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EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN OF MIGRANT WORKERS
ERZIEHUNG FÜR GASTARBEITERKINDER
EDUCATION POUR LES ENFANTS DES TRAVAILLEURS MIGRANTS
edited by INGEBORG WILLKE

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edited by MANFRED BAYER, PETER DÖBRICH, WOLFGANG MITTER

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Changes in the Polish System of Teacher Education since 1972

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New Hopes and Prospects for Colleges of Education in England and Wales B.T. PECK

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The Legitimation of Innovation: An English Path to "Open Education"

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Curriculare Schwerpunkte und Entwicklungstrends im Erziehungs- und Gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Studium für den Lehrerberuf in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland M. BAYER, M. KOLBE

The School as a Workplace: Extending Democracy to Schools F. STOPSKY

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Reform Conceptions on Teacher Education: The Comparative Research Project "INTERAGLA" of the German Institute for International Educational Research

Dilemmas of Open Education Programs M. BAYER, I. SOMMERKORN

Part IV: Book reviews

ABOUT THE ISSUE

The schools in Western European States have acquired a new problem during the last 10-15 years: the children of migrant workers and immigrants. The problem emerged at the same time that the interests of European educationalists were absorbed by the American discussion on equality of opportunity (Coleman report) and the programmes of Head Start and Sesame Street. The discussion about the applicability of the concept of equality to independent programmes developing differently in each European state has only in recent years resulted in pedagogical solutions.

In this issue, concepts and programmes are presented from a widely faceted range of opinions, which shed light on the cultural background of the authors in question. Thus the authors themselves represent a small sector of plurality, which was part of the intentional design of this special number.

Jonas Widgren, a Swedish expert, presents the close interrelation of social-political and economic facts which highlight the difficulty of appropriate action on behalf of these children.

From the point of view of an educationalist who knows about the problems of immigrants both in USA and internationally C. Arnold Anderson elucidates the complexity of a pluralistic educational policy. He founds his analysis on the experiences of first generation immigrants in the USA.

The research team of Laycock, Yinger, and Ikeda, of Oberlin College, present a compensatory programme for black students which has already run for over 10 years; this contribution should be seen as an opening of the immigrants' discussion into the whole discussion of disadvantaged children.

Then follow country reports; from the viewpoint of Turkey as an example of a sending country presented by the sociologist Nermin Abadan-Unat; from Switzerland, as an example of an experienced receiver country, which appears particularly interesting because of its multi-lingual structure and the consequent problems of identity, presented by the team of Eugen Egger and Jean-Marie Boillat of the Swiss Documentation Centre; from the UK about the policy and programme of teacher training for a multi-cultural society, by Richard Willey, from the Community Relations Commission; and a current Swedish bilingual experiment presented by Ingvar Johannesson, of the University of Lund.

The final article is a comparative study about policy and action with

immigrant children in West Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, by Ingeborg Willke.

The bibliography at the end of the issue is in two parts: the first is a selection of the most important articles and books for each country, and the second gives further bibliographical details under key words.

INGEBORG WILLKE

RECENT TRENDS IN EUROPEAN MIGRATION POLICIES

JONAS WIDGREN

This paper describes the composition of the migrant worker population in the countries of Western Europe. It traces developments in government policies regarding control and stabilization of immigration, provision for education and granting of political rights. The current international recession and the freeze on immigration might provide a much-needed breathing space for re-thinking policies that affect the personal, educational and vocational futures of large numbers of human beings.

Dieser Artikel beschreibt die Zusammensetzung der Gastarbeiterbevölkerung in Westeuropa. Er untersucht Entwicklungen in der Politik der Regierungen gegenüber der Kontrolle und Stabilisierung der Immigration, der Bereitstellung von Bildung und dem Zugeständnis politischer Rechte. Die gegenwärtige internationale Rezession und die Stagnation der Immigration könnten eine notwendige Denkpause bieten, damit eine Politik neu überdacht werden kann, die die persönliche Zukunft, die Bildung und Ausbildung von vielen Menschen angeht.

