divided into two parts: one providing a broad context for Germany and the second one – for Sweden. Firstly, both parts of the chapter present brief historical development of immigrant integration process in the two countries. Secondly, the focus shifts to developments in the sphere of education and education for immigrants. And thirdly, the chapter lists most important findings regarding representation of the concept of multiculturalism in education for immigrants in the two states. It is important to note that the presented findings are the facts or recommendations related in one way or another to the concept of multiculturalism and are not exhaustive.

5.1. Germany

5.1.1. Historical Background on Immigration and Immigrant Integration

Germany is one of the biggest, richest and highly-developed states in the European Union; it is also a country with high numbers of immigrants. Interestingly enough, migration and immigrant integration policies in Germany have been addressed in due course only relatively recently. There are numerous explanations for this, including historical, political and economic reasons.

An overly complicated and specific post-war situation in Germany resulted in its distinct national identity construction mode and attitude towards immigration, including policies on immigrant integration. Thus, the origins of the current immigrant composition mostly stem from the post-war period. During those times, there were four main population inflows: “ethnic Germans from

\(^{110}\) Supra note 107 at 5.
Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states, Jews from the successor states of the former Soviet Union, other groups searching for international protection as well as guest workers”.

Following the war and as a result of the fall of the Iron Curtain, Germany has seen massive population changes. Thus, former prisoners of war and guest workers many of them coming from East, Southeast and South Europe returned to their home countries, while ethnic Germans from the former German territories attached to the Central and Eastern European countries in the East Bloc (such as Poland and the Czech Republic) were forcibly transferred to the west based on the Potsdam decision immediately after the war. Moreover, the Germans from the communist territories, mainly former Soviet Union and Romania had the possibility to go back to Germany. As a result of these two factors, in the 1980-90s the per capita rate of immigration significantly exceeded the rates in Canada, Australia or the USA. Furthermore, this tendency was over time complemented by massive entrance of “asylum seekers and persecuted ethnic Jews… with the most numerous groups from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Iraq and the Russian Federation”. Starting from post-war development the German economy has shown the need in immigrant workers and labour force, also resulting in a flow of yet more newcomers.

Currently the population in Germany estimates around eighty-two million people; national minorities include the Danes, the Frisians, the German Sinti and Roma, and the Sorbs residing particularly in the northern and eastern parts of the country. A number of people with an immigration background – those who have resettled to Germany, as well as those with at least one outside-born parent – ranges at more than fifteen million people. The biggest waves of people after the repatriates include immigrants coming from Turkey and former Yugoslavia states as well as from the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Within the course of the last decades, the ethnic composition of immigrants has altered, increasing the cultural, historical and societal gap between Germany and the countries of origin and adding even bigger concern for the receiving society, including the local population

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111 Supra note 13 at 167.
113 Supra note 13 at 167.
114 Supra note 112.
115 Supra note 13 at 167.
116 Supra note 112.
117 Ibid.
118 Ibid.
itself, social institutions and policymakers. However, despite the growing concern and scales of the issue, national policy on immigration and integration has seen elaboration only starting from 2000s. Prior to that, the responsibility of enabling integration rested on employers, local authorities and societal organizations\footnote{Supra note 119 at 1.}. Germany simply did not perceive itself as an immigrant country but still required the immigrant labour force.


5.1.2. The Process of Development of the Education Strategies

Germany’s historical development also greatly affected the process of establishing current education framework of the country. Furthermore, its political and societal structure distinguishes the mode of preparing and introducing various policies, procedures and recommendations. Currently, the Federal Republic of Germany is composed of 16 federal states called Länder. Even though, education lies within the sphere of responsibility of particular federal states and immigrant integration takes place at the local level, it is also worth discussing
nation-wide state policies and regulations in these spheres. Activities on the level of the national government provide the basis and framework for the local states level.

Following the Second World War, the German state was divided in four occupation zones and no unity and general coordination could be reached. Thus, the governing within the Soviet zone of occupation varied greatly from the Western part, controlled by France, UK and USA. Consequently, after the establishment of the united state the major task was to level the political, economic and social state in the two parts of the country as well as address pending social and economic problems. The Unification Treaty (1990) laid the basis for establishing common structure in the sphere of education, particularly secondary school education, science and culture. Following the unification, the educational policy aimed at “reorganisation of the school system on the basis of relevant agreements of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs” in regard to the free market principles.

