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STUDY

Policy Department Structural and Cohesion Policies

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

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ЕВРОПЕЙСКИ ПАРЛАМЕНТ PARLAMENTO EUROPEO EVROPSKÝ PARLAMENT EUROPA-PARLAMENTET
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Directorate General for Internal Policies of the Union

Policy Department: Structural and Cohesion Policies

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Intercultural Education in Schools

STUDY

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Directorate General for Internal Policies of the Union

Policy Department B: Structural and Cohesion Policies

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

STUDY

Content:

"Intercultural Education" is a pedagogic approach aimed at fomenting a tolerant and sensitive attitude to ethnic, cultural and religious differences between individuals.

This study examines how Intercultural Education is provided for in the classrooms of selected EU countries, including France, Germany, Hungary, Italy and the UK. It finds that - in spite of the increased diversity of EU societies - political discourse is becoming less attentive to Intercultural Education in some countries.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Scope of the study

Intercultural education in schools has been a significant issue in policy discussions and projects within European organisations and institutions for about three decades, or even longer if we consider the debates preceding the introduction of the term “intercultural education”. The reasons for this commitment are: international migration movements, which intensified especially after World War II, the historical multilingual and multicultural assets of many European countries and of Europe itself, and the necessity to make formal, non-formal and informal education more culturally open. This enabled children, youths and adults to become citizens who were aware and appreciative of diversity and capable of intercultural dialogue, not only within Europe but worldwide and regardless of origin. Included in this process of rethinking education in an intercultural way is the task of helping pupils with a migration background to find their way in pre-school and school education and in society, by offering specific language and integration support both in the language of the host country (L₂) and in their mother tongues (L₁). When applied to compulsory education, intercultural education is a transversal approach that can cover several subject matters as well as activities outside the classroom, e.g. exchange and partnership programmes.

The European Commission has periodically carried out surveys to verify the ways in which the educational systems of the Member States operate with intercultural education or similar concepts, such as multicultural or anti-racist or citizenship education, or education for diversity. The latest publication of this kind is *Integrating Immigrant Children into Schools in Europe* (Eurydice, 2004). It contains information about the official policies of EU Member States in this respect, while describing the concrete kind of support that is offered to migrant children. The national policies range from specific measures to help migrant children and youth to more comprehensive approaches in which the general education curricula are inclusive of intercultural education for all, or of citizenship education, education for the inclusion of diversity or similar approaches. After the Eurydice survey of 2004, no systematic update has been published. Only sparse information is available on institutional offers provided by the educational systems of some of the EU member states, and except for very few countries (the Czech Republic, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Norway, cf. Eurydice, 2004: 60-61), no older or recent systematic evaluation of the implementation of intended and declared institutional policies in the field of intercultural education (or related concepts) is available.

The aim of this study is to verify if and in which ways national policies have changed, whether intercultural education (or related concepts) are implemented in the regular practice of schools, and if there are examples of best practice that could be disseminated. The crucial question is whether and how European policies that are definitely favourable to integrating diversity, fostering multilingualism, promoting intercultural dialogue and integrating migrants and other cultural minorities, while giving every pupil and student equal educational opportunities, find resonance in national policies and in daily educational realities in each of the countries of the European Union. The question arises because the media repeatedly report, in some countries more dramatically than in others, about the failure of integration and about poorer educational attainment of migrant or minority pupils compared to native pupils. This fact is confirmed by several OECD research reports, especially after the results of the PISA international surveys from 2001 on. Some people and political parties question the validity and effectiveness of

intercultural education, or they blame it for exacerbating particularism, usually without knowing exactly what it means and whether and where the concept has been implemented at all, or whether or not there is any empirically-based relationship between the implementation of intercultural education or similar concepts and the integration and educational achievement of migrants and minorities.

In this study, the authors attempt to provide some answers to precisely this complex question, by making a comparison at several levels: first, between what is declared in official policy documents of European organisations and policy documents of national governments; second, between official national policies and guidelines, and their implementation in selected examples of best practice.¹ Third, a further level of comparison is between five countries that have been chosen for particular review in this study: Germany, France, the United Kingdom (England), Italy and Hungary. These countries represent five distinct ways of dealing with intercultural issues or - more broadly - with diversity.

The current state of implementation and the impact of some European programmes of mobility and exchange that are significant for intercultural education in schools (COMENIUS and ERASMUS) are also included in the study, as requested. Other programmes mentioned in the technical specifications of the study proved to be not significant for the topic of the study because they are related to the creation of new master courses (ERASMUS MUNDUS) and there are no data about their implementation (Youth in Action and Citizens for Europe). The latter programmes have only recently been launched, so it might be too early to find examples of implementations.

As a research approach, qualitative empirical, comparative inquiry was chosen. This approach allows for in-depth exploration of the situation in the selected countries, by using methods like the analysis of documents, interviews with experts and e-mail questionnaires on specific issues or for additional information. Five case studies were carried out by combining these methods and sources of information. As with any qualitative study, this one does not claim to be exhaustive or statistically representative. The comparative method highlights differences and similarities between national policies. Obtaining the point of view of experts who have been studying this topic in depth for years allows insights into differences between the intentions of policy rhetoric from practical implementation, while naming and analysing problems and contradictions. Finally, the description of examples of best practice allows the identification of some practical ways of implementing intercultural education (or related concepts) in specific national contexts, in particular situations and in response to particular needs.

The five countries were chosen following these criteria: Germany, France and the United Kingdom (especially England) are 'old' immigration countries with quite different traditions with regard to their immigration policies, their education systems and their pedagogical theories. Italy is a comparatively 'new' immigration country. Hungary has recently joined the European Union and is not so much concerned with immigration as with integrating national ethnic minorities, as it is the case in all member states in Eastern Europe. The five case studies represent a variety of political and social situations which appeared promising for a productive comparison, and at the same time for identifying different types of policies characteristic of many other EU member states, as the findings confirm.

¹ The implementation of general policies and of examples of best practice cannot be verified for all member states given the lack of evaluation reports on this issue. This task could not be performed in the scope of this study given the restricted amount of time and limited budget.

Main findings

Intercultural education is not a term shared by all member states. As already stated in Eurydice (2004: 58), most countries include in their policies some approach that is meant to include the diversity of cultures and/or of other differences, but the terminology and the discourses vary. Within the five case studies, only Germany and Italy have included the concept of intercultural education in their general policy guidelines since the 1990s. In both countries, the concept of intercultural education is meant as a transversal approach covering most subject matters and directed to all pupils and students. At the same time, the practical application of intercultural education is often misunderstood by local authorities and teachers. Support in the language of the host country (L₂) as well as social and educational integration of migrant pupils is often intended when schools or teachers claim to provide intercultural education. Minority languages (L₁) are theoretically welcome in German and Italian schools but, in practice, mother tongues of migrants are taught only marginally. Teacher education, which takes place at the tertiary level, often includes intercultural or diversity issues, but this is not mandatory. This means that there is a gap between official policies, daily practice, and the practice of universities and, especially, teacher education. Germany has a school system with early selection and tracks, and early childhood education is not accessible to everybody because it is not free of charge. Italy has an inclusive school system (comprehensive schools, special education integrated in regular schools) and a well developed system of early childhood education, but with important qualitative differences between North and South.

France and the United Kingdom have been changing their policies for the last ten years or more, in that intercultural education (France) and multicultural or anti-racist education (United Kingdom) have disappeared from the general education discourse. In France, the linguistic and cultural assimilation – officially called integration – of pupils with a migration background is the main goal. Solidarity and equal opportunities for all students are the main concepts. In the UK, ethnic minorities are mentioned in official documents in relation to their academic achievement, but not in the sense of multicultural education. Extra support in English as a second language is declared as being necessary, but the funding is often lacking. The main concepts in the UK are national cohesion and citizenship education, which should include the diversity represented by migrants or ethnic minorities; at the same time, the faith issue is of great importance. On the contrary, in France religion is (as it has been since the 1880s) completely excluded from public institutions, so it is not a pervasive topic in education. In both countries, the teaching of mother tongues (apart from English and French respectively) has very little space in schools, except for some specific projects. Intercultural education or citizenship education are present in teacher education, but only sporadically and not in an extensive manner. Both countries have comprehensive schools (with some important differences between the two systems) and highly developed early childhood education.

In Hungary, the concept of intercultural education is not used. The official policy pursues the goal of inclusiveness, which applies to ethnic minorities (Roma) and to pupils with disabilities or special needs. The languages of minorities are taught in some schools, and the main focus is to provide pupils from ethnic minorities with an education. In many cases, minorities are taught in special schools, which is a form of segregation. Teacher education is being reformed within the scope of the Bologna process and consistently with the policy of inclusiveness. The Hungarian school system has education tracks (similar to the German one) and a well developed system of early childhood education. Inclusiveness is therefore played out in a system of highly selective structures, which appears to be a contradiction.

Common problems in all five countries are: insufficient devices for quality assessment and control; insufficient teacher education, especially in-service training and little engagement in implementing European policies on intercultural education. A general tendency appears in four of the countries to encourage assimilation (which is not the same as integration) and exclusively teaching the language of the host country; Hungary appears as an exception in this respect because teaching minority languages is part of the policy. Intercultural education (or related forms of education) is described as a necessity, especially in those areas in which migrant or minority pupils live, but no special mention is made of intercultural education in rural areas. This aspect (urban versus rural areas) is not tackled in the Eurydice survey (2004) either. The five case studies provide evidence for several types of general policies and of best practice examples related to intercultural education (and such similar concepts as diversity education, inclusive education, and citizenship education) in schools that are found in other member states. Intercultural education (or similar concepts) can be provided (a) in educational systems that are structurally inclusive, and (b) in educational systems that are structurally selective and exclusive. It can focus (c) mainly on migrant and minority pupils or (d) explicitly address all students. Finally (e), intercultural and diversity issues may be played down and be subordinated to ideas like solidarity or national cohesion or citizenship education. In all member states, the implementation of intended policies tends to be difficult. One problem is the successful instruction and integration of migrant and minority pupils from families with low incomes and little education. The other problem is a contradiction between intercultural ideas and the national and mono-cultural thinking as well as cultural prejudice present in societies and schools.

Mobility and exchange programmes (ERASMUS and COMENIUS) are well known. However, only a very small minority of schools participate in COMENIUS, and the projects often lack sustainability. ERASMUS is considered to be a very good tool for developing intercultural openness in students in a very general manner, but there is no data on how many ERASMUS students actually participate in courses with a specific focus on intercultural education, so the relevance for this study is limited.

Other programmes like ERASMUS MUNDUS, Youth in Action and Europe for Citizens have no connection with intercultural education in schools. The former is a programme for developing high-quality master courses involving several universities and international students. The latter two may be relevant for intercultural education in schools, but no reports on implemented projects are accessible so far.

Recommendations

To summarise, the problem of compensating social inequality appears to be the main issue in all countries, so this issue, which has been a central one since the 1960s, is more topical than ever. But it is not by ignoring cultural and language variety and issues related to the identities of minorities and to intercultural dialogue in schools that social inequality will be compensated. On the contrary, recognition and respect of language and cultural diversity is necessary in order to avoid social marginalisation.

In the field of school education, the diversity-friendly and intercultural course of European policies is counteracted not only by some national policies, but also by OECD approaches. Especially since PISA, the OECD has substantially contributed to legitimise host country language-only tendencies at the expense of migration and minority languages and of bilingual education. A neo-assimilationist course is emerging as an opposition block to the pro-diversity

European policies. This is a political challenge that the institutions of the European Union are certainly aware of, and that needs to be met more effectively.

The implementation of appropriate and effective policies, whether they are called intercultural or inclusive or diversity-friendly or citizenship education, needs appropriate structural conditions. Some important aspects are listed here:

- supervision, controlling, and quality assessment of what is taught in schools;
- school reforms that overcome early selection and mechanisms of social and ethnic exclusion. It must be noted here that most school systems in Europe and around the world have abandoned early selection and try to offer common schools for everybody until the age of fourteen or fifteen or even sixteen, mostly on an all-day schedule;
- qualified early childhood education and care, in which the particular needs of children with a migration background are catered for. Research has provided empirical evidence that high-quality childhood education and care in qualified institutions is a valuable support for families and most beneficial for all children, but especially so if they grow up in socially deprived situations or if they need language support in L₂ and L₁;
- high-quality language instruction both in L₂ and L₁, which requires appropriate time-slots and funding;
- teaching methods that are inclusive, cooperative and individualised, but not following the criterion of ethnic attribution; this implies enough funding and personnel;
- teacher initial and in-service education that explicitly address intercultural education, inclusiveness, diversity and/or citizenship education;
- dissemination of best practice through appropriate channels like teacher education and the Internet;
- research at the micro-level (classroom or grass-roots level) that reveals more about what happens in the everyday life of schools;
- more effective forms of dialogue between research and policy-making.

In the field of mobility and exchange programmes, the following aspects emerge:

Evaluations of COMENIUS underline many positive effects: intercultural competence, openness and better cooperation within and between schools. However, there is a partial mismatch between European policies and national policies (and in some cases - in federalist systems - regional policies).

Language is a major problem. A further challenge encountered by students is the fact that academic cultures are different in each country. The Bologna process achieves some degree of harmonisation of structures, but fortunately cultural differences that are a historical heritage will not be neutralised by it. This makes participation in mobility programmes so enriching – an experience of intercultural education. For students to benefit from the intercultural experience, it is necessary to prepare them better before they start studying abroad. The language issue will have to be looked at more closely in each country: educational systems that have neglected the teaching of foreign languages need to improve this.

Finally, better policy-making strategies are necessary in order to improve the synergies between the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Council of Europe and the national

states. The international, European and intercultural dimensions of school education are not seen as necessary by all political and pedagogical actors. Better information, a simpler and leaner bureaucracy, and quality assessment are needed, which is a task the European Commission should tackle in cooperation with the national agencies and the ministries.

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of intercultural education (in some countries multicultural or anti-racist education) has been used in educational sciences and in policy documents of several European countries since the late 1970s (Allemann-Ghionda, 2006a). The first generation of this concept was still very much concerned with the rights and problems of the children of migrants in school institutions. The main reason for that is that several countries in Western Europe (e. g. France, Germany, Benelux, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom) at several times, but especially so after World War II, had faced the challenge of including large numbers of pupils coming from other countries and speaking languages other than the official school language in the receiving country and region. In the case of the United Kingdom, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, citizens from former colonies represented a large part of this diverse population. Migrants and ethnic minorities coming from former colonies were (and often still are) perceived by teachers and school authorities as ‘different’ with regard to language, culture and, in many cases, religion. This problematic perception of difference contradicts the historical fact that European countries have always been culturally hybrid, and that Europe as a continent is mixed too, as many documents of European organizations have repeatedly underlined. The arrival of large groups of migrants from other European countries or from former colonies at first (i. e. in the 1950s and 1960s until the mid or late 1970s) generated policies and pedagogical concepts that strove to compensate for deficits in areas such as language acquisition. This was consistent with the compensatory pedagogical approaches that were dominant in those decades. Already since the mid or late 1970s, in different national pedagogical discourses, especially in the traditional immigration countries like France, Germany, Benelux, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, terms and concepts like ‘intercultural education’, ‘multicultural education’, and ‘anti-racist education’, had emerged as an expression of changed views on the meaning of cultural differences and diversity: not deficit and source of problems, but normality and chance for change. These concepts found their way from theoretical debates and from the realities of schools to policy orientation, but with different intensity and, as we shall see in the national case studies within this report, with different histories and itineraries. Some countries of Southern Europe (especially Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece) that had provided the countries of North-Western Europe with manpower, have become immigration countries roughly since the 1980s. In these countries, intercultural education became an issue in educational sciences and in policies later than was the case in the traditional immigration countries.

In Eastern Europe, intercultural education has emerged and developed since the 1990s, only after the collapse of the Soviet system, and has a particular connotation. It is essentially about the integration and the respect of the cultural, linguistic and educational rights of autochthonous minorities, and very little or no immigration (cf. Kozma, 2003; Genov, 2005).

In the present scholarly discussion, after three decades since the first debates on intercultural education, migration is seen as *one* of several processes that bring about social and cultural transformations. These, in turn, require education to be redefined. Although some authors still regard migration as the main source of plurality and the foremost reason for intercultural education, in our view there are three more social transformations or “manifestations of plurality” that are equally influential and relevant. These are the intra-national, historical variety of languages and cultures, for example in Belgium, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and many other countries in Europe and all over the world; the European variety of languages and cultures linked to European integration, which makes intercultural

communication skills within the European space both a challenge and an opportunity; and mobility and intercultural exchange in a physical and in a virtual sense: in this era of globalisation, people are embedded and involved in a cross-cultural net that challenges them more than ever before, forcing them to take notice of language and cultural variety and to interact with it (cf. Allemann-Ghionda 2004: 82 ff.).

For all these reasons, and not only as a reaction to migration, education needs to shift from a mono-cultural and nation-centred to an intercultural and international idea of humanity. What we might regard as the second generation of intercultural education is an education concerned with different sources and manifestations of plurality. Against this background, a possible definition of intercultural definition is as follows:

“Education is intercultural when it recognises the fact of linguistic and socio-cultural plurality/diversity at the levels of organisation, curriculum content and teaching methods. In all subject matters, different perspectives are included, compared and analysed critically. Cultures and languages of national minorities or of migrants may be part of this process depending on the circumstances. Independent from the physical presence of persons with different socio-cultural and language backgrounds, the key-idea is to respect any and every socio-cultural and linguistic expression. This is not obvious, knowing that many representations (for example in textbooks) imply an ethnocentric view, i.e. the supposed superiority of Western civilization.” (translated from Allemann-Ghionda, 2004, p. 105-106; for a more detailed discussion, see Allemann-Ghionda, 2001.)

The issue of adequately and justly schooling pupils and students and of integrating those who have migrant origins and/or belong to an ethnic minority, whether they be citizens of the origin country or of the receiving country or both, is an important part of this scenario of social transformations and of this theoretical framework that defines the aims of education. Overall changes in the curricula of most subjects (transversal approach), as well as specific programmes that encourage intercultural exchange between schools and beyond school education, especially in higher education and even more specifically in teacher education, are necessary in order to develop intercultural education. All persons involved in an educational process, whether they are migrants or not, whether they belong to majorities or to minorities, teachers and students alike, need to develop attitudes, knowledge, and competencies that are intercultural.

In the language of European organisations, “intercultural education” has a broad meaning that encompasses all the aspects discussed above. According to the technical specifications of this study,

“the term (intercultural education) is taken to mean an education aimed at fomenting a tolerant and sensitive approach towards socio-cultural differences between groups with different ethnic, cultural and religious origins, especially when these are controversial and likely to create conflicts. Intercultural education is therefore about improving understanding between different societies and different majority or minority groups in the same society. According to the Council of Europe, the ‘inter’ in intercultural is significant: it implies breaking down barriers, exchange and reciprocity, rather than merely passively accepting differences in a tolerant manner or even assuming that individuals belong to defined and fixed groups. Given these broad aims, intercultural education should not normally be regarded as a separate school subject, but as a pedagogic approach covering several or all subjects and including activities outside the classroom.”

Apart from the Council of Europe, which introduced and diffused the idea of intercultural education quite early (Porcher, 1986), other European institutions, especially within the European Union, concentrated in a first phase on the issue of integrating migrants. A milestone of this commitment was the directive of the European Communities of 1977 (The Council of European Communities, 1977), which postulated that immigration countries foster the integration of migrant pupils by facilitating their learning of both their family languages (L_1) and the school language (L_2). Only since the 1990s has the concept of intercultural education appeared in reports and other publications by the European Commission at several levels and by the European Parliament. In a recent report by Miguel Portas, Member of the European Parliament (Portas, 2005), the importance of including the migrants' original languages in the school curricula is seen as a means of fostering their integration while contributing to an intercultural education for everybody. There is no doubt that all institutions belonging or attached to the European Union go in the same direction: socio-cultural diversity and multilingualism are normal features of all societies and represent a cultural treasure, not to mention their economic value.