Cet article décrit la composition de la population des travailleurs migrants dans les pays d'Europe occidentale. Il trace les progrès réalisés en ce qui concerne les politiques gouvernementales relatives au contrôle et à la stabilisation de l'immigration, les chances d'éducation et l'octroi des droits politiques. La récession internationale en cours et le durcissement exercé à l'égard de l'immigration pourraient fournir un répit dont on a grand besoin pour re-considérer les politiques qui affectent l'avenir personnel, éducatif et professionnel de grands nombres d'êtres humains, ainsi que le développement social et économique des pays concernés.

1974 may come to figure as a turning point in the history of European migration. Ever since the end of the 1940s, workers from less developed countries in the Mediterranean area have been making their way, in steadily increasing numbers, to the industrial regions of Western Europe. But it is only now that the long-term effects of these tremendous migratory movements are being examined by practically all the countries concerned. The most obvious sign that a period of reappraisal has begun is that immigration has been restricted, while some emigration countries are trying to induce their nationals to return home or at least to make plans to do so later on.

In the early 1950s nobody could have foreseen the far-reaching economic and social consequences that migration was to have in both host and supplier countries. Governments regarded migration as a short-term and transitory phenomenon. Besides, it could help solve "the overpopulation problem" of a number of countries. The receiving countries called

for foreign workers to temporarily supplement their own labour force during boom periods. To the sending countries, migration reduced the pressure on sluggish labour markets and opened up the prospect of an improved balance of payments resulting from savings sent home by migrant workers from abroad. Both groups of countries took it for granted that foreign workers would "automatically" return to their native countries after not more than a couple of years abroad.

The falseness of this assumption became progressively clearer during the 1960s. Both sides came to realize that migration was connected with profound structural changes in the economies of the countries concerned. In the less advanced countries of Europe, the change from agricultural to industrial production was destined to produce large surpluses of labour for a long time to come. At the same time the rising affluence of the industrial nations in Western Europe would gradually increase the reluctance of their native inhabitants to accept jobs of inferior social status. Finally it was found that migrant workers and their families tended to settle permanently to a far greater extent than had originally been expected. Immigration took on the character of a self-feeding process¹ and the numbers of immigrants rose steeply.

At least 13 million foreign workers and their families now live in the countries of Western Europe.² Of these more than 7.5 million are gain-

TABLE 1

Foreign Population in Seven European Countries

<i>Country</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of total population</i>
Belgium (1971)	720 000	8.0
FR Germany (1973)	3,970 000	6.4
France (1974)	4,040 000	7.7
Netherlands (1974)	301 000	2.6
Sweden (1974)	401 000	5.0
Switzerland (1974)	1,070 000	16.7
United Kingdom (1971)	2,580 000	4.6

Source: B. Kayser, "Nouvelles politiques des pays européens d'immigration".

Studi Emigrazione (Rome) 12 (1975), no. 37. <http://www.franz.org>

TABLE 2

Estimated Numbers of Migrant Workers in Europe, 1974 (in thousands)

<i>Emigration countries</i>	<i>Immigration Countries</i>									<i>Total</i>
	<i>F.R. Germany</i>	<i>Switzerland</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Belgium</i>	<i>Netherlands</i>	<i>Luxembourg</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>Sweden</i>	<i>U.K.</i>	
Portugal	80	3	380	3	4	9		1	3	483
Spain	160	75	260	30	20	2		2	35	584
Italy	410	306	230	85	10	11	2	3	75	1,132
Yugoslavia	495	23	50	3	9	1	166	23	9	779
Greece	225	5	5	8	2			8	5	258
Turkey	680	14	25	10	33		29	2	3	796
Finland	5	1						105		110
Marocco	15		130	30	23					198
Algeria			440	3						443
Tunisia	10		70		1					81
Others	420 ^a	159	270 ^c	76	57 ^d	19	21	55	1,670 ^e	2,770
Total	2,500	586 ^b	1,860	248	159	42	218	199	1,800	7,634

a including 100,000 Austrians

b add 152,000 seasonal workers and 98,000 frontier workers

c including 80,000 Africans; add 130,000 seasonal workers

d add 25,000 workers from Surinam and the Antilles

e including 480 Irish and 630 Commonwealth workers

fully employed and some 5 million are dependants, including about 3 million children and young persons. Over one-third are women. There are estimated to be at least one million gainfully employed illegal residents. Table 1 shows the total number of legal immigrants (i.e. foreign workers and their dependants) in seven major immigration countries. As can be seen from this table, the proportion of aliens in the total population is greatest in Switzerland out of all countries with large numbers of immigrants (they constitute 27 per cent of the total population in Luxembourg, but number only 91,000).