According to the constitution, education generally is within the supervision of the Ministries of Education, Cultural Affairs and Science of particular states and other regional authorities. The Standing Conference of the Ministries of Education, Cultural Affairs and Science of Länder “determines core curricula, programmes for teacher training and teacher recruitment and decides on national recommendations, agreements and joint reports”. Coordination between the states happens mostly via recommendations and agreements to ensure “tolerance and diversity in the education system”.

Pre-primary education is overseen by the federal Minister for Family Affairs and local authorities, who are responsible for the “implementation and financing of child and youth welfare legislation”. Primary education – Grundschule, is compulsory for all children and is regulated by respective legislation of the Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder, outlined in the “Education Acts, the Compulsory Schooling Acts and the Schulordnungen”. Lower and upper secondary school education also rests within the sphere of responsibility of the Länder and is regulated by the Schulordnungen, “covering the content of the

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127 Ibid.
129 Supra note 13 at 197.
130 Supra note 128 at 3.
131 Supra note 126 at 70.
132 Supra note 126 at 79.
courses as well as the leaving certificates and entitlements obtainable on completion of... education”

Depending on the states, compulsory full time education starts at the age of five/six and finishes at the age of fifteen/sixteen, part-time compulsory education ends at the age of eighteen. It is free of charge and is provided for the legally residing immigrant children. Secondary schools vary in types and levels: general school (Hauptschulen), intermediate schools (Realschulen), grammar schools (Gymnasien), comprehensive integrated schools (Gesamtschulen), special needs schools (Sonderschulen), as well as several types of vocational schools (Berufsschule, Berufshochschule), giving children varied options for higher education or vocational trainings. Often, children with immigration background experience inequality and difficulties, resulting in nation-wide preoccupation and lower levels of achievement.

The common objectives of the education system within the states of the Federal Republic of Germany include inter alia ensuring “equality and comparability of education opportunities and standards” among the federal states, qualitative and competitive education system and training for all children, improving “access to education, training and general advanced training”, expanding “the permeability of educational systems”, strengthening “individual support systems” and elaborating the process of reporting and assessment of education throughout the country.

5.1.3. Multicultural Education in Germany

Due to the country’s particular background on immigration and integration policy, developments in the field of education as a tool for young immigrant integration were overlooked for a long time. Consequently, it is highly interesting to analyze how current multicultural demographic situation and educational challenges are tackled and what kinds of policies are being implemented. Findings in this section are taken from both general national recommendations and education policies from the federal state Berlin.

Immigrant children are entitled to have access to primary education only provided they have a valid residence permit, refugees with temporary residence permits are also admitted to

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133 Supra note 126 at 97.
134 Supra note 13 at 195-202.
135 Supra note 128 at 3.
schools. As a rule, schools take the final decision whether student’s previous records and certificates are recognized, therefore providing or restricting access to education. Furthermore, during the transition period from one school type to the next one, final decision on accepting the student often also rests with schools.

Schools in Berlin try to target their curricula at students with various backgrounds and incorporate topics and develop skills such as “intercultural competence and cooperation with people of different background”. Special attention is also given to democracy, human dignity, and other cultures, etc.

German language proficiency enjoys the utmost importance as a means for integration from the point of view of policymakers. Most of the developments in this area revolve around creating the opportunity for immigrant students to study German. School instruction is generally in German, whereas Berlin has seen some increase in a number of bilingual schools. Authorities are also trying to introduce more multilingual aspects into everyday school life. Still, mother-tongue instruction other than German is rarely possible and is subject to particular school’s decision. Apart from it, there are wider programmes, for instance FörMig, which is designed to provide additional support in language training and improve the transition to employment.

In Berlin, as well as in other states, new “day-long schools” have been introduced primarily targeting at schoolchildren requiring support or children with socio-economic disadvantages, which offer a wide range of activities. This novelty also includes various projects aimed to improve cooperation with parents and other relevant institutional organizations and decrease the drop-out rates.

Requirements for teacher qualification have undergone changes to respond to the curricular adjustments, individualized learning, diversified class composition and increased language proficiency.

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137 Supra note 13 at 197.
138 Supra note 13 at 203.
140 Bilingual Schools (State Run) Goethe Institute Berlin. [http://www.berlininfo.com/Lifetime/Family/education/schools/bi-lingual/](http://www.berlininfo.com/Lifetime/Family/education/schools/bi-lingual/)
141 Supra note 128 at 10.
142 Supra note 71 at 60.
143 Supra note 71 at 56.
proficiency. Furthermore, the new recommendations for the teacher qualifications embrace newly introduced differentiated instruction and all-day school functioning\textsuperscript{144}.