European projects that operate with the term "intercultural" – not only in the framework of schools - are present and are promoted in printed publications and on the Internet. The programme *Year of Intercultural Dialogue* proposes a package of programmes and initiatives to support this general policy.² The European and international dimension in education is a further expression of the European Union's intercultural commitment to education.³

The policies of most EU member states use the concept of intercultural education, or if they do not so explicitly, they use concepts that are related to it.

According to the latest survey by Eurydice, which bears the title *Integrating Immigrant Children into Schools in Europe* (Eurydice, 2004), a focus on cultural diversity or on intercultural education is present in most member states. Three main dimensions are identified:

- Learning about cultural diversity in order to develop tolerance and respect among pupils, sometimes enhancing the fight against racism and xenophobia;
- The international dimension, which should provide for an understanding of contemporary cultural diversity in its historical and social context;
- The European dimension, which should enable pupils to develop a sense of European identity (cf. Eurydice, 2004: 57).

According to this survey, only Iceland and Bulgaria do not explicitly take account of the intercultural approach or diversity in their curricula (ibid.: 58). It may be added that in most countries the issue of dealing positively with multilingualism is the backbone of intercultural education; however, the way in which this is meant and dealt with in institutions varies a great deal.

An updated survey of the same kind as the one published by Eurydice in 2004 is not available yet, but it was possible to retrieve some information about the policies recently adopted or confirmed after 2004 in some member states. A new tendency is that in some of the countries the concept of intercultural education is being enlarged or replaced by citizenship education or democratic education, or by the inclusion of differences in a broad sense (not only socio-cultural differences):

² <http://www.interculturaldialogue2008.eu>.

³ <http://www.eurydice.org/portal/page/portal/Eurydice/Eurypresentation>.

- In Austria, in the year 2008, focus is placed on a programme called Education for Democratic Citizenship through Education;⁴
- in Belgium (Flemish region) the Government plan for 2004-2009 enhances the goal of “rejecting exclusion or discrimination on the basis of ethnical, religious or cultural background”;
- in the United Kingdom, the curriculum reform intends to introduce “local and global citizenship” in upper secondary schools;
- in Finland, the 2006 national curriculum states that “acceptance of multiculturalism” is a part of basic education as well as secondary education;
- in Estonia, an “Action Plan of the State Integration Programme for Non-Estonians, 2004-2007” aims at promoting the integration of the Russian speaking minority;
- in Latvia, the educational reform of 2005/2006 stresses “Democracy”;⁵
- in Sweden, the national curriculum sets the goal of including diversity, but does not use the term “intercultural education”. For children with a migration background, special teaching in Swedish as a second language is provided. Tuition in the mother tongues is possible wherever at least five pupils of one language and a qualified teacher are present. However, some difficulties in integrating newcomers are described;⁶
- in Spain, intercultural education is defined as an approach that is to pervade the whole curriculum. Policies pay a great deal of attention to the integration of migrants (Essomba, 2007).⁷

This small selection of member states demonstrates that different priorities are defined according to the problems that a given society has to face, but obviously also following the political agenda of the government in a particular period. Accordingly, a comparison between the official policies promoted by European institutions and national policies will reveal distinct national ways and even some major discrepancies between European and national discourses and practices.

In order to reconstruct a realistic picture and to understand the situation in Europe and in the single member states with regard to “intercultural education in schools”, one has to bear in mind *three major problems*. *The first problem* is: what governments declare as their official, intended policies is very seldom controlled in practice, not to mention systematic evaluations. According to the Eurydice survey of 2004, only the following member states have evaluated the implementation of intercultural education (or related concepts) in schools: the Czech Republic, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom (England), and Norway (Eurydice, 2004: 60-61). The nature and quality of these evaluations is heterogeneous, to say the least. *The second problem* is that the European institutions that declare intercultural education (and related concepts) to be of primary importance for education have only a limited influence on national policies. Policy instruments are national, or regional within a nation (this is the case in education

⁴ <http://www.aktionstage.politische-bildung.at>.

⁵ Source: Citizenship education at school in Europe:

<http://www.eurydice.org/portal/page/portal/Eurydice/showPresentation?pubid=054EN>.

⁶ Undervisning för elever med utländsk bakgrund och för nationella minoriteter, in: Skolverket, Stockholm, April 2008, <http://www.skolverket.se/sb/d/139/a/846#paragraphAnchor0>; see also Nationell strategi för utbildning av nyanlända barn och ungdomar. In: Myndigheten för skolutveckling, Stockholm, December 2007.

⁷ See for example <http://aulaintercultural.org/>.

systems that are federal) in the first place. It is true that European organisations and other supranational organisations like the OECD and UNESCO exert some influence on the evolution of national and regional policies, because all countries are involved in at least one of these supranational organisations or entities. But the question is: what policy instruments do exist that might facilitate the implementation of the European goal of intercultural education in schools? More precisely, the crucial question is whether and how European policies that are definitely favourable to integrating diversity, fostering multilingualism and integrating migrants and other cultural minorities while giving them equal educational chances, find resonance in national policies and in daily educational realities in each of the member states of the European Union. The question arises because the media repeatedly report, in some countries more dramatically than in others, about the failure of integration and about poorer educational attainment of migrant or minority pupils compared to native pupils – a fact that is confirmed by several research reports by the OECD (Stanat & Christensen, 2006; see Annex VI). Some people and political parties question the validity and effectiveness of intercultural education, or they blame it for exacerbating particularism, usually without knowing exactly what it means and whether and where this concept has been implemented at all, or whether there is any empirically-based relationship between the implementation of intercultural education and the integration and school achievement of migrants and minorities.

The *third problem* is that systematic empirical research findings on the implementation of intercultural education (or related concepts) in the member states are scant. Besides the survey provided by Eurydice (2004) and some studies on particular aspects of intercultural education⁸ or on a very small selection of countries (for example Leeman, 2008 on The Netherlands; Moree et al., 2008 on the Czech Republic), there is no data that would provide a sufficient corpus of data to exhaustively answer the question of how intercultural education in schools is implemented in practice.

In this medium-sized study, the authors try to give partial answers to precisely this complex question, by making a comparison at several levels: firstly, between what is declared in official policy documents of European organisations and policy documents of national governments; secondly, between official national policies and guidelines and their implementation in selected examples of best practice. Thirdly, a further level of comparison is the one between the five countries that have been chosen for this study: Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Hungary.⁹ In the original plan, Sweden was to be included in the study. Unfortunately, it was not possible to establish the desired contacts with Swedish experts for a case-study. However, an example of best practice could be retrieved in Sweden towards the end of the study (Annex IV). The German case study is more detailed than the studies on the other countries, because of the study team's links.

The aim of the study is to analyse differences and similarities in recent educational policy developments and their implementation in the chosen countries, and to describe examples of best practice in the field of intercultural education and of the integration of migrants and/or autochthonous minorities in schools (compulsory education). Pre-school education is not part of compulsory education in any of the countries of this study (except that in Hungary the last year of kindergarten is compulsory), but some relevant information on this segment of education is included in the study. As requested, the current state of implementation and the impact of such

⁸ For example: Heckmann, F. (2008): <http://web.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/pdf/NESEducationIntegrationMigrants.pdf>

⁹ The three comparison levels are not meant as a chronological sequence.

European programmes that are significant for intercultural education in schools are included in the study.

The method of this study is a qualitative analysis of case studies on the five selected countries. The case studies are based on the analysis of policy documents, scholarly papers and books, as well as telephone interviews and e-mail communication with experts for every country. The methodological approach of qualitative case studies was chosen because a qualitative, comparative study allows the in-depth examination of some of the central questions that are already known in general terms from previous research but that are constantly evolving, and for which explanations are sometimes lacking. Especially the implementation of intercultural education and of integrative projects, the factors that may hamper or favour the application of policies, as well as examples of best practice, can best be understood by combining information extracted from recent scholarly literature and the Internet, with the information and analysis provided by experts in interviews.

As with every study based on qualitative empirical inquiry, this study cannot and does not claim to be exhaustive or statistically representative. The conclusions and recommendations of this study are based on the findings of the inquiry made specifically for it, but also on previous comparative research done at the University of Cologne and elsewhere. Documents retrieved from the Internet as well as through scholarly networks were also evaluated. These allowed the inclusion of some more examples beyond the in-depth case-studies.

The authors are responsible for any errors or misinterpretations that may have occurred. The authors wish to express their warm thanks to all the experts who agreed to share their knowledge by giving interviews or responding by e-mail. A list of the experts is provided in Annex VII.

2. INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE MEMBER STATES – FIVE CASE STUDIES

2.1 GERMANY

2.1.1. Intercultural Education and Integration of Migrants in Educational Policies

Intercultural education has been discussed in Western Germany by educationalists since the late 1970s, adopting a term which had been introduced by the Council of Europe. As in many other European immigration countries in Western Europe, the first reason why educational researchers sought a culturally enlarged theory of education was the necessity to integrate pupils with a migration background while respecting their socio-cultural and linguistic heritage and variety. Unlike in the United States or Canada, at this early stage national ethnic minorities (there are some in Germany, but they are not perceived as socially problematic) were not especially meant when discussing intercultural education, nor are they mentioned in more recent policy documents. In Germany, the theory of intercultural education was developed as criticism of the first reaction of schools and of pedagogy to migration, a pedagogy that bore the label of *Ausländerpädagogik* (pedagogy for foreigners) in the 1960s. Looking back, we may distinguish an evolution of theories in the German discussion from a paradigm of deficit to a paradigm of diversity as in the following figure.

Fig. 2: Difference, minorities, and education: Four paradigms

Deficit hypothesis	Difference hypothesis	Equity hypothesis	Diversity hypothesis
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From Allemann-Ghionda, 1999: 133.

The present theoretical discussion obviously prefers the second and fourth paradigms. In the latest edition of Winfried Böhm's Dictionary of Pedagogy we can read that intercultural education is a concept that goes beyond the concepts of *Ausländerpädagogik* and multicultural education and that, in Germany and in the international context, since the 1980s intercultural education has not been any more a "compensatory task, [...] but a challenge to general education considering the factually existing cultural variety and its recognition and respect (European unification, global society, education for peace)." (Böhm, 2005: 316)

Only after the mid-nineties did policy instruments include these ideas. In the German educational system, which is a federal one, a certain role of coordination and orientation is played by the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education, in German *Kultusministerkonferenz* (KMK). In a 1996 recommendation, the KMK used the concept of intercultural education for the first time. In this document, intercultural education is seen as a necessary enrichment of general education for all, and not only as a reaction to migration, in the spirit of respect and tolerance stated in the Constitution of the Federal Republic since 1949. So in this policy tool, the idea of intercultural education joins the state of the art of the theoretical debate (KMK, 1996). But because education is a matter in which the sixteen states (*Bundesländer*) are autonomous and sovereign, school laws and intended curricula are more important than guidelines of the KMK for the implementation of intercultural education for all, which includes the task of adequately and justly schooling minority or migrant children.

Especially after the publication of the first PISA results in 2001 (the international survey on the literacy of fifteen year-olds, cf. OECD 2001), in the field of the schooling and integration of

migrant pupils and students, the political and public debate has been focusing more and more on the issue of teaching the German language (L₂ for migrants) and of demanding their integration. Interestingly, the concept of intercultural education is virtually never mentioned in public debate these days. A recent joint declaration of the KMK and the migrant organisations places much emphasis on integration and equal opportunities, while underlining the importance of helping migrants in their endeavours to learn the German language (KMK, 2007).

The fact that stressing the importance of German has again become a big issue, especially since 2001, is due to at least two developments. One of them is the consternation of politicians and of the larger public opinion caused by the results of PISA I. In Germany the results revealed dramatically poor results for a high percentage of the students: 25 per cent did not even reach the first competency level. A socially deprived family and, often, a migration background were pointed out as important factors of poor reading competencies, especially in boys. The fact that schools do not manage to compensate social inequality was and is criticised at many levels. Since the publication of the first PISA results, the issue of increasing the quality and the quantity of German language teaching (not only to migrant pupils but to all pupils with disadvantaged families and language deficits) has been a priority for policy makers, in some *Bundesländer* already in kindergarten. This increased attention might be positive, but some question marks arise when one sees that poorly qualified personnel are often in charge of this tuition, and that often only crash courses are organised, the effectiveness of which is more than dubious.

A second reason is that, after PISA, the OECD very much insisted on reading skills in the official school language and on the necessity of intensifying this aspect of language support – not the mother tongues. OECD reports have been finding great resonance in the media and among politicians in Germany lately.

The third reason for insisting on ‘German only’ and forgetting about mother tongues and intercultural education is a general shift in politics and in public opinion towards conservative mono-cultural ideas. Around the year 2000, the political discourse rotated around the concept of *Leitkultur* (leading culture), a most problematic concept from an intercultural and European point of view. The concept implied that, in any given society, there is and must be a hierarchy of cultures, that the culture of the majority is a monolith, and that it can and must be imposed upon minorities. This claim for a leading culture may also have been influenced by some expressions of Islamic fundamentalism and by the constant menace of terrorism. These phenomena are interpreted by some as valid reasons to become more strict and repressive towards cultural, religious, and linguistic minorities, although it does not seem reasonable to think that all members of a minority are potential terrorists or that programmes of intercultural education or community language teaching might encourage particularism, fundamentalism or even terrorism.

2.1.2. Intercultural Education in the School Curriculum

An analytical review of the official guidelines (intended curricula) for each type of school and each subject matter has revealed that, in the sixteen *Bundesländer*, ideas related to intercultural education are included in the intended curricula in different ways, sometimes joining the fourth paradigm of the theoretical discussion (integrating different expressions of diversity), but sometimes still reproducing obsolete patterns of *Ausländerpädagogik* (Neumann & Reuter 2004). School laws are equally heterogeneous in their ways of tackling the subject of intercultural education and the integration and schooling of migrant pupils and students.

The main issue about the implementation of policy instruments like those that underline the necessity of intercultural education is the absence of control, supervision or quality assessment in schools. This situation may change in time because, since the beginning of the 21st century, a debate about the introduction of standards and competencies and a series of related devices designed to verify if what is intended to be taught is actually taught, has become more and more influential in Germany (Klieme et al., 2003). Introducing standards and central curricula might eventually result in more comparable outcomes of education and in a more coherent implementation of intercultural education, provided intercultural education remains an issue or an approach that is officially supported.

A comparative analysis of textbooks of history used in the *Bundesland* of North-Rhine-Westphalia showed that the principles of multiperspectivism and of cultural relativism are applied in recent history books and that, in the textbooks, authors closely follow what is expected from them according to intended curricula that exist for each type and level of school (Allemann-Ghionda, 2005). Nothing is known, however, about how teachers interpret textbooks and how they teach what is expected from them in guidelines.

Beside the problem of scarcely-existing supervision of what is taught in schools, there is another factor that hampers implementation. Educational research at the micro-level, at the level of normal, everyday classroom practice, is not highly developed in Germany except for very few examples of research on especially innovative projects. Knowledge about, dissemination and evaluation of implemented strategies are almost non-existent, as a recent report on German education confirms (Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung, 2006).

A third factor is the poor impact of the intercultural dimension in teacher education, at least as far as the past is concerned. The situation has been improving since the 1990s in this respect, but the impact on the actual attitudes and work of teachers has barely been evaluated.

2.1.3. Minority Languages in the Curriculum and Second Language Teaching

In five German *Bundesländer* (Bavaria, Hessen, Niedersachsen, North-Rhine-Westphalia, and Rhineland-Palatinate) the teaching of a narrow selection of community or migration languages (L₁ from the perspective of first generation migrants) is organised and paid for by the *Bundesland* (in some cases with some intermediate or mixed arrangements according to the subsidiarity principle) and in cooperation with the authorities of the countries of origin (Allemann-Ghionda, 2002: 68 ff.). But even in this favourable arrangement, courses in L₁ have mostly been confined to a marginal position in the curriculum. The teaching of migration languages is usually not perceived by schools and school authorities, or by German teachers, as having equal dignity as the teaching of German and of foreign languages like English or French. Since the early 2000s, in the *Bundesland* of North-Rhine-Westphalia one-third of the available funding for teaching L₁ has been cancelled. More generally, this kind of commitment of German authorities has been diminishing. This loss of importance of the migration languages appears as the other side of the coin, represented by the way in which educational policy stresses the importance of the German language as opposed to L₁.

Therefore, only a minority of the pupils who have a migration background actually receive training in their family or community languages. The vast majority of them attend German schools and are taught all subjects in German, which is a second language for most of them. It must be noted, however, that for migrant pupils of the second or third generation, the definition of which language is L₁ and which is L₂ for them becomes complicated. German as a second

language is either taught according to the ‘sink or swim principle’ (submersion) or, if resources are available, pupils in need of language support receive extra support in German as a second language. In some cases extra language support is given to pupils regardless of whether they are migrants or not. The resources are generally scarce for this type of extra support, although, especially after the results of PISA I (literacy), considerable investments were made in order to intensify and extend the teaching of German to migrant children in pre-school and in compulsory education. In this context, an important work of coordination and support is done by FörMig at a national level.¹⁰

The current debate about integration deals, among other issues like violence in schools, interethnic conflicts, Islamic fundamentalism and others, with the question of whether bilingual education makes sense and should be offered to migrant pupils. Some researchers claim that bilingual education, or at least the best possible integration of community languages in the curriculum, helps migrant pupils in their language and overall development as well as in their integration (Allemann-Ghionda & Pfeiffer, 2008). According to some other researchers, it would be wiser to teach migrant children the German language properly and to give up the idea of a bilingual education for this kind of population whose parents are poorly educated and do not speak enough German (Hopf, 2005). According to a recent survey, the dominant point is that bilingual education is not harmful, but not particularly useful either (AKI, 2005). The argument against bilingual education for migrant pupils is most problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it gives legitimacy to the idea that there are two categories of students, those whose parents are middle or upper class and speak a language of prestige (for example English, French) and who, on account of this privilege, are regarded by the school institution as persons who have a right to bilingual education; and those who have less educated parents, speak a less respected language (for example Turkish or Russian), and must be content with a monolingual education in L₂, while giving up their L₁. Secondly, there has been too little bilingual education so far, and hardly any evaluation of bilingual programmes or of the teaching of minority/migration languages in Germany. So there is not enough empirical evidence to support the claim that bilingual education is not the right way for migrant children in Germany, while research has provided evidence for the benefits of early bilingualism (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998).

Beside this generally critical situation of the teaching of migrant languages, there are some oases in the German school panorama. Bilingual schools do exist all over the territory especially in the Western part of the country. They were usually first opened for particular ethnic groups, e.g., Italians in Cologne or in Wolfsburg, the city of the Volkswagen factory, but they may be attended by students of German or of any other origin and mother tongue (Benati, 2008). Thanks to their particular commitment, bilingual schools can boast higher school achievement, especially as far as pupils with a migrant background are concerned.

Finally, an increasing number of schools run programmes of partial immersion. Here the target population is not mentioned and any student may attend regardless of his or her origin.

Pre-school education (kindergarten) is a semi-public service in Germany, run mostly on a half-day schedule. Theoretically every child has access to it from the age of four, but it is often difficult to find a place for every child. Kindergarten is not free of charge, so socio-economic discrimination is likely to happen. Contrary to common belief, in statistical terms migrant children attend kindergarten almost as much as native children. Explicit intercultural education is hardly an issue at this level, but language support in German is given as far as the

¹⁰ <http://www.blk-foermig.uni-hamburg.de/>.

qualifications of the available personnel allow it. German educators at the pre-school level do not have a tertiary level qualification and are usually not trained for teaching German as a second language, so the quality of language support, if it occurs at all, is often poor. A very small number of kindergartens are bilingual and achieve good results in the language support of migrants.