Analyzing the public opinion of the local German population on the issues of immigration and integration, it is possible to exemplify the following trends: urge to restrict and limit the scale of immigration, mostly negative perception of dual citizenship, as well as need for better integration measures and leveling cultural diversity in the country\textsuperscript{145}.

Concluding the findings, it is interesting to note that even though there is some progress in developing education policies contributing to education, most of the attention is concentrated on acquisition of the German language skills. Current education system fails to provide immigrants with the necessary skills and qualifications to pursue career opportunities on the same level as native German graduates. There is still a lot to be done to guarantee a smooth transition from education to employment\textsuperscript{146}.

5.2. Sweden

5.2.1. Historical Background on Immigration and Immigrant Integration

Sweden is one of the most developed and advanced states in the European Union. With its relatively big territory, small population and strong social welfare system, it has been an attractive destination for immigrants. The course of historical development of the country as well as the process of immigrant integration resulted in current particular demographic and societal composition.

The modern immigration tendencies have their roots in the World War II and post-war period. There are four main types and flows of immigrants stemming from that period: “refugees from the neighboring countries, labor immigration from Finland and southern Europe, family reunification and refugees from developing countries and asylum seekers from southeastern and Eastern Europe and the free movement of EU citizens”\textsuperscript{147}.

\textsuperscript{144} Lehrerin oder Lehrer warden. Das offizielle Hauptstadtportal. \url{http://www.berlin.de/sen/bildung/lehrer_werden/index.html}
\textsuperscript{146} Supra note 13 at 214.
Sweden’s total population estimates approximately nine million people, over 19% of which are immigrants. At the beginning foreign-born population of Sweden came mostly from other Scandinavian countries, although later this trend changed to represent countries such as former Yugoslavia states as well as Iraq and Iran. Furthermore, currently asylum seekers primarily arrive from Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Iran and Iraq, family reunifications are often originated from the former Yugoslavia states, Romania and former USSR states, and finally Sweden’s accession to the EU has fostered labour migration with relatively big flows from Germany and new Eastern European states.

Until 1970s there was no need for policies targeted at integration of immigrants, therefore, their development started with the shift in immigrant composition. The 1975 integration policy, built on the principles of equality, freedom of choice and partnership, was adopted responding to the flows of labour immigrants, which in mid 1980s was substituted by a new integration programme, including language and vocational trainings, but failed to fully address the problems raised by immigration. It was not until 1997 that the Swedish Riksdag elaborated an immigration policy accounting for integration and providing for equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities, acknowledging diversity in the society, mutual respect and tolerance and fighting against discrimination, racism and xenophobia. It set multiculturalism as an objective. The policy presupposed integration on two levels: community and individual ones. The tasks of promoting integration and elaborating the necessary procedures and monitoring the results rested on the Swedish Integration Board founded in 1998. The next important step was taken in 2001 by adopting the Swedish integration policy in the 21st century, outlining current objectives, challenges and measures to tackle unemployment, structural discrimination as well as addressing all areas and actors participating and affecting integration. One of the latest developments is the 2010 Integration Reform shifting the responsibility for the process of establishment in the country from the municipal to national level.

Generally, ministers and ministries are responsible for the integration process in their respective areas of competence. Because integration happens at the local level, municipalities are also

149 Supra note 138
150 Supra note 138
153 Supra note 147 at 2.
active participants in the integration-making process and are responsible for school education and housing, for instance\textsuperscript{155}. A special Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality coordinates the integration policy on national level as well as coordination of cooperation between various ministries and other organizations\textsuperscript{156}, namely the Public Employment Service, the Swedish Integration Board and the Swedish Migration Board, etc.

5.2.2. The Process of Development of the Education Strategies

The system of school and early childhood education in Sweden has undergone a process of transformation and reformation, reflecting the trends and developments of the welfare system, the Swedish society and changes of the political views. The educational framework of the country also had to be adapted to the diversification of the population and other demographic changes occurring within the course of time.

The pillars of the education system are “free and equal access to education and lifelong learning”, perceiving schools as “a basic institution and instrument not only for socialization, but also for achieving social leveling and equal opportunities for all, irrespective of gender or socio-cultural background”\textsuperscript{157}.

The 1985 Education Act is one of Sweden’s most extensive laws\textsuperscript{158}, it provides detailed regulations for pre-primary, primary and secondary as well as high school education processes. Compulsory education in Sweden embraces nine years and no difference is made between national and non-Swedish students in terms of obligation to complete it. The primary purpose of the education system, which is legally supported, is to ensure qualitative education to all people residing in the country\textsuperscript{159}. To reflect the changing conditions of schools and education system generally, the new Education Act was adopted in 2010. It outlines rules for all types of schools and educational establishments of the country, states main objectives and distribution of responsibilities. It is built upon the democratic foundations, promoting the development of knowledge and values for all students as well as life-long learning\textsuperscript{160}.

\textsuperscript{156} Supra note 148 at 13.
\textsuperscript{157} Supra note 8 at 8.
\textsuperscript{159} Supra note 148 at 14.
\textsuperscript{160} Skolverket. Curriculum for the compulsory school, preschool class and the leisure-time center (2011): 9 http://www.skolverket.se/om-skolverket/publicerat/visa-enskild-
The organizational framework of education includes the Ministry of Education and Research, the central agencies, such as the National Agency for Education and municipalities with quite broad autonomy\textsuperscript{161}. The pre-school system consists of the pre-schools, family day-care homes and open pre-schools as well as school-age childcare for children between six to twelve years old. The compulsory school embraces ordinary primary and lower secondary schools, Sami and special needs schools, as well as schools for pupils with learning disabilities. Finally, upper secondary schools consist of eighteen three-year national programmes, ranging from vocational to preparatory programmes for higher education\textsuperscript{162}.

5.2.3. Multicultural Education in Sweden

Swedish education systems, same as any other school system, has its advantages and disadvantages, although, unlike many other systems, it sets the goal of providing qualitative education for all young persons, irrespective of their gender, social or financial background and geographical residence, fostering diversity, equal opportunities and integrity\textsuperscript{163}. Therefore, it makes Swedish primary and secondary education system a particularly interesting case for analyzing it as a tool for immigrant integration.

Throughout the documents it is repeatedly emphasized that one of the main aims of education is providing qualitative school instruction to all children striving to avoid “brain waste” and increased societal segregation\textsuperscript{164}. Starting from the year 2013 undocumented immigrant children are also entitled to school education\textsuperscript{165}.

Swedish school curriculum is based on the democratic principles\textsuperscript{166}. One of the main principles of the pre-school and school curriculum is ensuring children’s support for development in a multicultural environment\textsuperscript{167} as well as formation of their cultural identity whether it is Swedish.

\textsuperscript{162} Ministry of Education and Science Website. Areas of Responsibility. http://www.government.se/sb/d/2063/a/21953
\textsuperscript{163} Supra note 151 at 9.
\textsuperscript{164} Supra note 8 at 47-51.
\textsuperscript{165} Kids of illegal immigrants can go to school: Sweden: 2012 http://www.thelocal.se/44022/20121024/#.UZertEpVY5k
\textsuperscript{166} Läroplan för grundskolan, fôrskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2011. The National Agency for Education. http://www.skolverket.se/forskola-och-skola/grundskoleutbildning/laroplaner/grundskolan/laroplan/curriculum.htm?code=GRGRLAR01&tos=COMPULSORY_SCHOOL&ga=1#anchor_1
\textsuperscript{167} The National Agency for Education. Curriculum for the pre-school Lpô 98. (2006): 5 http://www.skolverket.se/om-skolverket/in_english/publications
or any other\textsuperscript{168}. Schools, being a meeting place of societies and cultures, should reflect the values of respect and equality in their objectives, philosophies and curricula. Therefore, the curricular subjects should provide knowledge about the national minorities, world history, religion, languages, society’s laws, ethical norms and values, and foreign languages\textsuperscript{169}. Recently, school curricula have been adjusted to strengthen entrepreneurial perspective. To improve and monitor the effectiveness of school as well as increase accountability and transparency the number of school inspections was increased\textsuperscript{170}.

Language policies and mastery receive increased attention. Generally there are five officially recognized minority languages: Finnish, Torneval-Finnish, Saami, Yiddish and Romani, enjoying increased rights\textsuperscript{171}. Furthermore, children with a mother tongue other than Swedish have access to mother tongue instruction – provided by particular municipalities – or at least study-counseling in that language. To foster the process of integration immigrants are also entitled to Swedish language training according to their age and level of education\textsuperscript{172}.

Schools are encouraged to cooperate with leisure-time centers as well as other pre-school and public institutions to enable the all-round development of students\textsuperscript{173}. Only working closely with parents schools are able to ensure holistic personal development and upbringing of active and responsible citizens. Schools are also encouraged to support families in their aspiration to preserve cultural heritage, knowledge, traditions and language\textsuperscript{174}. To be able to share and enrich their cultural and social experiences, children should be given the possibility to participate in a number of varied extra-curricular activities – drama, dance, music, creativity and writing, etc\textsuperscript{175}.