2.1.4. Teacher Education in Intercultural Education

Teacher education (except for early childhood educators) takes place at universities and, in a few cases, in pedagogical higher education institutions (*Pädagogische Hochschulen*). Every student who studies to become a teacher has to take a certain amount of credits in educational sciences. Lectures and seminars on topics related to intercultural education and multilingual issues are present in virtually every German university, mainly in educational sciences, but also in some other disciplines and faculties (Jungmann & Triantafillou, 2004). However, even after the recent introduction of the Bachelor-Master model, the system of studies is conceived in such a way that these topics and subjects can be studied optionally. Therefore, intercultural education and related issues have been well and increasingly present in German higher education since the 1990s but it is not known what percentage of the teacher students actually study these approaches.

In many universities, Master's studies in intercultural education or intercultural communication are offered or are being set up. The target group for such studies includes future professionals in several fields, from social work to human resources to medicine and, of course, pedagogical professions.

Continuing or in-service education is not compulsory for teachers but only to a small extent. In this framework, quite a few courses in intercultural education and related subjects are offered but, again, it is not known how many teachers are interested or have access to those offers. There is some research on what teachers ought to know and be able to do (Allemann-Ghionda, 2006b) and some on what and how teachers think and actually do in the field of intercultural education (Edelmann, 2007). A major challenge is the fact that many teachers who have been serving for years, especially the older ones, have never had the opportunity to learn and acquire competencies in the field of intercultural education. And of course a great deal depends on the personal attitudes and motivations of the individual teachers.

In summary, initial and in-service teacher education includes only partially and optionally (but definitely much more and better than ten or twenty years ago) issues related to intercultural education and to the education of migrants.

2.1.5. School Achievement and Integration of Migrant and Minority Pupils

It is a well known fact that in the German school system, ethnic groups other than native Germans tend not to achieve as well as native Germans (Konsortium Berichterstattung, 2006). Reports by the OECD and by the United Nations (Muñoz 2006) have repeatedly criticised the high degree of socially and ethnically based early selection in a school system which is articulated in five different channels or tracks (*gegliedertes Schulsystem*) already after four years of primary schools with a few exceptions. Comprehensive secondary schools do exist, but as exceptions. An elaborate subsystem of special education is part of the selection system and is often used improperly for teaching migrant pupils who have not learnt German yet. The

achievement gap between migrant and native German pupils appears clearly in the following compared data:

- 40 per cent of the non-German pupils but 18 per cent of the German pupils go to the *Hauptschule*, the least academically demanding type of secondary school;
- 17.9 per cent of the non-German pupils but 24 per cent of the German pupils go to the *Realschule*, the intermediate type of secondary school;
- 18.2 per cent of the non-German pupils but 33 per cent of the German pupils go to the *Gymnasium*, which is the academically most demanding type of secondary school.¹¹
- It is current practice to judge migrant children who still do not speak German well as if they were socially or mentally handicapped, so that they are often put in special education already from the first primary school-year, and are over-represented in special education.

Following the debate on the poor achievement of the German education system after the PISA surveys published since 2001, some reform steps have been undertaken with the goal of reducing the number of tracks. The key question is: what are the reasons for the poor educational achievement of migrant pupils and students in general and of specific ethnic groups? While the differences in school achievement between ethnic groups within migration remains almost unexplained (however, see Walter, 2008), there are different explanation models for the poorer achievement of migrant children in general as compared to native pupils. A systemic view is more plausible than partial explanations: several factors interact and produce better or poorer school achievement (Allemann-Ghionda, 2006c). Among the interacting factors, three seem to be of great importance: the structures of early selection, the scarce possibilities to give migrant pupils a bilingual education, and the assessing and pedagogical competencies of teachers.

Children are tracked very early, and primary teachers are given the power to recommend the kind of secondary school that, in their opinion, each child should attend, in some *Bundesländer* with very little or no possibility of contradiction by the parents. It is undoubtedly difficult for migrant parents with low qualifications, poor language skills and little knowledge of the German education system to counteract the opinions and decisions of teachers, while these judgments and decisions are made very early. This greatly contributes to the overrepresentation of migrant children in less qualifying schools and in special education. Recent research revealed that in North-Rhine-Westphalia, in 40 percent of the cases the recommendation of teachers later proved to be wrong (Block, 2006). No wonder: at the age of ten or eleven, it is too early to decide a child's whole school and further educational career. The system is theoretically (by law) permeable, but in practice it is very hard to switch to a higher school-form.

The poor consideration (apart from exceptions) of bilingual biographies and of bilingual education for migrant pupils among school authorities and teachers, and the scarce possibilities of implementing bilingual forms of education, also contribute to poor school achievement, where families are not sufficiently able to ensure and support their children's language development.

Finally, the loosely organised curriculum of teacher education and the age structure of German teachers often results in poor and only superficial competencies of the teaching personnel, as shown by the first PISA results and subsequent detailed analyses of the PISA data, and as

¹¹ <http://www.destatis.de>.

confirmed by a qualitative inquiry on the assessment behaviour of primary teachers (Allemann-Ghionda, Auernheimer, Grabbe & Krämer, 2006).

2.1.6. Qualitative Examples of Successful Education Initiatives

The Europaschule in Cologne

The *Europaschule Köln* is one of 37 officially accredited *Europaschulen* (Europe schools) in Germany. This secondary school of the *Gesamtschule* (comprehensive school) type is located in the *Bundesland* of North Rhine-Westphalia and has a distinctive integrative school programme based on three interrelated pillars: second language acquisition, intercultural education, and meeting and exchange.

The first pillar, *second language acquisition*, results in a concept of multilingualism in which all pupils learn a second language from the very beginning of grade 5. The pupils can choose between seven languages: French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Russian, and German. In this framework, German is offered as a second language for those children who need extra support, including native German pupils. The language the children select at the beginning, the so-called *Wahlsprache*, is scheduled for three years. The overall aim of this framework is not to achieve a perfect linguistic level, but rather to be able to cope with everyday life situations. Thus, a functional competence is the ultimate learning target. What is interesting in this context is that migrant pupils may opt for their mother tongue as their *Wahlsprache*. In this case, these children function as language assistants in the classroom. This method called *Helfersystem* offers the opportunity to appreciate as well as improve the respective language and to strengthen the self-confidence of the children functioning as experts. Finally, after three years, the children may choose to carry on with their *Wahlsprache* and take it to an exam level.

The second pillar, *intercultural education*, deals with knowledge in relation to Europe as well as fundamental moral concepts and norms in the context of cultural differences. This involves comparing and reflecting different cultures and point of views, especially the children's cultures and countries of origin in class. For this intercultural approach, certain subjects like geography, history, and politics (which form one single integrated subject in the *Gesamtschule*, namely *Gesellschaftslehre* or civic education) are particularly appropriate for teaching about diversity. Nevertheless, a transversal approach to intercultural education covering all subjects is adopted.

The last pillar, *meeting and exchange*, is concerned with organising exchanges and mobility projects. This involves not only travelling to the countries of the languages, which are being learned, but also organising festivals and taking account of holidays.

With regard to financing, it is indispensable for the individual school to get the opportunity to influence the employment of teachers, as the interviewed expert, the pedagogical director of the school, said. In the *Regierungsbezirk Köln* (administrative district of Cologne), where the *Europaschule Köln* is located, it is common practice that so-called *schulscharfe Ausschreibungen* take place. This does not mean that the individual schools employ their teachers on their own account, but the schools do have a say in the decision-making process of hiring teachers.

The interaction of the described lines of action enables the *Europaschule Köln* to offer its extensive school programme focused on intercultural education, multilingualism, the integration of migrants and the support of any pupil who needs it. What makes the school so special is that

their model of intercultural education is not merely reduced to a single project by which the rest of the school is not affected. The concept of the *Europaschule Köln* is an integrated school programme involving the school as a whole.

Koala II

The project Koala II is based on the Koala programme in German primary schools, and is located in the *Integrierte Gesamtschule Holweide* (integrated comprehensive school in the Holweide district of Cologne), a secondary school in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. In this context, “integrated” means that children with and without disabilities attend the same classes. The district of Cologne, where the school is located, has a high percentage of migrants, especially migrants with a Turkish background.¹² About 40 per cent of the pupils are migrants.

Since 2005, the teachers for the *Muttersprachlicher Unterricht Türkisch (MSU)*, which means language instruction for pupils with Turkish as their first language, and the German teachers have started to teach regular German lessons for all pupils together. Turkish speaking pupils are given the opportunity during the German lessons to answer questions in Turkish and to relate in subjects, such as fables, or songs between German and Turkish traditions. In group work these pupils can also work together dealing with the topic in Turkish first. However, they have to translate and present their results in German. Through this transfer, their bilingualism is cultivated. Most of the time, both teachers instruct together. They usually do not differentiate during the German lessons between pupils with Turkish as their first language, and the other pupils. Questions being asked are explained to the whole class to make the other pupils benefit from the explanation. The teachers also coordinate the content in German and MSU, making it possible to instruct the same content in MSU first. This way the pupils attending MSU have the advantage of more content knowledge, which allows them to concentrate on oral participation without having to understand the content at the same time, because it has already been discussed in the MSU lesson. One result of the project is that the oral participation of the migrant pupils is increased and the tolerance within the classes has grown.

Another focus is on the similarities of languages using the knowledge and tools of linguistics, always paying attention to the equal status of all languages, especially of German, and Turkish but also to the other known languages in the group. The pupils attending MSU become more fluent and broaden their vocabulary. The pupils without a migration background learn more about different cultures and become more tolerant about diversity.

Through the cooperation within the classroom of the regular German teacher and the teacher of MSU, the teachers show that teamwork between people with and without migration background is nothing special but rather that it is normal. The classes also celebrate holidays together. Not only traditional German/Christian holidays are celebrated, but also holidays of other cultures and religions.

The project is financed by the Ministry of Education of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia in the framework of a programme of *Integrationshilfestellen* (special positions to help integration).

¹² <http://www.stadt-koeln.de/imperia/md/content/pdfdateien/pdf51/22.pdf>
<http://www.stadt-koeln.de/imperia/md/content/pdfdateien/pdf/5645.pdf>

2.2 FRANCE

2.2.1. Intercultural Education and Integration of Migrants in Educational Policies

In the 1970s, France started programmes on “education in language and home culture” (ELCO) for migrant pupils. These were developed in bilateral agreements between the French government and the governments of the countries of origin of the migrants. The pupils were allowed and encouraged to learn the language of their parents’ origin, as it was believed that it would help those migrants who would go back to their country of origin after having worked in France for some years. The lessons were taught after school and organised and funded by the governments of the involved countries through their embassies and consulates. There was no exchange with other pupils and diversity or differences between cultures were not mentioned. At the same time, several programmes and measures were gradually set up in order to help the pupils coming from abroad to learn French as a second language. Such programmes are still running where necessary (cf. Pandraud 2007).

Intercultural education has been part of official guidelines of the French Republic since the mid 1970s. One of the definitions of intercultural education was that the French society was enriched by other cultures (cf. Abdallah-Preteuille, 1990 and Allemann-Ghionda, 2002: 136 ff.). From 1998 on, the French government stopped using the term ‘intercultural’ in official papers, stressing that cultural diversity is an enrichment for the community and that there should not be a specific status for minorities (cf. Abdallah-Preteuille, 2007). In France, the equality of all citizens is traditionally very important in the self-image of society. Only in terms of foreign languages are the differences and equalities of cultures part of the official education. According to the interviewed expert Ms Baranoa, bilingualism is not recognised as a competence in society, because most people in France barely speak more than one language. Consequently, migrants are being forced by society to give up their own language and, as a result, even a part of their identity. However, according to the experience accumulated in ELCO, it is a positive element for adaptation in French schools if migrant pupils maintain the knowledge of their native language and culture. Since 1998, the national city policy (*politique de la ville*) has been enhancing the concept of solidarity. It links pluralism with integration. The city policy is not, however, part of the school policy. Nevertheless it punctually initiates some projects in schools dealing with intercultural education.

From the perspective of the interviewed expert (Ms Baranoa), the term intercultural education is currently only used in recommendations of the Council of Europe, especially in those for foreign languages. But these recommendations are usually very general, suggesting for instance that issues like cultural exchange and respect of other cultures, solidarity and democracy should enrich the content of the curriculum in social sciences, or that counteracting prejudice and ethnocentrism should be dealt with in class. This should be done through cooperation between schools and the community. The Council of Europe pushes the French government to deal with intercultural education, but it is not considered common sense in France. Reports and recommendations by the Council of Europe do not match the current official French policy with regard to the multiplicity of cultures and languages. The European Union and its organisations are the only organisations that are contributing to a discourse on intercultural education in France.

The focus of policies and practice is on new arrivals. There are only very few projects for migrants who have lived in France for years, or who were even born in France and thus have

French citizenship. Migrants who arrive in France have to attend courses at the CASNAV (*Centre Académique pour Nouveaux Arrivants et Enfants du Voyage*), which is responsible for all young migrant pupils learning French. Migrants have to learn French in order to be able to pass the initial diploma in French language (DILF), the official diploma certifying that they have completed the first level of French language. Before going to these courses, migrants have to pass a test of their language skills because there is a large difference in terms of skills between migrants from former French colonies, having French as a first language, and migrants from other countries. Even though many migrants from former colonies speak French, they sometimes do not know how to write and read French. So the basic assumption and practice is that only newcomers may need some support, while all other pupils are treated exactly the same as natives.

2.2.2. Intercultural Education in the School Curriculum

Within the national curriculum, intercultural education for primary and secondary education is not mentioned. Due to national assessments and examinations, the educational ministry determines school curricula underlying the acquisition of knowledge and skills by pupils, but within this curricula the teachers are free to choose the methods with which they deal with the subject. After completing these subjects, they may also choose their own topics. Even though intercultural education is not compulsory, international topics become more and more important, especially in the language programmes. Therefore it differs from teacher to teacher. On one hand, some teachers believe that they take intercultural education into account, but sometimes they do not really know what intercultural education actually means. On the other hand, there are teachers who take intercultural education into account, but they do not claim it to be as such. Especially in foreign languages, intercultural issues play a significant role.

However, due to the fact that intercultural education is not part of the official policy, most programmes take place outside of schools and focus mainly on migrants who have just recently arrived in France. Therefore, at some levels there is confusion about what intercultural education is or ought to be. Many teachers and even researchers identify it solely with special measures to facilitate the integration of migrant pupils.

2.2.3. Minority Languages in the Curriculum and Second Language Teaching

Migrant children do not usually receive instruction in their first language (L₁) in school. Only if their migration background is from countries where they speak languages usually taught in school (e.g. Spanish for Latin Americans) do they have an opportunity to study their own language as a regular foreign language.

Some schools in France are bilingual, especially with French and English or German. There are also some international schools, but migrants do not usually attend such schools. The official courses of the CASNAV also focus on the French language.

If there are projects within a school, even though they are provided in addition to the regular lessons, they are usually supported by NGOs founded by migrants. Pre-school education is available free of charge, potentially for all children from the age of two. Nearly one hundred per cent of children from the ages of three to six attend pre-school education (*école maternelle*) in France, which is run on an all-day schedule. Pre-school education is a great advantage for children with a migration background because the improvement of their language skills (French only) and social integration are supported at an early age.

2.2.4. Teacher Education in Intercultural Education

There are some approaches by the Ministry of Education to learn about cultural differences, initiated for example by the International Centre of Educational Learning (*Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques – CIEP*). Teachers of foreign languages and of French as a second language are trained there. Other teachers in France do not usually deal with intercultural education. According to the expert, Ms Baranoa, students in universities only learn about differences as a fact, not as a necessity for developing particular competencies. There is one voluntary module of teacher training on intercultural education. The main issue is concerned with understanding diversity and becoming more tolerant towards other cultures. This point of view of the interviewed expert might be corrected by a complete survey of university Bachelor and Master's studies in teacher education. There are scholars who, from their own initiative, teach intercultural issues at universities in educational sciences or at IUFMs (*Instituts Universitaires pour la Formation des Maîtres*). Their impact, however, is probably weak due to the lack of support from a national policy that explicitly favours intercultural education.

2.2.5. School Achievement and Integration of Migrant and Minority Pupils

The integration courses for migrants are organised in classes separated from regular classes, for pupils who are called NSA (“*non scolarisés antérieurement*”, “who did not go to school before”). In those classes the pupils have to learn all topics that other French pupils learned during their entire school career in order to pass the national assessments and examinations in a short time. That makes it even more difficult for the migrant pupils to graduate with a *baccalauréat* (high-school degree) and to attend university. It is much more difficult for migrants who do not come from former French colonies. But even for many of those who were born in former French colonies it is rather difficult, even though the school system of those countries is sometimes based on the French system. Still, as in many other countries, migrant pupils belong mostly to less privileged social groups and families, even in their country of origin. During their stay in the NSA (at maximum two years) the exchange between French and migrant pupils is restricted to a minimum. The integration of children and youths with a migration background has become an extremely important political issue since the surge of violence in the suburbs in the early 2000s. The official policy is to underline that the ethnic background does not count, and that all pupils have the same chances of success, if compared on the grounds of their social origin. In practice, this official version appears to be contradicted by a lack of integration and of school achievement especially in some ethnic groups that are less accepted in society on account of their skin colour, their religion, but especially their social origin and lifestyle.

2.2.6. Qualitative Examples of Successful Education Initiatives

Within the CASNAV, in one project the migrant pupils are sent to primary schools to tell fairy tales and make them use their capacity and knowledge. Unfortunately, many teachers in France do not trust these pupils, even though this approach would help both the French and the migrant pupils to learn about respecting diversity.

Another project of CASNAV is based on the observation that pupils who know their surroundings have higher self-esteem and feel at home earlier. Pupils are instructed to discover their suburb and its cultural and environmental structure. They write down their experiences in French to improve their French. These self-made books are handed out to their families in order to involve them into life in their suburb and education in school.

Throughout France, some language centres are created where people can teach their first language to others. They can learn French at the same time (in tandem). Some centres use the first language of migrants as a bridge to learn French, but the government does not agree with the idea of accepting and teaching the first language of migrants. As a result, these migrants attend these courses only with other pupils of the same origin and cultural background, making integration even more difficult.

2.3 UNITED KINGDOM (ENGLAND)

2.3.1. Intercultural Education and Integration of Migrants in Educational Policies

In the 1960s, the concept of ‘multicultural education’ was a reaction to the first waves of immigration from former colonial countries. Pragmatic change in school practices and policies were the consequences. This bottom-up movement from teachers and local authorities broadened between two groups into multicultural education and anti-racist education. In 1985 there was a significant report by Lord Swann and his committee called *Education for All*, which examined the education of young people in a multicultural society. In brief, from the 1960s to the 1980s there was a pronounced focus on multicultural education and multicultural policies in the United Kingdom. This, however, began to disappear in the early 1990s. A study published by the National Foundation for Educational Research in 1992 concluded that the national and political climate was ideologically unpropitious for multicultural and anti-racist education.¹³ The concepts ‘intercultural’ or ‘multicultural education’ are currently not used in British educational policies. There is, however, a stress on integration, inclusion and community cohesion.

On the one hand, therefore, use of the term ‘multicultural’ started to disappear in the early 1990s. In reality, however, the United Kingdom was and still is a multicultural society. In other words, the absence of language cannot deceive reality. In 1997, when the New Labour government was put in charge, there seemed to be a greater awareness for issues like diversity, equality, and inclusion. However, contradictory policies, especially market policies encouraging “parents and pupils to compete for ‘good’ schools” did not equate to equality of opportunity (Tomlinson, 2006: 15). At the same time, citizenship education has been compulsory in all schools since 2002 (updated National Curriculum), which is supposed to include teaching about diversity. The Education Act of 2006 even imposes a duty on all schools to be inclusive and contribute to community cohesion.