Responding on the requirements for the qualification of teachers working in multinational surroundings, the Swedish government and municipalities are providing special funds to ensure trainings and university courses covering topics such as “migration, culture and communication, bilingual development, performance assessment and academic achievement”\textsuperscript{176}. Teachers are presupposed to show respect towards other student’s cultures and mother languages, cooperate

\textsuperscript{168} The National Agency for Education. Curriculum for the Preschool Lpfö 98. Revised 2010. 10
\url{http://www.harryda.se/download/18.56e5a6d8133f95ee485800012627/L%C3%A4roplan_f%C3%B6rskolan_eng_ti llg_webb.pdf}
\textsuperscript{169} Supra note 160
\textsuperscript{170} Supra note 71 at 50.
\textsuperscript{171} Supra note 148 at 39.
\textsuperscript{172} Supra note 148 at 40.
\textsuperscript{173} Supra note 158 at 13.
\textsuperscript{174} Supra note 160.
\textsuperscript{175} Supra note 160.
\url{http://econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/49764/1/502245484.pdf}
closely with other teachers and parents to ensure most rewarding learning environment and actively support overall students’ development\textsuperscript{177}.

Concluding the finding, it is possible to state that even though medium statistical data on education throughout the country is quite good, taken separately immigrant children indicators are rather alarming. Authorities constantly stress the importance of school performance improvements, leveling gender teaching staff composition, ensuring a smooth transition from education to employment and adaptation to changing societies and globalized world. Furthermore, there is a need to level the inclusion process and performance among the different nationalities in the Swedish society\textsuperscript{178}.

6. Comparative Analysis and Opportunities for Cooperation

The purpose of the present chapter is to illustrate the difference in the perception of multiculturalism in education in the two countries – Germany and Sweden, and on two levels – supranational and national. Firstly, the findings of the official policies and recommendations based on the five aforementioned criteria are presented. Secondly, the difference of the interpretation of the Common Basic Principles for immigrant integration policy as well as regulations on the five criteria on national vs. supranational level is outlined. Finally, the chapter concludes with description of the available means for cooperation within and between the countries and levels and further and current developments in the area.

6.1. Comparison of Educational Opportunities on Two National Levels

Both Germany and Sweden are highly-developed progressive states having to deal with big flows of migration. Although the general goals of immigrant integration as well as education policies of the two countries are very close – aiming at providing holistic education and setting the basis for life-long learning\textsuperscript{179} – their visions of fulfilling these goals vary. Furthermore, due to different modes of national identity construction as well as different attitudes towards immigration primarily on the national levels and also of the society as a whole, the two countries create distinct educational opportunities for young immigrants.

\textsuperscript{177} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{178} Supra note 8 at 77-80.
\textsuperscript{179} Supra note 90 at 10.
Generally, Sweden has a relatively big proportion of highly educated third-country nationals, whereas in Germany “the proportion of lower educated third-country nationals exceeds considerably the share of the total population with a low level of education”\textsuperscript{180}. Yet, both countries report lowered opportunities for immigrant children compared to their national-born peers. In terms of consistency of education, within the Swedish system pre-primary education is integrated into the general education system, assuming “a shared approach to access, subsidies, curriculum and personnel”\textsuperscript{181}. In Germany, distribution of students according to different school types at an early age is often perceived as a hindrance to integration and development of immigrant children’s full potential\textsuperscript{182}. Decentralized school system in Germany and municipalities with broad responsibilities in Sweden is believed to make the education system slow in change and adaptation on national level, which might cause some hindrance in improving immigrant integration\textsuperscript{183}.

Taking the five aforementioned criteria into account, it is possible to single out the following differences and similarities. In Sweden a broader cohort of immigrant children have access to education. In Germany final decision about accepting the student still sometimes rests with a particular school, thus possibly creating prerequisites for discrimination and unequal treatment.

Both countries acknowledge the importance of ensuring acquisition of key competences, including respect and tolerance towards other cultures, which should be reflected in the curricular subjects as well as knowledge of foreign languages starting from early age\textsuperscript{184}. Furthermore, both countries report the necessity to adjust their curricula to reflect 21\textsuperscript{st} Century education, entrepreneurial perspective as well as the needs of the changing globalized world. At the same time, numerous studies and reports in Germany and Sweden testify unequal opportunities and “negative perception of the performance of schools in ethnically diverse settings”\textsuperscript{185}.

The main difference in relation to language policies and curricula structure remains in the fact, that in Sweden the focus is on the development of both Swedish and mother-tongue language skills, while in Germany the principal goal is German language proficiency. Both countries pay special attention to fluency in official state languages and offer various courses targeted at immigrants starting from the early age to adults. Furthermore, there is a variety of tests and

\textsuperscript{180} Supra note 57 at 29.
\textsuperscript{181} Supra note 71 at 22.
\textsuperscript{182} Supra note 13 at 203-204.
\textsuperscript{183} Supra note 13 at 204.
\textsuperscript{184} Supra note 71 at 47.
\textsuperscript{185} Supra note 13 at 204.
assessment tools to check the knowledge of language as well as the efficiency of the teaching techniques.

Both Germany and Sweden are constantly improving requirements for teacher qualifications and certifications to cope with the widespread education challenges. Main issues are related to teacher shortages and aging, experience to work in multinational settings and language proficiency among others.

Both countries emphasize the importance of cooperation with parents, especially of children with socio-economic disadvantages and migrant background, to reduce the drop-out rates and fully inform the families about their children’s progress. The issue of early school-leavers and underperformance of the “at risk” part of population remains pending. Schools also try to promote and organize varied extra-curricular activities involving multinational participants and various societal and educational organizations.

Interestingly enough, having looked at the integration measures in the two countries, it is notable that in Sweden such policies are mostly targeted at immigrants themselves, recognizing, however, that it is a two-way process, whereas in Germany integration policies are designed for both local residents and immigrants. One of the fundamental reasons for such difference might be a long-term non-acceptance of Germany as an immigrant country and therefore increased social unawareness of its population.

In autumn 2010 German Chancellor Angela Merkel mentioned that multiculturalism has failed in Germany. Although, taken into account the fact that until relatively recently there were no coordinated official integration policy and the country did not perceive itself as an immigrant one at all, it would be fair to say that Germany has achieved a lot. Sweden is creating wide opportunities for immigrant children to integrate, obtain employment and language proficiency and in many cases its efforts are not in vain; however, there is still a lot to be done in terms of quality improvement and efficiency. Both states have to address such widespread issues as early school leaving, underperformance, language skills acquisition and provision of qualitative teacher staff, among others. Within the EU the two countries have room for cooperation and joining efforts to tackle the existing and emerging challenges.

6.2. Comparison of Educational Elaborations on National and Supranational Levels

186 Supra note 152 at 26-37.
http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=854
First of all, it is important to note the limitations of such a comparison. Policies and recommendations on the supranational level as a rule have a general character. Therefore, the comparison will be based on the action items and strategies presupposed by the European Commission’s Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy\textsuperscript{188} as well as general regulations of the aforementioned criteria.

The first principle states that integration is a dynamic two-way process. Consequently, actions on the national level should include: setting up the organizational framework of the host society to enable adjustment and acceptance of immigrants, promoting awareness-building within the host population, supporting various events and activities promoting cultural diversity, respect, equality as well as cooperation with media and other social institutions. On the EU level this means supporting all-European intercultural events and activities, pilot projects and studies, as well as contribute to awareness-building and accurate information distribution.

The second principle states that integration presupposes respect for the values of the European Union. On the national level it means ensuring introductory and explanatory means and activities for newly arrived immigrants, while on the European level it means providing measures and materials for efficient awareness-building.

The third principle revolves around employment. Thus, member-states should develop means and approaches to ensure access to the labour market for the qualified immigrant staff, prevent all types of discrimination, support businesses employing immigrants, and ensuring comprehensive ways of certificate recognitions. On the EU level it presupposes elaborating means to support and monitor the implementation process in the member-states, prevent and react to the cases of discrimination.

The fourth principle is concentrated on the immigrant’s knowledge of the host society. Therefore, on the member-state level it is necessary to ensure flexible orientation programmes and courses for the newcomers, organize trainings for the tutors of these programmes, as well as increase the efficiency and accessibility of such programmes. On the EU level it is presupposed to create platforms for the exchange of good practices and support innovative projects and models.

The fifth principle emphasizes the importance of education. Therefore, separate member-states should adjust their national curricula to reflect diversity and implement measures to improve participation of young immigrants in education as well as decrease of early drop-out rates, etc.

\textsuperscript{188} All the quotations in this section are taken from the European Commission’s The Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy, Supra note 61.
The EU actions should include supporting and promoting education for immigrants, developments and innovations in this sphere as well as bringing educational issues on the European discussion level.