The fact that there is no educational concept or policy officially labelled ‘multicultural’ or ‘intercultural education’ and rather that the emphasis is put on inclusion and community cohesion, suggests that there is no political will or official recognition that British society is a multicultural one. At the same time, the notion of multiculturalism has been heavily criticised by some politicians, “a major assumption being that recognition of cultural difference was responsible for Muslim extremism” (Tomlinson 2006: 16). This attitude in some way creates the impression that the actual presence of minorities is rejected or denied, and the focus is put on the reconstruction of a British society. The policy is contradictory in this respect. Faith has always been and still is a key issue in schools; and ‘ethnic minorities’ as a term has not disappeared at all from official government statements and offers analyses and specific help especially with regard to school achievement.¹⁴

¹³ <http://www.scre.ac.uk/resreport/pdf/088.pdf>

¹⁴ <http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/ethnicminorities>.

2.3.2. Intercultural Education in the School Curriculum

A report by a committee that was supposed to include multicultural and anti-racist issues into the national curriculum and to “consider ways the national curriculum can broaden the horizon of all pupils, as well as the needs of ethnic minorities” (Tomlinson 2006: 13) was censored after having been submitted to the National Curriculum Council. Duncan Graham, the first Chair of the National Curriculum Council at that time, “reported that Conservative Ministers had made it clear to him that there should be no references to multicultural education” (ibid.).

By contrast, as mentioned above, from 2002, according to the National Curriculum, all schools have to teach citizenship education, which is an add-on to the curriculum students may opt at the age of fourteen to study for the GCSE exams. At the same time, there is a very narrow focus on assessment, testing, and the national curriculum. As a result, many schools are not ready to incorporate any wider notions, as they are “very strictly bound by a national curriculum, guidelines, and by the need to get as many kids as possible through the key stage test and then through the GCSE examinations” (interview with Professor Tomlinson). This becomes more important considering that the money the schools receive comes from funding that depends on how well the schools perform. As a result, “schools are very keen to take pupils that will enhance their league table position” (ibid.).

In brief, in the National Curriculum there is no orientation towards incorporating a multicultural and anti-racist dimension, but citizenship education is thought of as a substitute that is supposed to cover issues like diversity, cultural differences, and racism. However, only a few pupils are taking it to an exam level and it is seen by many pupils as a subject that is not to be taken too seriously. The question remains as to who is going to monitor how schools actually comply with the 2006 Education Act and how to monitor whether the schools are being inclusive and promoting community cohesion, while treating diversity adequately.

Audrey Osler suggests that the governmental policy should rethink citizenship education including diversity and imagining the nation as a cosmopolitan one (Osler, 2008). A research project directed by this scholar and called *Interactive Active Citizenship* compares the policy intentions and the opinions of teachers in Denmark, Portugal, Spain and the UK.¹⁵ The project comes to the conclusion that, regardless of the changed official policy in the UK, many teachers regard multicultural education as normal practice in schools.

2.3.3. Minority Languages in the Curriculum and Second Language Teaching

Since the 1960s there has always been funding for language teaching, but it was mainly teaching English as a second language. Funding for mother tongue teaching was gradually introduced. In the 1990s the latter disappeared, so that the money available was only supposed to be spent for teaching English as a second language. In 1999, an Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant was established for schools with substantial numbers of minorities supposed to help achievement of students, which implied the teaching of English. In addition, there is a National Policy Declaration stating that second language speakers, including adults, have to be taught English. At the same time, however, the funding for English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) is currently being cut. There seem to be contradictory policies in terms of second language and mother tongue teaching. Even though there are political measures providing extra funding, it is still not enough. In opposition to the extra money made available, the funding for ESOL is being

¹⁵ <http://www.education.leeds.ac.uk/research/cchre/projects.php>.

cut. There is a clear lack of national policy regulating both the funding as well as how the money should be spent (interview with Professor Tomlinson).

Pre-school education is potentially available for all children in the UK (with some restrictions) on an all-day schedule. This represents very good structural conditions for the language and social integration of migrants and minorities. It could not be verified in the framework of this study whether children belonging to ethnic minorities attend pre-school education to the same extent as natives, and whether special attention is paid to their particular needs.

2.3.4. Teacher Education in Intercultural Education

The Training and Development Agency for Schools, responsible for setting out a curriculum for teachers in training, has produced guidelines containing a collection of requirements. These requirements imply that teachers in training will understand how children and young learners are affected “by a range of developmental, social, religious, ethnic, cultural and linguistic influences” and learn “how to take practical account of diversity and promote equality and inclusion in their teaching” (TDA, 2007: 8). By contrast with this strong rhetoric, there are no actual suggestions or tools as to how these requirements should be realised (Tomlinson, 2006: 12). Some Universities that had Centres for Intercultural Studies (for example the University of London) are abandoning this area. In short, even though there may be local guidance or school guidance once teachers are in service, there is a general absence of policy in terms of intercultural teacher education on a national level, which is in line with the official educational policy that shifted from multicultural education to inclusiveness and community cohesion. Apart from those being trained to teach citizenship education, there are only a few lectures or courses on cultural difference or race.

Universities and their teaching staff are free to choose the content of their lectures and seminars, so multicultural or anti-racist education is still taught and studied, but not as a part of a core curriculum.

2.3.5. School Achievement and Integration of Migrant and Minority Pupils

School achievement of migrant and minority pupils is a crucial issue in the United Kingdom: “How do you get a balance between cohesion and equality and cultural difference, how do you build a pluralistic human rights culture and how do you eliminate racism and, at the same time, how do you provide equality of opportunity for everyone and reduce poverty and inequality which of course a lot of minorities suffer from? [...] How do you bring the children into realising that they actually do live in a multicultural society and reduce racism, which of course is still there against anyone who’s perceived to be different?” (interview with Professor Tomlinson).

Teaching children from different social backgrounds, identifying with different cultures or ethnicities or minority groups, who are growing up with two or more cultural backgrounds and speaking different languages, is a reality in over half of the schools in the United Kingdom. School achievement is not generally lower in migrant or minority pupils, but there are considerable differences between them, partly due to their social backgrounds and partly linked to the circumstances of their being part of a minority. Pupils from India or other former colonies, for example, tend to have more developed English skills and achieve better than pupils from refugee families or from ethnic groups of recent immigration.

However, apart from the legislation outlawing race discrimination and promoting race equality policies, which is positive legislation and represents progress compared to some other immigration countries, there are no actual national or local policy recommendations on how to cope with ethno-cultural and linguistic diversity, even from the point of view of school achievement. The reasons might be traced back to financial aspects, but above all to the fact that “the national pronouncements are all negative on multiculturalism” (ibid.).

2.3.6. Qualitative Examples of Successful Education Initiatives

The Community Language Links project (North London) is an example of best practice that seems to contradict the current official policy in the United Kingdom, while it is consistent with European policies about linguistic and cultural encouragement and the integration of minorities. Its focus is on coordinated and inclusive language support of pupils with a migration background, especially of those who have recently arrived (Broadbent & Kemal 2007). However, it is a project that proved to be supportive of integration and school achievement. Yunus Kemal and John Broadbent believe that the language and culture of recently settled migrants should be included in the mainstream of education provision. However, it is very difficult for any teacher or even a group of teachers to cope with the wide range of languages spoken by different groups of pupils. Therefore, Broadbent and Kemal have tried to develop a form of practice starting at the end of the school day, which combines provision for different community languages with after-school provision for all pupils on sport, music, ICT and literacy in English as well as maths. The main objective of the concept is to increase the achievement of bilingual pupils in an English-medium curriculum. Nevertheless, the provision extends to the whole school population if the parents wish it, so that all pupils may potentially be involved.

Kemal and Broadbent were inspired by the intercultural concept of Jagdish Gundara who set up a Centre for Intercultural Studies at the University of London, Institute of Education, in the early 1980s. In addition, the concept is mainly following some of the recommendations the Committee of Enquiry set up in the late 1970s and 1980s, that is, the Bullock Report, the Rampton Report and the Swann Report, to name the most important ones. Basically, these reports all stated that pupils need to have access in an educational setting to the languages that they speak at home. In particular, the Swann Report also said that its organisation is up to the community. Kemal and Broadbent disagree with that to a certain extent, as they feel that “the teachers should be community teachers, but they should work alongside the normal day school classroom teachers in providing the after-school provision” (interview with John Broadbent). Furthermore, Kemal and Broadbent hold that the language teaching should not take place after school, but should be integrated in the daily school life. This, however, is “a very complicated undertaking” (ibid.).

As far as evaluation is concerned, it is hard to unpick the success of the school from the complementary success of the after-school provision. The pupils involved in the after-school provision did actually reach much higher levels at the height of the concept’s operation. In terms of financing, the funding arrangements for after-school provision have become much more rule-bound, as the government funds after-school provision but not the bilingual provision. This creates some “sensitivities and tensions between the two takers of the after-school provision” (ibid.). Finally, the realisation of such a project depends a great deal on the management of the mainstream institution and their attitudes towards the promotion of both the migrant languages and the support for the families in promoting their language and culture.

2.4 ITALY

2.4.1. Intercultural Education and Integration of Migrants in Educational Policies

Intercultural education has been an issue in Italian educational policies and in educational sciences since about 1989. A substantial increase of migration into Italy was the initial motivation to start discussing different approaches in education, in order to face the important social changes brought into Italian society, institutions, and economy by migration. Intercultural education is also discussed in connection with regional linguistic and cultural minorities and related policy issues, namely in Trentino-Alto Adige (Südtirol), where Italian, German, and Ladino are spoken and taught in schools. The intercultural potential of student mobility in European programmes gradually came into focus as well. But migration is definitely referred to as the main challenge for an education system that is facing many forms of diversity. The Constitution of the Republic of Italy explicitly mentions minorities (linguistic, religious, cultural, and others) and the commitment of institutions to respect diversity. From the start, in official documents of the Italian government (Italy has a centralised education system) the concept of intercultural education was described as one that should be aimed at all students, not only at migrant pupils. The Italian school system is an inclusive one; diversity is a central concept in policy documents and in pedagogy, a concept that encompasses cultural, linguistic, religious, and individual features like ability or disability (cf. Allemann-Ghionda 2002: 256 ff.).

On a national level the Ministry of Instruction, University and Research (Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca, 2006) and the Ministry of Education (Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 2007) have published official documents dealing with diversity as a social phenomenon, and intercultural education as a pedagogical consequence, including guidelines. In this framework, the presence of migrant pupils in daily school life is not only recognised as reality, but also seen as an opportunity for changes for the whole school. However, most probably due to the fact that in the first attempts to conceptualise intercultural education the underlying concept of culture was not reflected enough, as it was often referred to as something static, in the reality of schools the idea of an intercultural education has not always been implemented in the way that was proclaimed by policy documents. For example, many teachers misunderstood (and still misunderstand) intercultural education as a special pedagogy concerning migrant children only (interview with Professor Santerini). Currently the realisation of intercultural education varies from city to city, from school to school and even from class to class. There is little or no control or supervision. To put it simply: if a teacher does not want to provide intercultural education, he or she does not have to, and no authority will object. To summarise, there is a clear gap between policy on the one hand and practice on the other. The guidelines and strategies offered on a national level as to how the Italian intercultural approach should be realised often do not correspond to what actually happens at the micro-level. The reasons might be traced back to the absence of adequate quality management that would imply supervision and evaluation, as well as shortcomings in initial and in-service teacher education.

2.4.2. Intercultural Education in the School Curriculum

In terms of the curriculum, the Italian education system is in a transitional period, as the *Indicazioni Nazionali* (guidelines for a national curriculum) were revised in 2007. The new *Indicazioni Nazionali* have been valid since the beginning of school year 2007-2008 (Eurydice 2006/07: 46). Thus, it is too early to comment on their effectiveness with regard to intercultural education. In the previous *Indicazioni Nazionali*, global diversity was very much underestimated. In scholarly discussion, intercultural education is seen as a transversal

dimension involving all disciplines and subject matters. In school practice, however, there was (and is) a tendency to merely initiate special measures to integrate migrant pupils instead of teaching intercultural education in a transversal way. The recent revision of the curriculum offers the possibility of introducing an intercultural approach. Its effectiveness can be evaluated only when and if it is finally implemented.

2.4.3. Minority Languages in the Curriculum and Second Language Teaching

On one hand, intercultural education in Italy involves language provision in migrant or community languages. However, it is neither structured nor coordinated on a national level. Its organisation is left to the individual school and is very much dependent on the commitment of the communities, of private and religious organisations and the Catholic Church. On the other hand, there is a much greater focus on second language teaching (Italian) than on community languages. This is not due to a lack of awareness about the importance of mother tongue teaching, but rather to the emergency derived from the rapidly rising number of migrant pupils, the amount of different languages spoken resulting from this phenomenon and difficulties in terms of organisation. Courses in Italian as a second language are partly financed by the educational authorities (Ministry, Province) on a quantitative basis, which means that funding is only given to schools with a substantial number of migrants. Other second language measures are financed by local authorities. As a consequence, the funding varies from city to city. Second language teaching is always organised as part of an inclusive approach. Pupils with a migration background are included in a regular classroom (not in separated classrooms) and receive additional instruction in Italian if necessary and if possible.

Pre-school education (*scuola materna*) is available usually from the age of three to six (with some regional differences in actual availability and quality) and functions on an all-day schedule and free of charge. The participation rate is fairly high, but it could not be verified in the framework of this study whether there are significant differences between migrant pupils and natives in terms of attending pre-school. The importance of this segment of education for early support in L₂ (Italian) and for social integration is obvious.

2.4.4. Teacher Education in Intercultural Education

In initial teacher education, it is up to the individual university whether intercultural education is part of the curricula of the different disciplines involved. In addition, the issues dealt with in lectures and seminars depend on the individual lecturer or professor. Accordingly, there are courses dealing more with the different approaches in the field of intercultural education and others putting more emphasis on aspects like prejudice and stereotypes or the role of migrant pupils in class. At present, intercultural education (or related approaches) is taught in many departments and universities all over Italy. This is the case, for example, at the Università Statale di Milano and at the Università del Sacro Cuore di Milano. Another example of best intercultural practice at the tertiary level is the University of Verona, which has a Centre for Intercultural Studies. This shows that the perspectives of educating a generation of teachers and other professionals, who are more aware than the generation that is currently in service, are fairly encouraging, albeit limited to a certain number of universities. However, this is a quite new development, so the teachers that were educated in previous decades are not sufficiently prepared. In the present situation, according to the experts, the fact that intercultural education has not been present enough in teacher education generates confusion among teachers about what the concept of intercultural education really involves. It is often restricted to discovering other cultures or appreciating different customs and food, especially if they are exotic. This, of course, is not sufficient, as intercultural education should involve more activities and aspects

and above all, is meant to be an overall approach that should permeate all or most subject matters in the curriculum. During in-service training, on the other hand, there are initiatives covering national and local projects on intercultural education. In short, intercultural education is not broadly diffused yet among teachers, which is closely linked to an insufficient connection between national policies (which actually claim to promote intercultural education and the appreciation of diversity, and have been doing so for the last two decades), and the content of teacher education in universities and in-service training institutions.

2.4.5. School Achievement and Integration of Migrant and Minority Pupils

As in many other immigration countries, migrant pupils belong mostly to less privileged social groups and families. In Italy, most migrants come from non European countries, so they are usually called *extra-comunitari*. Pupils with a migration background very often speak languages that are perceived as extremely distant from the Italian language and from other European languages: Mandarin and other Chinese languages are among the most present. Generally speaking, migrant pupils tend to achieve less well than native Italian pupils. However, the Italian school system is organised according to the principle of inclusion. Compulsory school lasts until the age of fourteen, and only after lower secondary education are pupils divided into different types of secondary school. This is the result of reform achieved in 1962. Special education was reduced to an absolute minimum (only for severest handicaps) with reform in 1977 (cf. Allemann-Ghionda 2002: 208 ff.). Accordingly, there is no risk of declaring migrant or minority pupils mentally retarded or socially disturbed, as is the case in Germany and in Hungary or other countries which have separated classes for special education. However, the problem of social exclusion exists even in an inclusive school system, and migrant pupils may suffer from social exclusion more than native Italians, because of their skin colour or their religion. Racism and ethnic prejudice unfortunately characterise segments of Italian society and individuals as in every other country.

2.4.6. Qualitative Examples of Successful Education Initiatives

Examples of best practice in Italy can be subsumed under two main lines of action, as explained by Dr Favaro (interview). On one hand, specific projects exist to integrate migrant pupils. This field includes, for example, Italian as a second language, qualified cultural linguistic mediators providing language assistance, the provision of simplified texts as well as the involvement of parents. Concerning the latter there are two types of intervention. The first is about promoting access to and delivery of information for the parents, and the second is about providing cultural linguistic mediators. On the other hand, there is the sphere of action concerned with intercultural education for all pupils - in other words, a pedagogical approach applied in a transversal manner covering nearly all subjects and aimed at increasing intercultural openness as well as improving understanding between different cultures and ethnic or religious groups. This discourse inside the curriculum, however, is still far from being implemented all over Italy except for some particular projects. This still requires time, more qualified and extended teacher education, the revision of textbooks and, above all, the willingness to increase an awareness of cultural changes in a society that is plural, not only in terms of immigration. An example of a school with a clear profile orientated towards intercultural education and the integration of migrants is the *Istituto Comprensivo Thouar-Gonzaga* in Milan, a primary and secondary level school. This school was included in a comparative inquiry in the mid 1990s (Allemann-Ghionda 2002: 244 ff.). At that time, the focus was on “children who come from far away”. The initial intercultural

project gradually expanded and now includes intercultural education for all pupils, integration of migrant pupils, openness to diversity citizenship education, and ecological awareness.¹⁶

2.5 HUNGARY

2.5.1. Intercultural Education and Integration of Migrants in Educational Policies

Education in an “intercultural” sense has been discussed in Hungary since the early 1990s with a focus on national ethnic minorities rather than on migration, for migration has not been a very significant phenomenon. The term “intercultural education”, however, is not part of official educational policy in Hungary today. Since 2004 the focus has been on the broader concept of inclusive education, that is, appreciating diversity, and on providing common learning conditions for all children. This includes all children regardless of disabilities or cultural and linguistic background (Interview with Professor Forray). The Hungarian education system is in some ways similar to the German and the Austrian one, especially concerning the structure that implies an early selection and tracking into two or more types of secondary education. So the idea of inclusive education is to be implemented in the framework of separating, not inclusive structures.

Hungary has thirteen official languages besides Hungarian. These languages are the languages of the thirteen minorities and ethnic groups that have been living in Hungary for the last hundred years. According to the Minority Act in 1993, these recognised national minorities have the right to elect self-governments and to organise their own schools, in which they teach in their own language and in Hungarian. As a result, the Croatian, German, Slovak, Slovenian, Serbian, and Romanian minorities have founded their own schools. The thirteen languages are considered as equal languages along with Hungarian, even though Hungarian is the everyday language and all official documents are written in Hungarian. There is no reliable data available about the number of ethnic and national minorities in Hungary. The national self-governments estimate the number of people belonging to the thirteen registered ethnic minorities at between 845,000, and 1,092,000. But only about 300,000 people declared themselves to be an ethnic minority in the census in 2001, about half of them belonging to the Roma population.¹⁷

Besides schools for the official minorities, there are also schools for the Gypsy/Roma community. However, their major languages (Beashi and Romany) are not considered as languages of national minorities as many Gypsies/Roma do not speak these languages well, but they speak Hungarian at different levels of competency. Encouraged by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, the Roma minorities are trying to achieve recognition for their languages as official languages as well as being permitted “total defence”. A network of schools against segregation and for inclusion was founded also as an endeavour to counteract the Hungarian results of the PISA-ranking in 2000.