The sixth principle is about giving immigrants access to various social institutions and services. On the national level it means developing information tools for immigrants and improving the capacity of public goods and services to include immigrants, engaging various national and international stakeholders to improve the quality of services and carefully monitor the needs of the host society and immigrants. On the EU level it presupposes developing means to monitor the equal treatment and furthering collaboration between the member-states.

The seventh principle emphasizes the importance of interaction between the members of the host communities and immigrants. Thus, on the national level it is important to ensure and promote and improve the broad living environment and common areas and spaces. On the EU level it is necessary to pay sufficient attention to this issue during policy elaborations and information exchange as well as support cooperation on local, national and supranational levels.

The eighth principle focuses on the practice of diverse cultures and religions under the Charter of Fundamental Rights. Thus, member-states should promote the respect for and ensure the possibility of inter-faith and cultural dialogue. The EU should facilitate such a dialogue on the European level and develop a continuous cooperation with various religious and other organizations.

The ninth principle concentrates on the participation of immigrants in the democratic process. On the national level this means improving civic and political participation of immigrants, their involvement in various political organizations as well as fruitful dialogue and awareness-building. On the EU level this presupposes elaborating and drafting sets of immigrant civil rights and obligations, encouraging mainstream organizations to include immigrants, as well as promoting research and information exchange in this area.

The tenth and eleventh principles revolve around integration policies and measures and their evaluation mechanisms. On the national level it is important to adopt a well-coordinated policy including all societal levels and involving all the necessary stakeholders and policymakers, as well as develop efficient means to monitor and evaluate the policy. On the EU level it is
necessary to ensure means for cooperation among various national and EU stakeholders, as well as support information exchange and develop statistical and evaluation tools\textsuperscript{189}.

Developments on the five aforementioned criteria on the national and supranational level have many common features. It is repeatedly emphasized to ensure the accessibility and efficiency of education, the development of core competences, qualifications and skills necessary to transfer from one educational level to the next one and eventually ensuring employment, curricular adjustments to reflect the needs of the modern societies as well as sufficient teacher trainings and education.

6.3. Cooperation in the Sphere of Education and Immigrant Integration

Being a federal state, for Germany cooperation on national level first of all means collaboration of separate Länder. Along those lines, the federal government is promoting still not very numerous nation-wide projects and innovations, namely, a DJI-Projekt “Sprachliche Förderung in Kindergärten” – focusing on linguistic promotion in early childhood education and care, and Projekt: Entwicklung und Chancen junger Menschen in sozialen Brennpunkten – improving support of disadvantaged youth in socially deprived mostly urban areas\textsuperscript{190} among others.

It is possible to say that coordination on national and intra-national policymaking level is gradually improving. Due to a number of various platforms, mostly the common EU ones, as well as different European and international immigration, economic, political and educational organizations, the policymakers are able to exchange information and successful practices. Although much is yet to be done, but generally this area possesses extensive opportunities.

The two states have the possibility to collaborate within the EU framework. According to the constitution “when legislative powers exclusive to the Länder in school education ... are affected” the Bundesrat shall designate a representative for the EU\textsuperscript{191}, a similar procedure also applies to Sweden. What is more, Sweden has been actively participating in the EU cooperation aiming to maximize “the development effects of migration and mobility” as well as EU’s elaborations on coherence and coordination\textsuperscript{192}. Following the EU recommendations and

\textsuperscript{189} Supra note 89 at 5-12.
\textsuperscript{190} Supra note 128 at 44.
\textsuperscript{191} Supra note 126 at 26.
elaborations member-states report about the actions taken, e.g. in response to the recommendation regarding outcome-based education systems for all students, member-states reported special amendments carried out to adjust their national curricula and assessment measures.\textsuperscript{193}

It has already been mentioned that the content and organization process of education and training remains within the responsibility of the EU individual member-states, at the same time, cooperation between these countries “via the open method of coordination, together with the efficient use of EU programmes can contribute to the development of quality education and training by supporting and complementing measures taken at national level and helping Member States to address common challenges.”\textsuperscript{194}

Generally, education is a key to social inclusion, giving the opportunity to be fully engaged in the country’s social and political life, however, if the education system is not efficient, it can become the reason for exclusion. For some data shows that with an increase in the level of education, people may become “less committed to institutionalized solidarity and equality which fosters social inclusion for all”\textsuperscript{195}. Therefore, one of the main tasks of the whole Europe is to improve “educational attainment and prosperity for its population, whilst at the same time maintaining the commitment of European citizens to the European Social Model”\textsuperscript{196}.