The Hungarian Government strives to implement inclusive schools throughout Hungary by financing projects dealing with inclusive education in order to give all children in Hungary the same chances. The challenge is to compensate economical differences, especially differences in the financial resources of schools all over Hungary, due to the fact that schools are partly

¹⁶ <http://www.thouar-gonzaga.it>.

¹⁷ http://www.nepszamlalas.hu/eng/volumes/06/00/tabeng/1/load01_10_0.html.

financed by the local administration, and there is a huge economic gap between the different regions.

The main challenge in Hungary is the integration of the Gypsies/Roma. They are over-represented in schools for children with special needs because they are often judged as mentally retarded and in schools whose certificates do not give access to university. Most Gypsies/Roma live mainly in poor regions of Hungary. Most of them are very poor and have a low level of education. This group suffers from economic, social and ethnic discrimination.

In Hungary, it is a controversial discussion whether the special treatment of pupils belonging to national minorities is helpful or harmful for them regarding inclusiveness and equality in education. In the perspective of inclusive education, it complicates learning about diversity, and accepting the differences. On the other hand, it is claimed that there are verifiable achievements especially of Gypsies/Roma pupils attending Roma schools by giving them special treatment (interview with Professor Forray).

2.5.2. Intercultural Education in the School Curriculum

The national curriculum describes inclusive education as the idea of bringing together children with different abilities, different nationalities and ethnic backgrounds. The aim is to learn about different cultures in Hungary and the world, especially in the subjects of history, geography, art, and modern languages. This approach should help pupils to become more tolerant towards other cultures and individuals. The focus is on national minorities in Hungary. Migration is not yet mentioned in the national curriculum, although many migrants come to Hungary from countries of the Hungarian national minorities, such as the Ukraine, Romania, and Serbia, or belong to the Hungarian minority of their country of origin. There is a growing number of migrants especially from Asia but there are barely any projects dealing with their situation. All schools have their own school curriculum, which has to be approved by the local authorities. Due to this, there are several different ways of dealing with intercultural or inclusive education. In particular, the inclusion of people with special needs is widespread. This is one reason why the focus on inclusive education is on primary education. About forty-five primary schools are attached to a new programme of inclusive education which started in 2005. Inclusive education became one goal listed in the school curriculum. The authorities believe that this will lead to better acceptance and appreciation of the diversity of the pupils and of their learning achievements but this project has been evaluated yet because it started only three years ago.

The schools included in this programme and the local governments see the necessity of encouragement of socio-culturally disadvantaged pupils, namely the Gypsies/Roma. With additional funding, some good projects dealing with diversity and offering equal chances have been developed. However, some primary and secondary schools trying to foster the education of Gypsies/Roma by opening special classes for the Roma minority within regular schools have, paradoxically, contributed to even more segregation and, at the same time, to creating more homogeneous classes.

2.5.3. Minority Languages in the Curriculum and Second Language Teaching

Parents have the right to have their children taught in the minority language once eight parents of the same school apply for it. This includes instruction in the language and the culture. Parents of all minorities can request these courses, which are usually taught after school. The schools get extra financial support for these courses. Additionally, there are different types of schools

for the different nationalities. They differ on how they deal with the additional language. Some schools have extra courses in the language of the national minorities after school, or just as one regular subject. Other schools teach partly or primarily in the nationality language. But all schools teach some parts of the curriculum in Hungarian. Beside the national minority schools, there are also some bilingual Gymnasiums (higher secondary schools) instructing in English or French and Hungarian.

Usually the first foreign language is English, French, or German but the national minority languages are, in some cases, taught as first or second foreign language as well.

Many NGOs assist by instructing in the minority languages. Some NGOs offer free instruction in the language of one of the national minorities. Other NGOs finance national schools, such as the Gandhi Gimnazium, a secondary school of the Roma minority. In addition, there are some governmental programmes such as the HEFOP (Human Resource Development Program) to support programmes outside the school, especially for children of the Roma minority. Students of education go to schools with a high number of pupils from socio-cultural disadvantaged families and support the teachers in school.¹⁸

Pre-school education is offered as a full-time service. Only the final Kindergarten year (5-6) is compulsory. It could not be verified within this study whether children belonging to minorities attend Kindergarten to the same extent as natives.

2.5.4. Teacher Education in Intercultural Education

Intercultural education as such is hardly taught at Hungarian universities, because the term is not used in official policy. The status of intercultural or, more often, inclusive education differs in each university and within each discipline. Some universities have optional lectures on intercultural or inclusive education. In some universities these courses are even a compulsory part of education. Subjects such as history, geography, art, and modern languages also have some lectures based on this approach. During the internship of future teachers, inclusive education as a method is promoted.

Those national minorities who have their own schools also have their own teacher education. These students have to attend courses dealing with the culture of their national minority in Hungary, and about the mainstream culture. After finishing their education, these teachers teach in one of the national minority schools. In-service education for teachers also deals with heterogeneous classes. These ideas get a more significant role in teacher education, also due to the PHARE-Programmes.

Connected to the Bologna process, the universities are changing their teacher education. Two new Master's degrees have been developed. These are a Master of Intercultural Education, and a Master of Inclusive Education. So the concept of intercultural education is being introduced in accordance with European policies. Students can study these Master's subjects in addition to one traditional school subject. They will be launched in 2008.

Besides teacher education, issues concerning diversity, especially the socio-cultural situation of the Gypsies/Roma play a role in social studies, and medical study courses.

¹⁸ (<http://www.gandhi-gimn.sulinet.hu/>).

2.5.5. School Achievement and Integration of Migrant and Minority Pupils

In secondary education there are several different approaches to offer equal chances to all pupils in Hungary. There are significant regional differences within the population of minorities. The minorities, especially the group of Gypsies/Roma, usually live in close settlements in different parts of the country and grow up in homogeneous communities with little contact with other groups of the society. This results in schools with a high population of certain minorities and a special focus on these minorities. It also makes it difficult for the Gypsies/Roma, because they do not know the language of instruction in school and the culture of the majority population well enough, and may feel like strangers in a new environment.

Because of the selection and division of the pupils, usually by the age of fourteen or even earlier, the schools are confronted with different challenges. As Gypsies/Roma are under-represented in secondary education, it is a challenge to facilitate their access to secondary education. Many stereotypes and prejudice between the majority Hungarians and the minority Gypsies/Roma also exist and there is a trend for parents of the majority group not to register their children in schools with a high percentage of Gypsies/Roma. This is the main reason why some schools run classes only for Roma/Gypsy children and for Hungarians, although this is a double-edged strategy that may facilitate schooling and integration but also emphasise segregation by making it visible.

2.5.6. Qualitative Examples of Successful Education Initiatives

The Gandhi Gimnazium is a boarding school in Pécs for the national minority of the Roma community financed by the Hungarian Ministry of Education. Most students do not live in Pécs, but come from the poor regions of Hungary, mostly very small, remote settlements of the South Trans Danubian Region. The aim of the school is to help the group of deprived Gypsies/Roma to get the GCSE, the general certificate of secondary education which allows students to access higher education. Usually Gypsies/Roma in Hungary do not earn the GCSE if they have access to any secondary education at all. The school is based on national ideas, and was founded for the Roma community, but there are also about fifteen per cent members of the Hungarian majority, and other Hungarian national minorities.

Besides the boarding school there is also a second chance department, which started in 2002. Fifty per cent of the students in this second chance department are non Gypsies/Roma. All students participating in this programme can earn the GCSE.

Throughout their education, all students have the chance to participate in cultural events such as sport, music and drama within Pécs, nationwide and internationally. They go to competitions, sometimes even for some days, and they live together with people from other cultures and nations. In this school, there are many volunteers from all over the world. They also live in the dormitory of the school, which enriches the students' everyday life with intercultural contacts.

Especially in the second chance department, prejudices are deconstructed between Gypsies/Roma and Hungarians on both sides because both groups get to know each other better, realise that they can work together and that most things they believe about the other group of the society are just prejudices. In particular, the Hungarian pupils and their families have to justify why they go or send their children to a school of the Roma minority in their social settings. Thanks to common activities, the stereotypes of the pupils change, but the stereotypes of their micro-society do as well.

Many students in the school are bilingual. Some already speak both Hungarian and one of the Roma languages before they attend the school. In school they learn at least one foreign language and one Roma language. While they live together with the voluntary workers from abroad they do not only use Hungarian to communicate with the volunteers but also the language of the volunteers (generally German, English, or French). So they practise foreign languages constantly. In boarding schools, the students also attend a subject called Gypsy/Roma folklore. This class is partly taught in Romani and Beashi, so pupils usually also learn the other major Roma language as well. Combined with contact with other Gypsy/Roma groups, it helps the students become more tolerant towards other Roma groups as well (interview with Ms Dezsö).

3. MOBILITY AND EXCHANGE PROGRAMMES

3.1 GERMANY

Mobility and exchange experiences of students are becoming a more and more important issue for all German students. There is a broad variety of programmes offered by the *Deutscher Akademischer Auslandsdienst* (DAAD, the German Academic Exchange Service) or depending on contacts of professors.

Going abroad is not compulsory within the German teacher education system. However, especially in language studies, it helps the students to complete their studies and is therefore encouraged. Many students go abroad during their higher education or even during their secondary education. The motivation for going abroad, besides learning foreign languages, is usually to broaden experiences, and learn more about other cultures. Most exchanges take place between European countries because most students attend the Erasmus programme. It is the best organised programme and, because of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), is the easiest way to get the performed work recognised. Going abroad with Erasmus is also the best financed exchange programme, thanks to the remission of tuition fees, and further financial support by the German government in the form of grants (*Auslands-BAföG*).

As the interviewed expert at the University of Cologne (Mr Haas) explained, the main barriers for students are either financial difficulties or, especially in the framework of the new Bachelor/Master's degrees, the recognition of the performed work at the foreign university. What makes it difficult to send more students abroad is that universities need to sign more cooperation agreements with other universities, which is becoming more and more difficult every year. The support for exchange students and for those students planning to go abroad could be improved by giving more detailed information and helping to answer open questions, but the personal resources at the universities are far too small for that. Most students rely on the help of the universities and are therefore not able to realise their plan of going abroad. So those students who already have contacts abroad have an advantage in this field.

The COMENIUS programme is coordinated by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education (Educational Exchange Service). According to an external evaluation report published in 2003 (since which time the situation has not changed, as the responsible person in Bonn explained¹⁹), only a minority of the *Bundesländer* has a clear policy of internationalisation of the education system. Every year, two per cent of all schools in Germany take part in a COMENIUS school-partnership. Exchanges with schools in Eastern European countries are particularly popular. A major problem is the lack of sustainability of the projects, another one is the lack of quality assessment. Projects that explicitly address intercultural education have become less numerous in recent years (Kehm, Kastner, Maiworm, Richter & Wenzel, 2003).

3.2 FRANCE

More and more students in France apply for ERASMUS and many students go to France within this programme. In some courses, such as French as a foreign language, it is expected to go abroad. There are Master's degrees (especially Master's in foreign languages) in which it is

¹⁹ Information provided by Ms Held, e-mail, 14th March 2008.

compulsory to go abroad. There has been a change throughout the last few years towards more mobility.

The experiences with the students going abroad are usually very good. Some of these students are shocked because they did not expect the two countries to be so different, even if they are neighbouring countries. The students are asked to write diaries about their experiences. After a while the exchange students can cope with their new experiences and can use this information to think about differences in cultures. But evaluation is not systematic. Because foreign languages do not play a major role in French schools, students are afraid that their language skills may not be good enough to communicate in a foreign country. Besides financial difficulties, this seems to be the main reason why students hesitate to go abroad. Apart from teacher education, there is a module called 'intercultural management and intercultural communication' in management degrees. It is a value for commercial exchanges. It becomes more and more popular for dealing with intercultural issues and it becomes more and more important in other disciplines alongside education (interview with Ms Baranoa).

At the University of Strasbourg, the Department of Educational Sciences is very active in the field of international exchanges both with ERASMUS and COMENIUS. The responsible scholar, Dr Elisabeth Regnault, personally contacts schools in order to stimulate their participation in COMENIUS. She considers ERASMUS the most popular of the European exchange programmes, and the easiest to organise. Numerous contracts have been signed with universities in Europe. In her research, she studies the intercultural effects of exchange programmes in the domain of educational sciences.²⁰

3.3 UNITED KINGDOM

This year is the 20th anniversary of the European ERASMUS programmes, with 15 million participants so far. At Oxford University, students and lecturers have participated over the years and found the exchanges valuable and felt that they have contributed to their education and knowledge of other European cultures. Currently in the Education Department at Oxford, Dr Vassiliki Papatsiba holds a two year Marie Curie Intra-European Senior Fellowship funded under EU Framework 6, Human Resources and Mobility. She is researching university responses to the Bologna Process. The research is analysing the prospects for convergence of higher education institutions in Europe, which implies looking at eight programmes in European higher education including ERASMUS MUNDUS, and exploring the question of whether higher education becomes more European through student mobility (Papatsiba 2006).

While the potential importance of mobility programmes for a stronger European identity and for intercultural competencies is shared by many experts in the universities of the United Kingdom, many students in the United Kingdom have been more reluctant than students from other countries to participate in the programmes because they do not speak other European languages well - or at all - according to Professor Tomlinson.

No information could be retrieved on the implementation of COMENIUS.

²⁰ Data about the number of schools and partner universities involved as well as the type of projects can be delivered on request. Information was given by Dr Elisabeth Regnault, e-mail, 15th March 2008.

3.4 ITALY

According to the interviewed experts, mobility programmes like ERASMUS do contribute to increasing mobility, intercultural openness and European integration in the field of higher education. Furthermore, the credit system works well, meaning that students do have access to such programmes. One major difficulty for Italian students is the poor command of languages other than Italian, although consistent efforts have been made recently to enhance the quality of foreign language teaching. On the other hand, however, the programmes offered only involve European countries. Since it is easy (apart from some language obstacles) for a European student to meet another European student, countries like Africa, Asia and so on should be covered too (interview with Professor Santerini).

The University of Verona reports large numbers of students (outgoing and ingoing) and great interest in going abroad, especially all over Europe, and from other European countries. Contracts have been signed with numerous universities. Participants always draw personal and academic advantages from this experience. Erasmus and Erasmus Mundus contribute to intercultural exchange between individuals, and allow the University of Verona to be in international circuits, which benefits teaching content and methods as well as research (interview with Dr Bonfante).²¹

Besides participating in programmes like ERASMUS, some other possibilities for intercultural exchange are offered. For example, the Centre for Intercultural Studies of the University of Verona is launching a Master in 'Intercultural Competence and Management' course based on e-learning and four residential lectures. Its aim is to qualify experts and professionals and provide all the necessary skills to manage risks and opportunities in a pluralist and multicultural context. The partners of the University of Verona in this project are: IAIE (International Association for Intercultural Education); the Universities of Cologne, London, Freiburg, Barcelona and Würzburg; Associazione degli Industriali di Verona; Azienda Ospedaliera di Verona; Apindustria di Verona; Cestim di Verona; Gruppo ManniSpa di Verona; Riva Acciaio Spa; and UNICEF.

No information could be retrieved on the implementation of COMENIUS.

3.5 HUNGARY

Many students take part in mobility programmes either within Hungary, going to schools, or projects throughout Hungary helping to work with socio-culturally disadvantaged children, or assembling children of different countries, and cultures. A foundation called Mobilitas is responsible for students who join these programmes. The schools appreciate the support of the students, among other reasons because the pupils experience mobility and the appreciation of others. International mobility programmes also become of more importance, especially after joining the European Union. The students benefit from these experiences with diversity and acknowledgement of different cultures both at home and abroad. The difficulties for Hungarian students wanting to go abroad are funding, inadequate knowledge of the English language and the missing practice of mobility. For Hungarians, living in western European countries is quite expensive. Up to 1989, Russian was the official, compulsory first foreign language, and the

²¹ Data on the number of involved students, on the projects and partner universities can be provided on request. Information was given by Dr Lisa Bonfante, e-mail, 17th March 2008.

introduction of other foreign languages, especially English, in the curriculum is still in process in some cases.

The national agency provided data on the implementation of COMENIUS, reporting that a considerable number of schools and pupils participated in the school-year 2006/2007.²²

General remarks

All experts expressed their enthusiasm about mobility and exchange programmes. Common problems are: the lack of language skills in many students and some staff; an East-West and North-South divide in the quality of the programmes (ERASMUS); the poor participation rate of schools in exchange programmes; the lack of sustainability of projects; deficits in the information process from the national agency to the single classroom and teacher; difficult information policies (COMENIUS). For both programmes, the bureaucratic procedure of the European Commission is regarded as too complicated and slow, as confirmed by the Association for Empirical Studies and the Centre for Research into Schools and Education at the Martin Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg (2007).²³

Other European programmes mentioned in the technical specifications of this study and described as relevant for the subject of the study proved to be irrelevant because their aims are completely external to the topic 'Intercultural education in schools'. ERASMUS MUNDUS is about the internationalisation of higher education. Only very few projects of Master's studies accepted for the academic year 2007 are in educational sciences or teacher education and none of them deals explicitly with intercultural education. The answers of the national agencies of the five countries of our case studies confirmed this information.²⁴

Youth in Action was not known to any of the interviewed experts. There is no evidence that this programme has anything to do with intercultural education in schools. No recent evaluation report was found on the Internet.²⁵

The same applies to Citizens for Europe, whose name has been changed by the European Parliament to Europe for Citizens. The latter programme may have potential connections with schools but no evaluation of specific projects is available, perhaps because the programme was launched only recently and only a small number of projects – if any at all – could be developed.²⁶

²² Ms Gabriella Kemeny provided plentiful data about participation in ERASMUS and COMENIUS programmes, e-mail of 20th March, 2008.

²³ http://ec.europa.eu/education/doc/reports/doc/comeniusreport_en.pdf

²⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/mundus/projects4_en.html.

²⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/youth/youth-in-action-programme/doc74_en.html.

²⁶ http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/citizenship/guide/index_en.html.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION, INTEGRATION OF DIVERSITY AND NATIONAL COHESION – SHIFTS IN POLICIES

“Intercultural education” is not a term shared by all member states. As already stated in Eurydice (2004: 58), most countries include in their policies some approach that is meant to include the diversity of cultures and/or of other differences, but the terminology and the discourses vary. A comparison of the official policies of the five countries selected for this study tells us that the concept of intercultural education is part of the rhetoric of official governmental policies only in Germany and in Italy. Intercultural education applied to schools means basically two things in these countries: encouraging the integration of pupils with a migration background and enriching the curriculum of general education by opening it towards intercultural and international approaches. In this sense, the official policies of Germany and Italy are very close to what European supranational institutions proclaim and wish national governments to include in their guidelines and governmental programmes.

The main difference between the two educational systems (apart from the criterion of centralism in Italy and federalism in Germany) is a structural one, i.e., the manner of dealing with differences. This has consequences on the way that migrants and minorities and their integration and schooling are played out.

In Germany, early selection and tracking as well as an extensive use of special education is the rule; some slight changes are being made in some *Bundesländer* that move in the direction of integrating special education and of reducing the number of tracks. In Germany, the official discourse in favour of intercultural education is partially contradicted by developments in some of the sixteen *Bundesländer* where, especially since 2001 (first PISA results), a major emphasis has been put on integration, which means that programmes for learning the German language are becoming more and more of a core issue, while the teaching of the mother tongues of migrants has been reduced. At the same time, cultural and religious conflicts (that undoubtedly occur, but are essentially a problem of social deprivation and in rare cases of religious fanaticism, not a symptom of culture clash) have become the subject of political debate perhaps more than used to be the case before. The predominant climate in German society and institutions is not at all favourable to a policy of integration of migrant pupils and students (let alone adults) that is respectful of the diversity of cultures and languages. The German-only option is more popular than ever. This tendency matches the idea, deeply rooted in part of the population and of the political parties, that early selection in school is a natural process that reflects social and cultural differences. Intercultural education appears to be an issue dealt with in specific projects (best practice), perhaps in a larger number of schools than is known but has not become common everyday practice.