With the purpose of encouraging discussion and cooperation in the sphere of education the European Commission should perform the following actions: promote exchange of education policies, document and distribute successful practices among the member-states, support the conduction of various research contexts, ensure construction and funding of transnational and multidimensional networks embracing national and local policymakers, practitioners and academics as well as parents and teachers\textsuperscript{197}, create “platforms for consensus, comparisons, benchmarking and policymaking” and stimulate “innovative teaching and learning projects”\textsuperscript{198} among others.

The main means for support, exchange of expertise and information on the European level include the following items: the network of National Contact Points on Integration (2003), “Handbook on Integration for policy-makers and practitioners” (2004, 2007, 2010), the

\textsuperscript{193} Supra note 71 at 48.
\textsuperscript{195} Supra note 75 at 13.
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{197} Supra note 71 at 53.
\textsuperscript{198} Supra note 7 at 7.
European Website on Integration (2009) – it is also designed for policymakers and practitioners to serve as a tool for information exchange, the European Integration Forum (2009) – it is a consultative body, providing valuable information on a wide range of areas related to integration – as well as the European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals (2007). The network of National Contact Points on Integration, coordinated by the European Commission, embraces governmental experts on integration. It is designed to facilitate cooperation on the EU level and between the EU and national levels. The European Website on Integration stores data from a number of actors, including national and local authorities, various societal, educational, and private organizations and enterprises, etc. The European Integration Forum is held twice a year and addresses most current and pending issues related to immigrant integration.

Therefore, the availability of means for cooperation, exchange of information and expertise is improving. Due to the limited powers of the European organizations, their role is concentrated on coordination and recommendations. At the same time, the circumstances of particular countries are so varied that restricting the EU influence might currently be one of the most convenient solutions. However, it should not prevent the member-states from conducting joint projects, exchanging experience and sharing ideas.

7. Conclusions

Responding to the increased importance and magnitude of issues connected to immigration and immigrant integration, the present paper aimed to analyze current developments in education as a tool for immigrant integration from the point of view of multiculturalism. The paper, firstly, concentrated on Germany and Sweden as two case studies; secondly, it focused on two levels: national and supranational; and thirdly, it analyzed the possibilities for cooperation among the two countries and levels. The starting point of the analysis was the process of policymaking, rather than the perspective of young immigrants themselves.

Methodologically the research was built upon the review and comparative analysis of the official documents of the two states as well as the general EU issues based on the five carefully chosen criteria, reflecting important areas of school education and integration process. Three main research questions were set prior to the conducted analysis. The purpose constituted comparing the opportunities created by the host society and tracing the limits of the way multiculturalism is

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199 Supra note 57 at 3.
200 Ibid.
applied in an already multinational environment, rather than accessing the effectiveness of these multicultural policies.

Answering the first research question, it is necessary to point out that education for young immigrants is one of the most important tools for adaptation and inclusion. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the structural and organizational institutions of the host society to set up an efficient framework and basis for integration. Expenditures on education help to decrease many of the future costs. Main ways of applying multiculturalism in education include curricula adjustments, personalized education, bilingual school instruction, and special trainings for teachers among others.

Answering the second question, it is important to note the difference in the modes of national identity-construction processes of the two countries, a distinct position towards integration of immigrants and, consequently, a slightly different implementation of multiculturalism in education. Although, the main values, purposes and aims of education systems in Germany and Sweden are very similar, but general access to education, curricular subjects and language policies are particular to the two country’s vision of immigrant education opportunities. Interestingly enough, Sweden sets multiculturalism as a goal of education, whereas Germany has to concentrate not only on inclusion of immigrants themselves, but also awareness-building among the national German population. Generally, both countries have to face numerous challenges and improve the efficiency of school education, as well as its transition to employment. Thanks to the EU, the policymakers of individual member-states have more emerging means and platforms for cooperation and expertise exchange.

Answering the third question, it is possible to state that immigrant integration and education has been receiving highly increased attention on the EU level. The sphere of education remains under the responsibility of the member-states but the EU elaborates general recommendations and report papers. Not surprisingly, because of the general framework of the union and its objectives and purposes, many of the recommendations have strong human and child rights as well as employment perspective. Furthermore, much of the attention is concentrated on the framework of core competences and strategies for development. The EU recommendations mostly have a broad character, living the specifications to particular member-states.

By means of conclusion, the Europe 2020 strategy sets numerous goals for education improvements and better immigrant integration, responding to the urgent needs and problems among the member-states. Both countries and levels analyzed repeatedly emphasize the
importance of a well-thought and efficient action plan in the spheres of integration, education and education for immigrants.
List of Resources


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