The Italian case is still very much influenced by the radical educational reforms that have been implemented since the early 1960s: comprehensive schools since 1962, almost complete integration of special education into regular schools since 1977. The treatment of differences is supposed to be an inclusive one, so language and cultural and language differences are part of this process. The basis of this philosophy of inclusiveness can be traced back to a principle of the Constitution of the Italian Republic, which states that any kind of minority must be recognised as such and its rights must be respected and protected. Issues regarding cultural and

language rights in education are discussed in much the same way as in documents of European institutions. The teaching of Italian as a second language is declared as the main goal, as a key to integration. Minority languages must be respected but it is not seen as a task of the Italian Government to assure their presence in the curriculum of schools. The diversity-friendly policy has been constant since the 1960s in spite of several changes of government with different political orientations.

Both in Germany and in Italy, diversity-friendly official policy documents are often contradicted by everyday practice in school institutions.

In France and the United Kingdom, a major shift in policies has occurred. Intercultural (France) and multicultural as well as anti-racist (United Kingdom) education had been part of the political debate during the 1970s and 1980s. But since the 1990s, these concepts have gradually been replaced by other concepts and policies. The common denominator is the search for an educational policy that emphasises community cohesion (United Kingdom) and solidarity (France), as well as inclusiveness. Citizenship education is a concept that fits the policies of both countries. This is consistent with the reforms that have taken place since the 1960s and the 1970s and which established almost generalised comprehensive schools in the United Kingdom and totally generalised comprehensive schools in France. The common evolution from intercultural/multicultural education to an emphasis on cohesion and solidarity took place in spite of different philosophies concerning the manner of treating minorities and different cultures, languages and religions. In the United Kingdom, the philosophy of communitarism has been influential for decades, while in France universalism has always been one of the core principles of the Republic. An outcome of these different approaches is the way in which different cultures of the communities and especially religions have or do not have a place in school institutions: a great deal of space in the United Kingdom and no space at all in France. One thing that both countries have in common is that intercultural and multicultural approaches have been criticised and rejected by conservative governments since the 1980s and 1990s. In the United Kingdom, New Labour kept this line (Abdallah-Preteceille, 2007; Tomlinson, 2007). In the United Kingdom, the menace of terrorism and bomb attacks that took place after September 11, 2001 reinforced this tendency. In France as well as in the United Kingdom, social problems that are often interpreted as cultural or ethnic, and violence in schools and in neighbourhoods, substantially influence the shift of educational policies from intercultural/multicultural to national cohesion and inclusiveness.

The emphasis put on teaching the official language while giving less importance and space to community languages (maybe even less than in Germany and Italy) is in contrast to the line that has been promoted by European institutions since 1977.

Hungary represents a special case given its recent membership in the European Union, its short history of explicitly dealing with minorities, and the great importance of national minorities compared to the relatively scarce incidence of migration, at least from the point of view of educational policies. Intercultural education has hardly been a subject during the state-socialist era or in the post-socialist era. Current policies stress inclusiveness. However, inclusiveness explicitly means not only social, economic, and ability-defined but also cultural and language differences that have to be included. The issue of cultural and language minorities seems to be taken very seriously in official educational policies. It is discussed as a controversial issue, however, whether it is more beneficial for minority pupils to receive schooling in separate classes and schools than together with all other pupils. As a result, the policy of inclusiveness has a somewhat paradoxical aspect in Hungary.

A general tendency appears in four of the countries to encourage assimilation (which is not the same as integration) and teaching exclusively the language of the host country; Hungary appears as an exception in this respect, because teaching minority languages is part of the policy. Intercultural education (or related forms of education) is described as a necessity especially in those areas in which migrant or minority pupils live but no special mention is made of intercultural education in rural areas. This aspect (urban versus rural areas) is not tackled in the Eurydice survey (2004) either. The five case studies provide evidence for several types of general policies and of best practice examples related to intercultural education (and similar concepts as diversity education, inclusive education, citizenship education) in schools that are found in other member states.

Intercultural education (or similar concepts) can be provided (a) in educational systems that are structurally inclusive, (b) in educational systems that are structurally selective and exclusive. It can focus (c) mainly on migrant and minority pupils or (d) explicitly address all students. Finally (e), intercultural and diversity issues may be played down and be subordinated to ideas like solidarity or national cohesion or citizenship education.

4.2 INTEGRATION OF MINORITIES AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

In each of the five countries selected for the case studies in this study, the poorer school achievement of minority or migrant students emerges as a central problem and is discussed in connection with integration and segregation. This confirms what other studies have repeatedly shown, for example one of the analyses that were published after PISA:

“PISA suggests that equality in schooling inputs is no longer enough to assess equity in education but the success of countries in providing equitable learning opportunities needs to be judged by the extent to which learning outcomes are free from the socio-economic influences (...) All too often, the diversity originating from students with an immigrant background is viewed solely as a problem for schools, rather than as an opportunity for schools and society.” (Stanat & Christensen, 2006; cf. Annex VI).

Put simply, the scholars claim that school achievement is too much impaired by socio-economic differences (which is a well known fact), and that education systems should not be content with declaring that everybody is treated the same way regardless of his or her origin.

Effective measures should be taken in order to give better chances to those pupils who are less privileged in terms of economic possibilities and of social and cultural capital, and who are learning a language in surroundings that are new for them. An important step is taken when a government or a report signed or supported by a government explicitly admits that the reasons for the poor achievement of many migrant pupils lie in deficits of the education system and in the weaknesses of integration policies, and not in deficits of the migrants or minorities.

Stanat and Christensen’s analysis shows that educational achievement of migrants is different depending on the countries in which they are educated. Equality of opportunity (a paramount principle of all educational policies) is not realised in the same way and to the same extent in all immigration countries and some countries are more successful than others in coping with diversity; see also (IZA, 2004a).

In this study, according to previous research findings and to what the experts said in the interviews, differences between countries are confirmed. In the five selected countries migrants achieve more or less well in schools depending on the country and on the type of school system: more inclusive or more separating. Moreover, in each country there are some differences between ethnic groups, even if the comparison is made between individuals with a similar socio-economic background. This is one of the most intriguing questions when analysing the educational achievement of migrants and of minorities. No sufficient or complete explanation for such differences between ethnic groups has been found yet, except for some partial analyses. There is no empirical evidence, however, that supposed cultural differences among the pupils might explain different educational achievement, although this seems to be a widespread opinion among teachers.

Analyses of why the educational achievement of migrant or minority pupils is generally poorer than that of natives must take into account social, ethnic and gender factors. A systemic view brings more clarification than single attributions. In other words, school achievement does not depend only on the pupils' abilities or on the teachers' skills or in the structure of the school system or on integration policies but on a combination of all these and more factors (Allemann-Ghionda, 2006c). Research findings on what teachers and pupils or students think about this issue are rare, but extremely useful (Archer, 2008).

To change this state of affairs it will not be sufficient to develop new guidelines or to change the content of curricula stressing even more the intercultural dimension or the idea of inclusiveness. Deeper structural changes are necessary. Some are suggested here:

- International comparison at the statistical level shows that immigration law makes a difference as far as school achievement is concerned (IZA, 2004b). Empirical research, for example in Switzerland, provides evidence for the fact that being a migrant with the citizenship of the immigration country makes a dramatic difference when it comes to finding a place for vocational training (Haeberlin, Imdorf & Kronig, 2005). **Thus, an important step would be to facilitate the acquisition of citizenship of the receiving country for migrants.**
- The willingness of migrants to learn the language of the host country and to organise their lives according to an idea of integration (which does not mean giving up their language and culture of origin) seems to affect school achievement, as a comparison between pupils of Russian, Turkish and Italian origin in Germany reveals (Walter 2008). **This finding suggests that national and local integration policies, including appropriate offers to learn the host country's language, must become more concrete and supportive, taking into account the attitudes and aspirations of migrants and of natives in a balanced way.**
- Prejudice about 'other' cultures and languages, ethnic groups, races or religions, and about bilingualism, is a reality in schools and particularly in the attitudes of teachers, as well as in any other segment of society. A great deal of research has been done in the United States on this issue, according to a research survey published in Germany. Cultural conflict and supposed cultural incompatibilities are seen by many teachers as factors of underachievement. However, this naïve theory is a stereotype and is contradicted by the fact that pupils from well-off and well educated non-native families barely encounter difficulties and rapidly find their way in any case. **More research on ethnic or cultural prejudice and stereotypes as well as racist attitudes among teachers and school principals must be undertaken in European countries; and teacher education (initial as well as in-service) must address these questions. The challenge is: how to improve the knowledge and skills of teachers who have been in service for a long time and of the younger ones who**

are just beginning. How to introduce an obligation to attend in-service courses in order to acquire the necessary knowledge as well as diagnostic and teaching skills. European institutions might want to intensify their action in this respect.

- School achievement is very much influenced by the way in which schools and single teachers tackle the multiplicity of languages, of religions and of cultural references. Migrant or minority pupils have the right and need to be appreciated and respected with all these differences, as they are perceived by many teachers. If the school institution and the single teacher do not act in this way but declare, for example, that assimilation is the main goal, while other languages are forbidden or referred to in a negative way, this may affect the pupils' motivation negatively. **So the task of school institutions and of single teachers is to perceive diversity as normal, and to treat each individual with respect and consideration, giving him or her the necessary and appropriate psychological support.**
- Disturbed communication between schools and parents appears to be a major source of misunderstandings and of distress. **Better school achievement of all pupils undoubtedly requires adequate forms of communication and cooperation between schools, parents, and institutions that help migrants (cf. Annex V), or as many NGOs do.**

4.3 MULTILINGUALISM, INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES, AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

In four of the five countries selected for this study (Hungary being an exception as described), the bilingualism and multilingualism of migrants is less and less regarded as a resource. Learning and teaching English, German, French, or Italian as a second language are declared as the main tasks. While it is clear that integration can only be successful if migrants make efforts and are supported in their endeavours to learn the official language of the country in which they go to school and live, the practice of prohibiting or neglecting community languages has a political connotation that is reminiscent of some unfortunate policies in totalitarian regimes in the twentieth century. This tendency should be carefully watched and contradicts everything that has been stated by European organisations from 1977 to today about the value of multilingualism, including that of migrants (The Council of the European Communities, 1977; European Commission, 1995; Portas, 1995). Altogether, prohibiting minority languages or imposing the use of the local and official language on migrants and minorities even outside the classroom (some politicians have been making this point) appears to be a measure likely to arouse negative emotions and to distract from a serious goal: to improve the language skills of all children regardless of their national or ethnic background through good teaching and quality teacher education, and to foster integration through a serious and concrete integration policy.

A more effective strategy would be to encourage the bilingual and multilingual development of migrants. The maintenance of migration and minority languages with the help of school institutions is a necessity for minority children from linguistic and psychological points of view. It strengthens their identities and their general language skills, as can be seen for example from the outcomes of school policies in Ontario, Canada. In the European Union, the Swedish policy demonstrates that it is possible to open schools to the languages of migrants or minorities.²⁷ Moreover, migration languages are part of

²⁷ Nationell strategi för utbildning av nyanlända barn och ungdomar. In: Myndigheten för skolutveckling, Stockholm, December 2007; see also Undervisning för elever med utländsk bakgrund och för nationella minoriteter, in: Skolverket, Stockholm, April 2008, <http://www.skolverket.se/sb/d/139/a/846#paragraphAnchor0>

the cultural heritage of Europe (and of the world), so in the sense of position papers of the European Commission, of the Council of Europe and of the European Parliament, no reason could justify discriminatory treatment of the particular kind of minority languages that are migration languages; not to mention that some of these languages (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Polish) are, at the same time, languages of migrants and official languages of the European Union. If these languages have a low status in schools in Europe when migrant pupils are involved, it is clear that social discrimination is taking place, which is not favourable to European integration. More effective information and sensibilisation strategies of European institutions on the issue of bilingualism towards national governments and towards the whole population, mainly through the media, are necessary.

4.4 IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES AND NECESSARY STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS

The basic ideas that accompanied the debate on intercultural (or multicultural) education (recognition, respect of cultures and languages, and equal opportunities) gradually entered official policy documents first at the European level, then at the national level in many European countries. In some countries, as we have seen, the term “intercultural education” has been rejected since the 1990s. In other countries, the concept of “intercultural education” has never been used but other concepts like the inclusion of diversity or similar terms are used.

In summary, the problem of compensating social inequality appears to be the main issue in all countries, so this issue that has been a central one since the 1960s is more topical than ever. But it is not by ignoring cultural and language variety that social inequality will be compensated. On the contrary, recognition and respect of language and cultural diversity is necessary in order to avoid social marginalisation.

The five case studies presented in this study are examples that reflect different facets of the general situation in the member states. In all countries selected for this study, and most probably in every other country of the European Union, there is a gap between the rhetoric of policies and the theoretical discourse on one side and the practice of school institutions on the other. The implementation of reasonable policies, whether they are called intercultural or inclusive or diversity-friendly or citizenship education, needs appropriate structural conditions. Some crucial aspects are listed here:

- Supervision, controlling and quality assessment of what is taught in schools;
- School reforms that overcome early selection and mechanisms of social and ethnic exclusion. It must be noted here that most school systems in Europe and around the world have abandoned early selection and try to offer common schools for everybody up to the age of fourteen or fifteen or even sixteen, mainly on an all-day schedule;
- Qualified early childhood education and care, in which the particular needs of children with a migration background are catered for; research has provided empirical evidence that high-quality childhood education and care in qualified institutions is a valuable support for families and most beneficial for all children but especially so if they grow up in socially deprived situations or if they need language support (OECD 2006). According to this recent

OECD study, the following countries have the highest rate of expenditure in early childhood education and care: Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, France, and Hungary.²⁸

- Teaching methods that are inclusive, cooperative and individualised, not following the criterion of ethnic attribution, but the criterion of the learning needs of individuals.

The school systems of Scandinavian countries have realised these postulates (late selection, early childhood education, all-day schedules, individualised support of pupils according to their needs). This does not mean that these educational systems have solved all problems related to social and ethnic inequality and discrimination but it does mean that, in comparison, they are more successful in terms of school achievement of a greater proportion of pupils.

Furthermore, necessary structural changes beyond the level of pre-school and school education are:

- Teacher and in-service education that explicitly address dimensions such as intercultural education, inclusiveness of diversity, and citizenship education;
- Better dissemination of experiences of best practice through appropriate channels like teacher education and the Internet;
- Research at the micro-level (classroom or grass-roots level) that allows greater knowledge about what happens in the everyday life of schools, especially in rural areas that are usually neglected by research;
- More effective forms of communication between research and politics, and between research and practice. Scholars can be excellent policy advisors and educators in teachers' in-service training, if they are requested and allowed to act in such contexts.

The contribution of supranational organisations, of international research associations, and of comparative education (Gustafsson, 2008) is most important in stimulating change and reform, at least as far as guidelines and programmes, and perhaps some examples of best practice that are multiplied by mutual imitation, are concerned. Results of comparative research can produce more quality awareness. However, the impact of European policies is weak if one takes the perspective of the actual practice of educational institutions with regard to intercultural education or related concepts.

The diversity-friendly course of European policies is counteracted not only by some national policies, but also by the OECD. Especially since PISA, the OECD has contributed to the legitimisation of host country language-only tendencies at the expense of migration and minority languages and of bilingual education. A neo-assimilationist course is emerging as an opposition block to the pro-diversity European policies (Allemann-Ghionda, 2008; Gaine, 2008). This is a major political challenge that the institutions of the European Union are certainly aware of, and that needs to be met.

²⁸ http://www.oecd.org/document/63/0,3343,es_2649_39263231_37416703_1_1_1_1,00.html.

4.5 THE INTERCULTURAL POTENTIAL OF EUROPEAN MOBILITY AND EXCHANGE PROGRAMMES – BETWEEN INTENTIONS AND REALITY

COMENIUS

The final report on the impact of COMENIUS in all Member States of the European Union underlines many positive effects: intercultural competence, openness, better cooperation within and between schools. However, the rate of participation of schools is very small compared to the information actions and to the funding available. Projects are seldom sustainable. There is a partial mismatch between European policies and national and, in some cases (in federalist systems) regional policies. The international, European and intercultural dimension of school education is not seen as necessary by all political and pedagogical actors. **Better information, simpler and leaner bureaucracies, and quality assessment are needed, which is a task the European Commission should tackle in cooperation with the national agencies.**

ERASMUS

In the five countries of this study, all experts stress that students and the staff of universities appreciate the intercultural value of European mobility programmes. In particular, ERASMUS is very popular and widely implemented because it is the oldest programme. ERASMUS is relevant for intercultural education in schools to some degree because many students are in teacher education but little is known about the exact content of what students learn from an intercultural point of view.

Some problems arise because the ideal of European multilingualism does not always match the individual language skills of students (and part of the staff). Many universities in Europe do offer part of the curriculum in English, which is the foreign language most taught in Europe, but a complete shift to English as a teaching language is not in sight. If this were the case, we would face a blatant contradiction: Europe has a multiplicity of languages and cultures that – according to European policy - must be cultivated and preserved, so its higher education will hopefully not abandon the national languages.

The problem of language skills is a major challenge. A further challenge encountered by students is the fact that academic cultures are different in each country. The Bologna process achieves some harmonisation of structures, but fortunately cultural differences that are part of historical heritage will not be neutralised by it. This makes participation in mobility programmes so enriching – an experience of intercultural education in the perspective of European citizenship. For students to benefit from the intercultural experience, as one expert suggests, it is necessary to prepare them better before they start studying abroad. The language issue will have to be looked at more closely in each country: educational systems that have neglected the teaching of foreign languages need to improve this. Finally, better policy-making strategies are necessary in order to improve the synergies between the European Commission and the Member States:

“I regret that European projects are not well known by the general public, that Europe does not disseminate broadly enough what it does, which would help European citizens to

understand educational and cultural issues. Europe makes itself known rather on the political and economical arena, but this is not enough.”²⁹

As a final statement, it may be useful to remember that a low birth rate is characteristic of the demographic level of many European immigration countries (not France or the Scandinavian countries, however). The demographic and economic arguments may be a good argument in support of intercultural and inclusive policies. All economies need a workforce that is highly qualified, has a broad and solid general education, has intercultural competency, and that is at least bilingual, otherwise they will not be competitive on the global market within a short time. Therefore, education systems need to catch up with the delay of not having understood that migrants and ethnic minorities are a substantial part of the population, and that they represent the future of each country. Educational systems should put more emphasis on educating students for a responsible, democratic European citizenship, which cannot help but include diversity.

It is a challenge for the European Union to take measures in order to bridge the increasing gap between some national policies and the European policy that is subsumed under the label of “intercultural education.”

²⁹ Original quotation: “Je regrette que les projets européens ne soient pas connus du grand public, que l’Europe ne diffuse pas assez ce qu’elle fait, ce qui permettrait aux citoyens européens de comprendre les enjeux éducatifs et culturels. L’Europe se fait connaître plutôt sur le plan politique et économique, mais cela ne suffit pas.” Dr Elisabeth Regnault, University of Strasbourg, e-mail message on the 15th of March, 2008.

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ANNEX I

Study on Intercultural Education for the European Parliament

Deloitte Consulting, Brussels, in association with Professor Dr Cristina Allemann-Ghionda, University of Cologne

Guide for the interviews with university experts

*Preliminary remarks: This interview is carried out in the framework of a medium-sized study on intercultural education that we were asked to undertake by the Education & Culture committee of the European Parliament. Five European countries are involved (Germany, UK, France, Italy, Hungary, plus Sweden for one example of best practice). The sources of information are policy documents, scholarly literature, descriptions of best practice, interviews with one university expert and one best practice expert in each country, as well as additional information through e-mail contact with further experts. The aim is by no means to be exhaustive but to collect and comment on examples and current trends. A report including recommendations will be written and presented to the European Parliament
Thank you in advance for your kind cooperation.*

1. Intercultural Education in Schools: National or Local Policies and their Implementation

1.1 Concepts and public policies

- How is intercultural education defined by the authorities (educational policy) in your country?
- Are there differences between the public definition and scholarly conceptions (e.g. your own) of intercultural education?
- Is the implementation and effectiveness of intercultural education assessed by public authorities?
- What are the main challenges and open questions in your opinion?

1.2 School curricula

- Are the officially stated aims in the curricula implemented in schools?
- If school curricula deal with intercultural education, how does this take place? Which activities and programmes respectively does intercultural education involve (e.g. inside and outside the classroom)?
- Is intercultural education applied in a transversal manner or is it limited to a number of disciplines or subjects (e.g. history)?
- Which is the target group for intercultural education? What role do the native pupils/students play?
- How do the activities and programmes vary depending on the target group (age, school type or track)?

- How is the integration of migrant or minority pupils/students implemented? is the focus mainly on the second language or equally on the mother tongue?

- Are there approaches for getting young people and NGOs involved in providing intercultural education in schools?

1.3 Examples of successful intercultural education initiatives (best practice)

- Do existing programmes such as “Youth in Action” and “Citizens for Europe” contribute, from your point of view, to projects related to intercultural education?

- Please name one example of best practice that you consider particularly innovative, with sources or links if possible.

1. EU Integration, Mobility Programmes, Intercultural Education (Tertiary Level)

2.1 Teacher education

- Does the teacher education system involve courses on applying intercultural education in the classroom as well as social activities outside?

- If this is the case, which are the main issues that are dealt with? Please describe.

- Are the courses related to intercultural education compulsory or voluntary?

2.2 Mobility programmes and higher education

- To what extent are EU programmes such as Socrates II, Erasmus Mundus etc., which aim to increase mobility, intercultural openness, and European integration in the field of higher education, implemented at your university?

- How do you estimate the value of such programmes in promoting intercultural understanding and education?

- Do you see any difficulties? Would you suggest any improvements?

- Apart from teacher education, is intercultural education (or related concepts) included in the curricula of your university? Is there an important debate on this in the faculty?

2. Additional Information and Comments

ANNEX II

Guide for the interview – Example of Best Practice

Preliminary remarks: This interview is carried out in the framework of a medium-sized study on intercultural education that we were asked to undertake by the Education & Culture committee of the European Parliament. Six European countries are involved (Germany, UK, France, Italy, Hungary, plus Sweden for one example of best practice). The sources of information are policy documents, scholarly literature, descriptions of best practice, interviews with one university expert and one best practice expert in each country, as well as additional information by e-mail contact with further experts. The aim is by no means to be exhaustive but to collect and comment on examples and current trends. A report including recommendations will be written and presented to the European Parliament. Thank you in advance for your kind cooperation.

- **Overview**

- What is the concept of your project of intercultural education?

- **Aims**

- What are the aims and objectives?

- **Target Group**

- What is the target group?
- How many students participate in the project? (numbers and percentage)

- **Method**

- What is the underlying theory of your intercultural concept?
- What are the guidelines and strategies for the coeducation of children with different linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds?
- Is there a main focus or are there particular tendencies?
- To what extent is the intercultural dimension considered in class?
- What are the strategies for developing the full potential in terms of languages including the first and the second language?
- To what extent is the appraisal of both cultural identities and linguistic backgrounds realised in class? (e.g. L₁/mother tongue instruction)

- **Support**

- To what extent is the project supported by colleagues?
- Are any external organisations supporting the project?

- **Funding**

- How is the project financed?
- Do you see any difficulties? If so, what kind of difficulties?

- **Evaluation (if already evaluated)**

- Have the aims been achieved?
- Does intercultural education contribute to the school achievement of minorities and/or migrants?
- What conditions and aspects have to be fulfilled and considered so that an innovative intercultural project may be implemented and establish itself in a school?

Additional information and comments

ANNEX III

Interview – An Example of Best Practice in Sweden

Preliminary remarks: This interview is carried out within the framework of a medium-sized study on intercultural education that we were asked to undertake by the Education & Culture committee of the European Parliament. Six European countries are involved (Germany, UK, France, Italy, Hungary, and Sweden, the latter only with an example of best practice). The sources of information are policy documents, scholarly literature, descriptions of best practice and interviews with one university expert and one best practice expert in each country, as well as additional information by e-mail contact with further experts. The aim is by no means to be exhaustive but to collect and comment on examples and current trends. A report including recommendations will be written and presented to the European Parliament. Thank you in advance for your kind cooperation.

Interview with Eva Norén of the University of Stockholm, who studied and evaluated a project run by the City of Stockholm about bilingual mathematics education, called “mother tongue of teaching mathematics project” for migrants.

- Overview

- What is the concept of your project of intercultural education?

There have been five schools in the project, dealing with migrant pupils between the ages of nine and sixteen. The project did not just focus on migrants who just arrived but also on migrants who have been in Sweden for a long time. The five schools all had classes teaching mathematics in both Swedish and either Arabic or Somali. Some schools even had classes in different age groups.

The teachers of primary education were usually teachers with mathematics education in their countries of origin and later becoming “mother tongue” teachers in Sweden. Before the project started, they already supported the pupils but not in mathematics. The teachers of secondary schools were bilingual mathematics teachers.

The courses were within the schedule. The pupils went to these courses instead of the regular maths courses. In some schools, they only attended these courses to learn mathematics, and in some schools the pupils had half of their maths courses within the regular maths, and the other half bilingual.

The maths lessons were taught in either Swedish and Somali or Swedish and Arabic.

The project was based in Stockholm. Some schools still continue to offer these courses but the project has officially stopped.

In Sweden many migrant pupils obtain less good results especially in mathematics, so the goal was to enable the pupils not only to accomplish the lowest level of mathematics but to obtain a higher level of mathematics. Lots of these pupils were actually good at mathematics, but they could not demonstrate it in Swedish. By being able to express themselves in two languages, they could show how good they actually are.

- Aims

- What are the aims and objectives?

The main aims were to enable pupils to reach a higher level of mathematics and bilingualism.

- **Target Group**

- What is the target group?

Migrant pupils between the ages of nine and sixteen with migration backgrounds from Arabic-speaking countries and Somalia.

- How many students participate in the project? (numbers and percentage)

About sixty or seventy pupils in these five schools participated.

- **Method**

- What is the underlying theory of your intercultural concept?

Both theories about learning mathematics and theories about second language learning.

- What are the guidelines and strategies for the coeducation of children with different linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds?

In the national curriculum it says that in all subjects there should be a focus on the earlier experiences of the pupils. Each city has its own guidelines about the strategies and the focus for four years (between elections). The last guideline of Stockholm said that the focus should be on mathematics, and on intercultural education (besides other things). This resulted in the project.

In the guidelines (school plan) of the city of Stockholm there are guidelines about the focus on diversity, too.

- Is there a main focus or are there particular tendencies?

See target group, and concept.

- To what extent and in which ways is the multicultural dimension considered in class?

It is a topic in some schools. Within the teacher training, it is also a part to gain credits. Stockholm does have an interest in their teachers getting to know about intercultural education. In reality the future teachers probably do not get as much information as they need. There is a gap between what the city wants and what the teachers actually do. Teachers want the best for their students. So some teachers think that the migrant pupils are “poor guys” and that they need to be taught to become Swedish, even though this is not the best way for the pupils. But some teachers do not focus on their multicultural identity, which does not help them to be proud of their backgrounds.

That was one reason why they started the Maths Project. The teachers there usually have bilingual backgrounds too. As a consequence they do not believe it to be bad that the pupils do not speak Swedish properly.

- What are the strategies for developing the full potential in terms of languages including the first and the second language?

There are strategies for learning both languages of migrants (it is difficult if they know more than two languages). There are mother tongue courses. If there are more than five pupils in one school/commune, they have the right to get taught in their mother tongue. It is also difficult to find teachers for mother tongue lessons. Officially the goal is that pupils learn both languages to the same level, so they become bilingual after finishing education.

In Sweden it is now quite complicated to work as a teacher of foreign languages. The subject is out of the time schedule of the other subjects in school, 120 minutes a week. Some teachers teach in several different schools and it is complicated to do so. Also, the pupils do not want to attend classes that are outside of the regular timetable. These courses are optional, but the schools have to offer them.

There are also tutoring courses where mother tongue teachers are guiding the students in the mother tongue. They support the pupils with their regular school work. This also has to be offered by the schools. But school inspections found out that many schools do not offer this kind of tutoring individually or in small groups.

- To what extent is the appraisal of both cultural identities and linguistic backgrounds realised in class? (e.g. L₁ or mother tongue instruction)

See question above.

- **Support**

- To what extent is the project supported by colleagues?

Not supported as much as was the intention. To participate in the mother-tongue teaching mathematics project, the Swedish mathematics teachers were supposed to cooperate and plan together with the bilingual teachers. That became the case to some extent but after the project we found that the collaboration could have been better. There was a network of teachers and project coordinators, also vice principals of the project participating schools, with regular meetings throughout the project. It was a way to support the project. Two experts were employed part-time as network directors.

- Are there any external organisations supporting the project?

See above, the network was not an external organisation but a little bit away from the schools, teachers were able to discuss problems they had ...

- **Financing**

- How is the project financed?

The city of Stockholm sold an electric power company many years ago. The profit was taken into a fund which from thenceforward financed many different projects. One of these projects was the mother tongue of teaching mathematics project.

- Do you see any difficulties? If so, what kind of difficulties?

The city of Stockholm would like the schools to finance those programmes with their regular budget. But schools believe that their financial situation is not too good. As a result, bilingual teaching is not supported as it costs more money due to the fact that the courses are usually smaller. The schools have to manage their budget, and sometimes have to decide between different support for different groups.

But even from an economic view it is important to support migrant children to bring them into the labour market and to make them feel comfortable living in Sweden.

- **Evaluation (if already evaluated)**

- Have the aims been achieved?

It is difficult to say if the pupils got higher grades after attending these courses but they probably did. They felt more “at home” in the classroom and more secure. Some pupils said that they really liked to talk both languages. If they did not know the words in one language, they could say it in the other language. Teachers stated that the pupils communicated more often, because they could use both languages, as they often do between friends. It was not taboo to speak their first language in the classroom, which is sometimes prohibited even between friends in schools in Sweden. The justification is usually that other pupils do not understand what these pupils are saying. The pupils also became more secure in both languages.

- Does intercultural education contribute to the school achievement of minorities and/or migrants?

This really depends on the individual teacher. In the 80s mother tongue teaching and bilingual teaching were highly praised. In the 90s, it changed a bit. The focus was on learning Swedish. Now it changes again, and the mother tongue comes into focus again. But it is really important even for the authorities. They say that schools have to consider intercultural education. But it differs within the schools. Intercultural education is not only for migrants. But it seems to be like that because in schools with a low rate of migrant children it is barely any topic.

- What conditions and aspects have to be fulfilled and considered so that an innovative intercultural project may be implemented and may establish itself in a school?

One condition is that the principal of the school is aware of the issue. It really depends on the leader of the school. If they are not aware, they will not implement it in the schools. As a teacher you have to be aware of your own background and how it makes you make decisions in the classroom. If you are not aware about that, you might just think that people with other socio-cultural backgrounds are just different, and you do not take this into account. Sometimes it is not only their migration background, but also their normal life right now. Migrants often live in a segregated area or go to a school with a high percentage of immigrants. This is a special environment in the school and teachers have to see and take the advantages of this situation. This environment has to be taken in the classroom, and teachers have to work with it. Sometimes students live in Sweden for many years and it is difficult to say that their background is from their country of origin but it is also Swedish. Culture is changing all the time. It is not static.

- **Additional information and comments**

There is also a change in the school system. More and more schools not operated by the government are being established. They are called free schools and are financed by the authorities but they have a different kind of regulation system. These schools can choose their pupils and, as a result, parents send their children to these schools even if they are not the next school in the neighbourhood, especially if they live in areas with a high rate of migrants. The schools still have to follow the national curriculum but they do not offer all the different projects because they do not have to take care of all pupils.

There is a discussion in Sweden now about how to change school after the ninth grade at the “Gymnasium”. Until now it has been open for all pupils but this will likely change. All pupils will probably have to have a certain level of English, mathematics, Swedish and some other subject matters in order to be in the position of attending these courses. It still will be open for all students but today all students read the three subjects mentioned to a certain level, the lowest level to enter courses at university. The discussions are about changing that. It might end up with some students taking very little mathematics or English at the gymnasium and that would limit the possibilities of them continuing to study after the gymnasium. At the university there are, of course, different levels of entrance and special knowledge even today. What we have today is called university authorisation, all students at the gymnasium get it in if they complete the courses. It is the level of the courses that might become changed, lowered for some students on some programmes. Today you cannot enter the gymnasium

without grades in mathematics, Swedish (or Swedish as a second language) and English. It is usual that students with immigrant backgrounds don't enter the regular courses but take a course called an individual programme where the focus is on compulsory school achievements.

If you look at how the world looks now, it is necessary to enable pupils to communicate in different languages, especially if they speak a different language at home. Pupils also have to be able to switch cultures. This is important to develop a country because countries can use the different knowledge, and different view on subjects.

Two years ago there was a big survey about integration. One finding was that integration in Sweden is not really successful. In school it is sometimes difficult for pupils to get credits for knowing other languages and for their culture. Even in some books, "the other is still the other".

Complementary to this interview, a phone interview was conducted with Dr Ase Hansson of the University of Gothenburg. Ms Hansson does research on how teachers teach and assess in schools that are completely comprehensive (for twelve years including pre-school education), and attended by multilingual pupils. Schools in Sweden are comprehensive, the official policy is to compensate social and individual differences. This task, however, appears to be very difficult and full of contradictions deriving from the difficulty, in daily school practice, of compensating inequalities and of treating every child in the same way, i.e. justly. Ms Hansson reported that in the large cities, well-off families send their children to free schools (private schools financed by the state) so they do not have too much contact with migrants. In the Swedish curriculum for compulsory education (1994) it is mentioned that diversity has to be respected and nobody should be discriminated against. The internationalisation of society is referred to, but the concepts of intercultural or multicultural education do not appear. Mother tongues of migrants should be taught by law in Sweden but the communes and the schools are reluctant for financial reasons but also because the common opinion is that mother tongue teaching is useless. According to Ms Hansson's findings, most Swedish teachers consider migrant pupils as poor people who should become Swedish, so they must learn Swedish above all. Judging from this limited data, it would seem that European ideas and recommendations about intercultural education are shared in principle by the official Swedish policy but do not have great resonance in practice.

We thank Ms Norén and Dr Hansson for kindly having shared their knowledge and experience.

ANNEX IV

An example of cooperation between parents and counselling institutions

The RAA (Regional department for the promotion of children and adolescents of migrant families) in Germany

Among the institutions that work for better integration of migrants and their families, one is particularly interesting in the framework of this case-study because it works in close contact with parents and children. The RAA is an advisory service that is independent in its actions but dependent on public funding, since it is financed by the government of a particular city or region, in some cases with the help of the *Bundesland*. Its aim is to promote the integration of migrant children and adolescents with a migration background into the German education system. RAA offices were opened in the 1980s, initially only in the *Bundesland* of North-Rhine-Westphalia, in towns located in industrial areas whose population had at least fourteen per cent of citizens with a non-German passport. Presently, there are institutions similar to RAA in many regions of Germany, but not everywhere.

The general goal of RAAs is to encourage peaceful coexistence and intercultural learning. More concretely, it offers parents guidance when it comes to finding a place in Kindergarten (which is not easy in many places in Germany), to making decisions about the school career of a child, and to finding an adequate possibility of vocational training. Teachers can also benefit from advice when they encounter difficulties in solving conflicts or if they wish to teach in an intercultural manner and need new ideas and materials. The services provided by RAAs are free of charge.

So there are three kinds of consultation: individual consultation of a child and his or her parents; school help to implement intercultural education or language support; and out of school support and help.

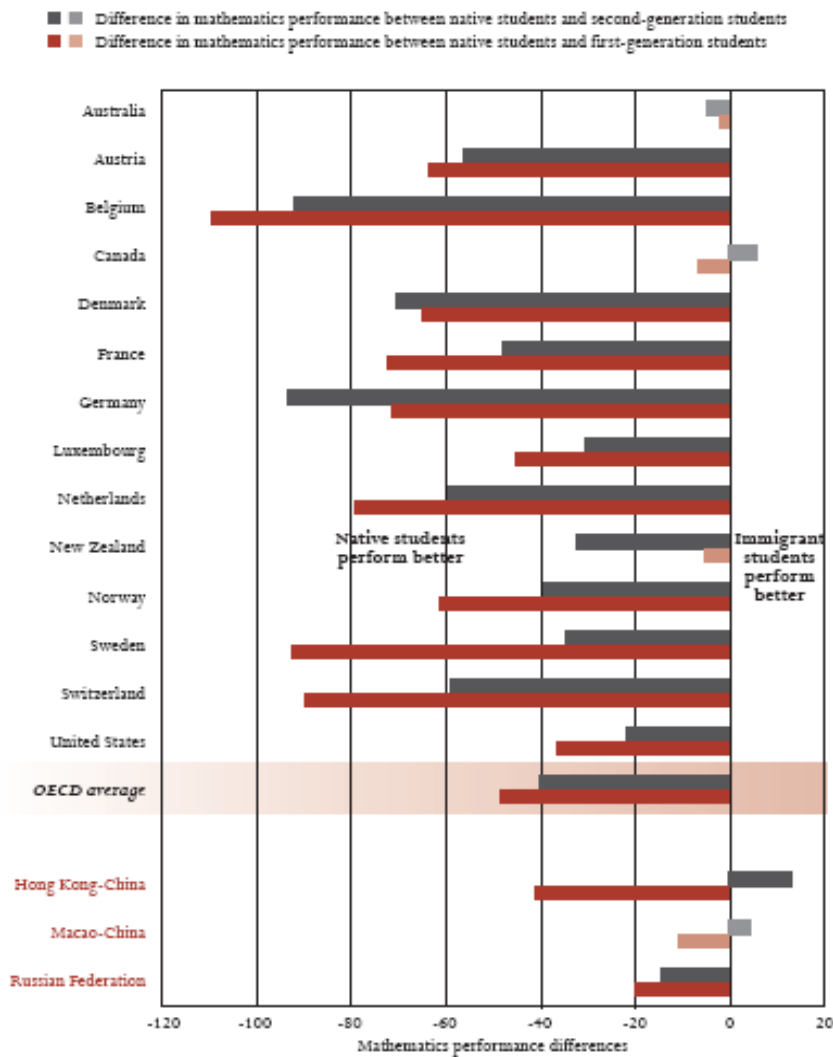
The first type of consultation is especially valuable because very often parents who find their way to an RAA are in distress. Their child has been put into special education and the parents do not understand why; or given the early selection that takes place at the end of primary school, parents do not agree with the teacher's opinion about directing the pupil to a lower track of lower secondary education. The consultation usually starts with the question "Where can my child go to school?" and often ends up in an extensive life consultation. Consultations are always confidential, focused on the person and the family. Often migrant parents experience for the first time that someone listens to them intensely and reacts positively, without criticism, to them being migrants and speaking languages other than German. For every child that comes for a consultation, a medical history file is opened. With the help of a consultant and accompanied by the parents, the child is introduced to a suitable school. The teacher receives information about the child's language skills, but no information about confidential family circumstances will be transmitted to the teachers. The RAA keeps in touch with the school and the family at regular intervals and functions like a monitor or coach, protecting the interests of the child (Krämer, 2006). According to Angelika Krämer, one of the difficulties is that some schools do not appreciate when external persons or institutions wish or claim to inquire about what happens in school. Another difficulty is the financial support of RAAs. A great deal of work is done voluntarily.

Krämer, A. (2007). El proyecto de los RAA en Alemania: virtudes y limitaciones. In M. À. Alegre & J. Subirats (Eds.), *Educación e inmigración: nuevos retos para España en una perspectiva comparada* (pp. 131-137). Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

ANNEX V

From Stanat, P. / Christensen, G. (2006): *How Immigrants Succeed*. Paris: OECD

Figure 2.1a ■ Differences in mathematics performance by immigrant status

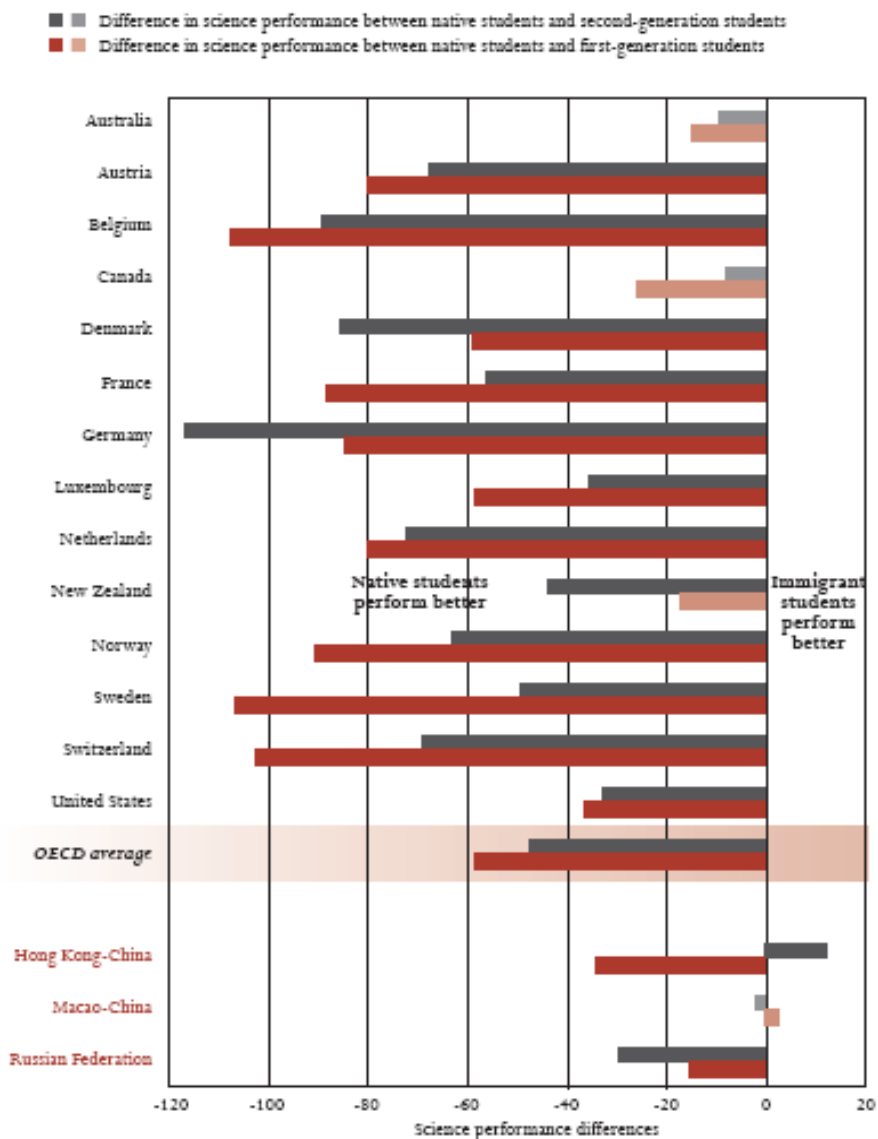


Note: Statistically significant differences are marked in darker tones.
 Source: OECD PISA 2003 database, Table 2.1a.

Figure 2.1b ■ Differences in reading performance by immigrant status



Figure 2.1c ■ Differences in science performance by immigrant status



Note: Statistically significant differences are marked in darker tones.
 Source: OECD PISA 2003 database, Table 2.1c.

Figure 2.1d ■ Differences in problem-solving performance by immigrant status

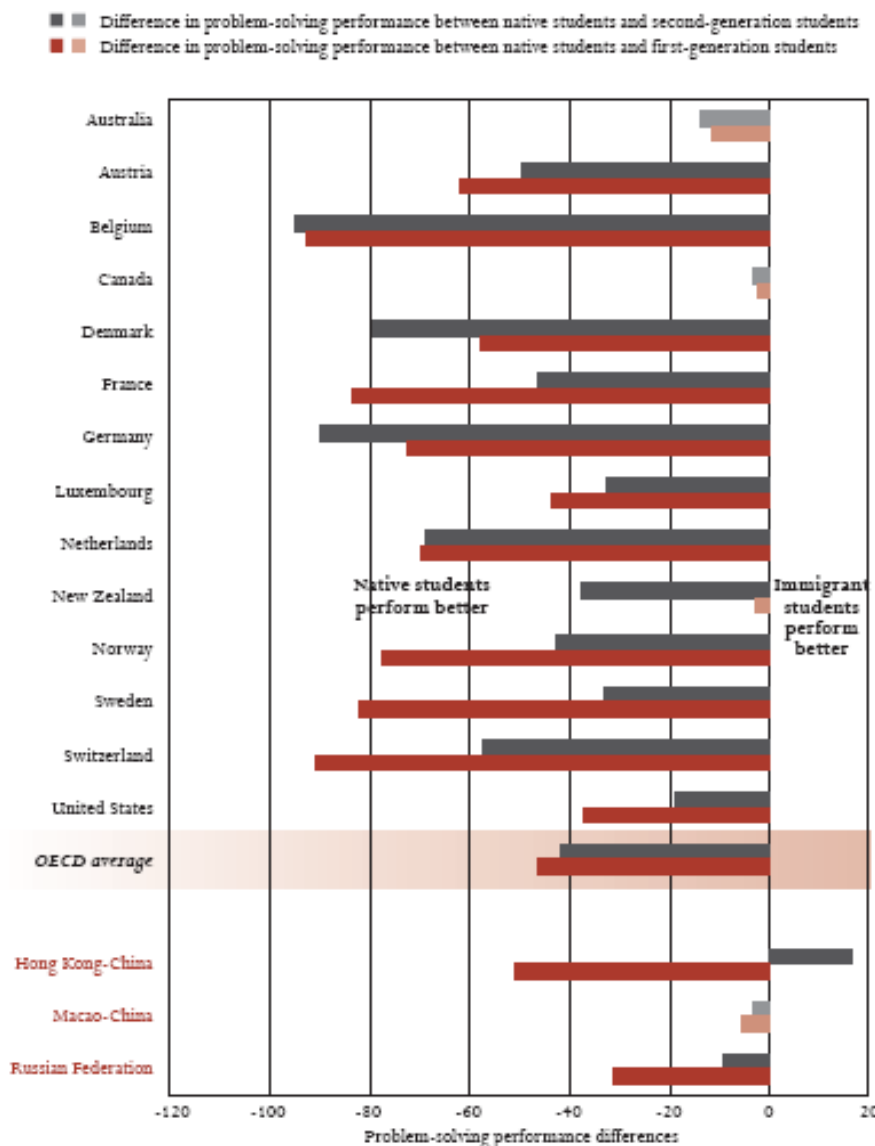
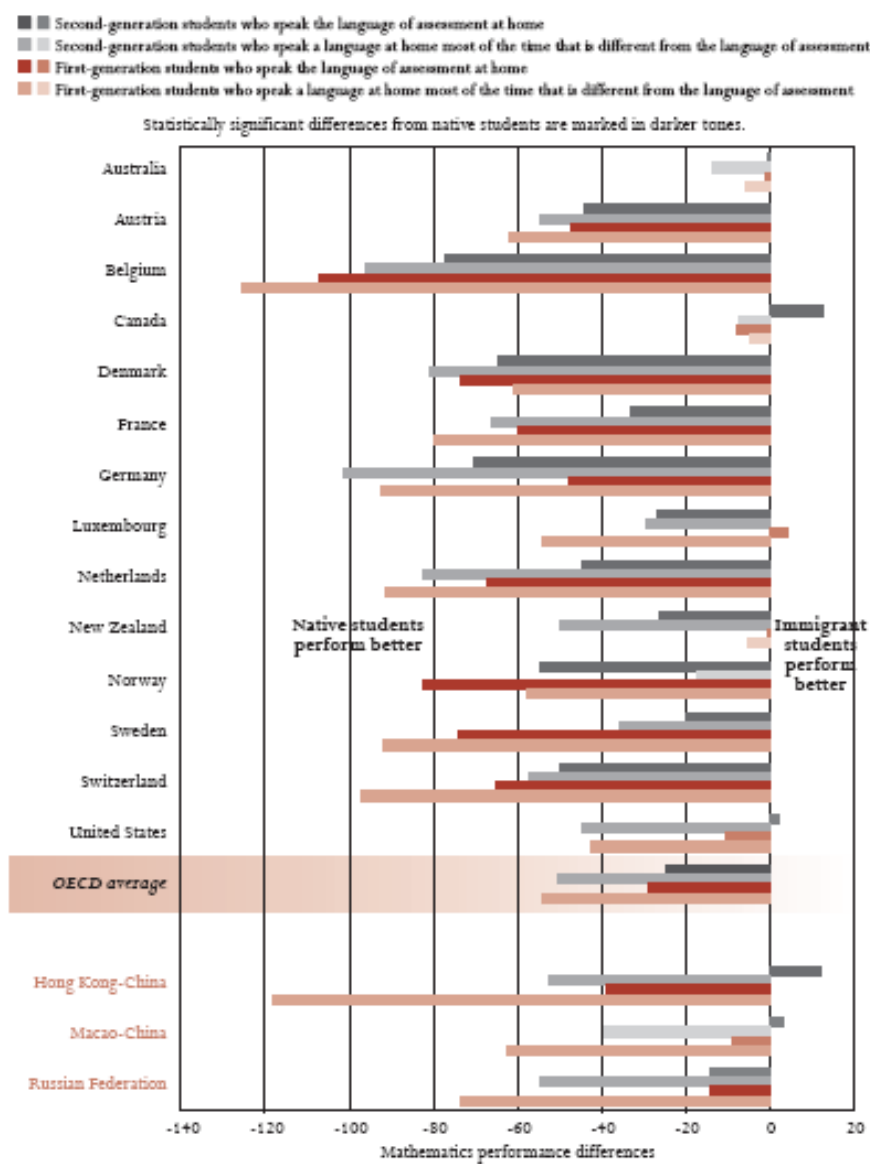
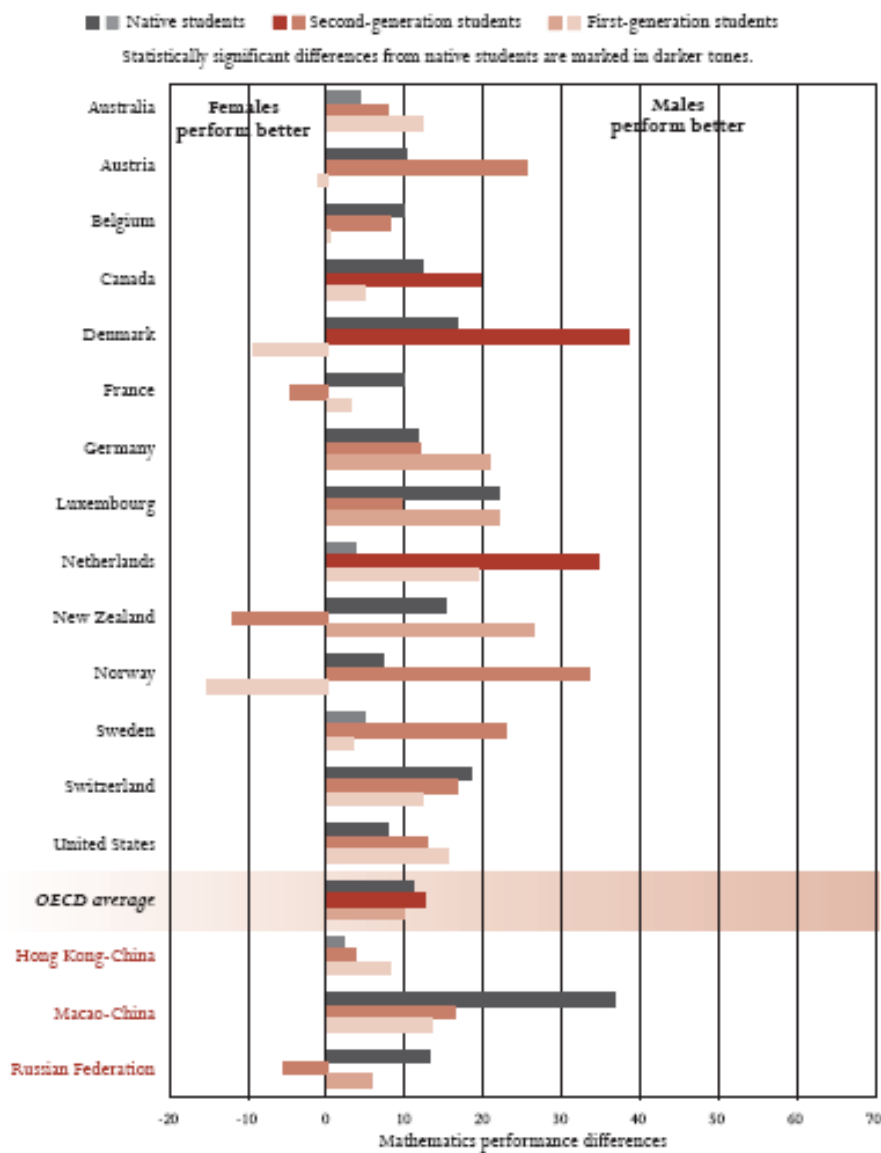


Figure 2.5 ■ Differences in mathematics performance from that of native students by immigrant status and home language



Source: OECD PISA 2003 database, Table 2.5a.

Figure 2.6a ■ Differences in mathematics performance by gender and immigrant status



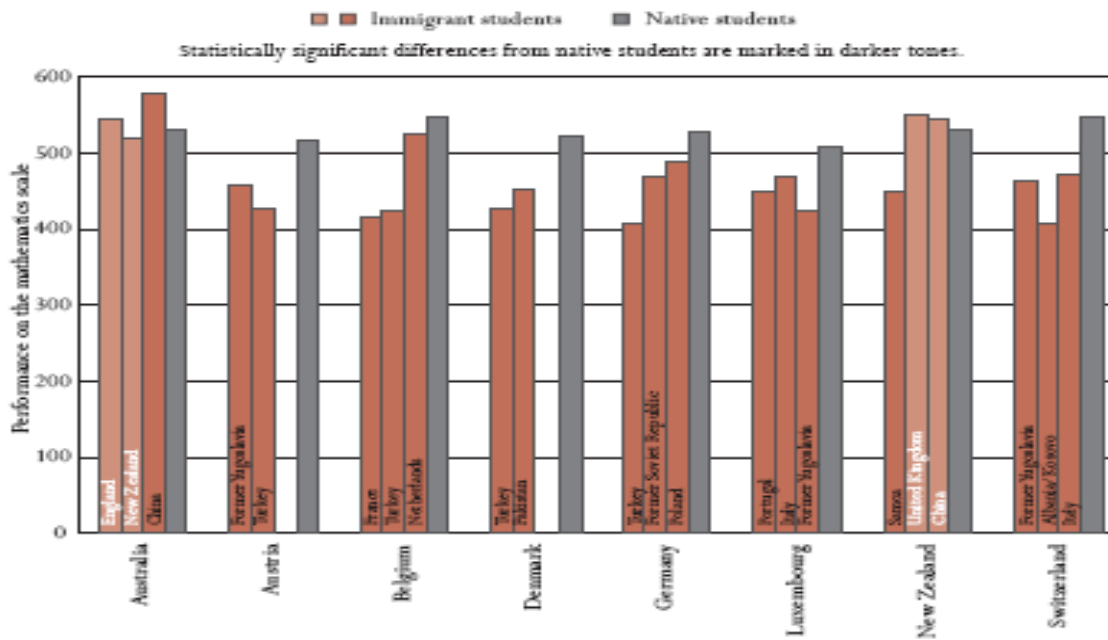
Source: OECD PISA 2003 database, Table 2.7.

Figure 2.6b ■ Differences in reading performance by gender and immigrant status



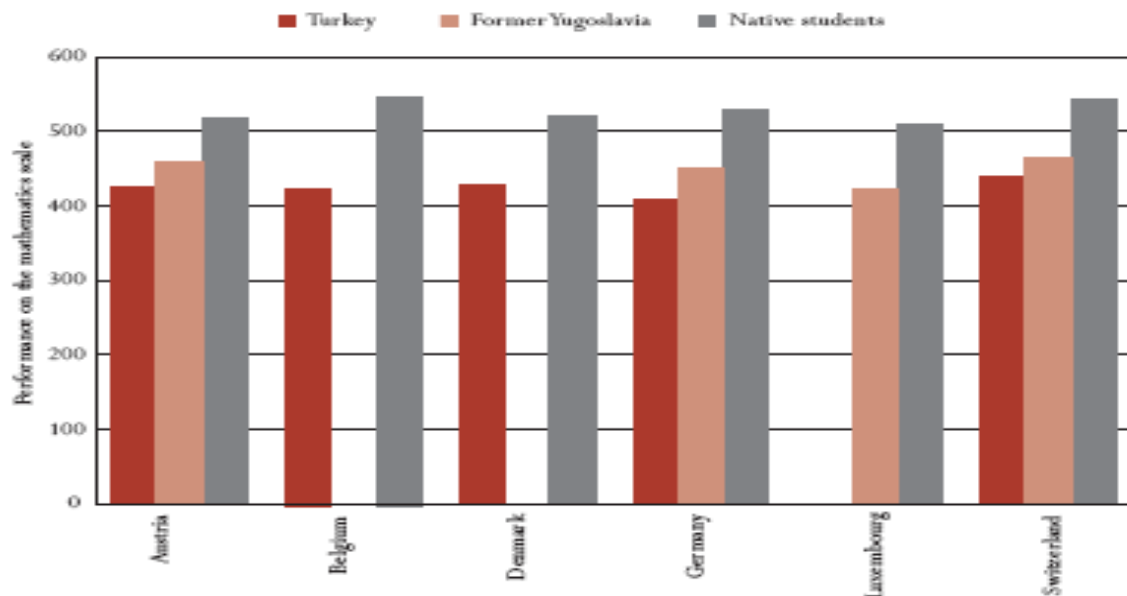
Source: OECD PISA 2003 database, Table 2.7.

Figure 2.7 ■ Performance on the mathematics scale of the three most common immigrant groups



Source: OECD PISA 2003 database, Table 2.8.

Figure 2.8 ■ Comparison of performance levels for immigrant students whose families came from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia



Note: Students from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia perform statistically significantly differently to native students in all countries.
Source: OECD PISA 2003 database, Table 2.9.

ANNEX VI

List of Experts consulted

Study "Intercultural Education in Schools" – April 2008

Germany

Mr Michael Haas
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