Table 2 shows estimated numbers of foreign workers living in the countries of Western Europe in 1974. The estimates have been made by the SOPEMI group within OECD.³ Foreign workers in Switzerland form 20 per cent of the total labour force (excluding seasonal and frontier workers). Corresponding figures for other countries are as follows: Federal Republic of Germany 12 per cent, France 9 per cent, Austria 9 per cent, UK 8 per cent, Belgium 7 per cent, Sweden 5 per cent and Netherlands 4 per cent. Most migrant workers in Western Europe are employed in industry (between 60 and 70 per cent on average), above all in the metalworking and building industries. Roughly a quarter are employed in the tertiary sector. However, as can be seen from Table 3, distribution between sectors of employment varies a great deal

TABLE 3

Percentual Labour Force Participation of Foreign Workers

	Germany (1972)	Switzerland (1972)	Sweden (1973)	France (1968)
Agriculture	0.9	2.4	3.4	5.7
Mining	3.3	0.2	0.6	2.7
Industry	76.7	65.6	60.4	63.0
Commerce	5.8	6.0	1.6	8.6
Other services	13.3	25.8	34.0	17.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Adapted from the SOPEMI report for 1973.

from country to country. The immigrant population in Europe also includes many persons who have become naturalized citizens. For instance, 468,000 people were naturalized in France between 1960 and 1973⁴ and there are about 240,000 naturalized immigrants living in Sweden.⁵

The Turning Point

The turning point that came in 1974 - the year when the long-term benefits of the migration of labour in Europe were questioned by almost all governments - was of course closely bound up with the oil-crisis and the serious international economic recession; but it was not the oil-crisis alone that prompted this reconsideration.⁶ The crisis reinforced tendencies that had already made themselves felt in the early seventies. This is best illustrated by the development of migratory flows. During the 1960s Europe experienced the greatest increase in migratory movements relative to other regions of the world. Nearly every year during the second half of the 1960s, approximately one million workers migrated to the industrial nations of Western Europe. Starting in 1970, however, immigration began to tail off: the peak had been passed. At the same time the number of immigrants continued to increase due to the arrival of family members and children born in the new country of residence.

Immigration began to decrease because the governments of the receiving countries gradually came to realize that they had reached a saturation point. In other words, they felt that the country was unable, for social and political reasons, to absorb more immigrants (degeneration of urban areas, racial tensions etc.), even though employers would have preferred a continuation of the former policy of *laissez faire*, and in spite of the fact that there was a demand for labour. Social considerations were for the first time given priority over the needs of the economy in the shaping of immigration policy.

A More Restrictive Immigration Policy

Thus the main feature of current policy is a *restriction of immigration* even during boom periods. For many years now the Swiss government has been trying to respond to the demands of nationalist groups by gradually limiting immigration and reducing the number of foreign workers in the country. Germany took a decision to stop recruiting foreign labour from the Mediterranean countries on November 23, 1973 and France suspended immigration on July 3, 1974. Austria too effected a sharp reversal of migratory policy in 1974 and resolved that foreign workers were not to exceed 10 per cent of total manpower. The Netherlands, Belgium, Norway and Denmark have also tightened up their immigration policies, and Sweden has not recruited workers from the south of Europe since 1970.

One expression of the reluctance to allow immigration on the same scale as previously, and of the insight that immigration depends on the host society offering foreign workers and their dependants satisfactory social conditions, is to be seen in the principle that employers should shoulder a greater share of the costs arising out of immigration. In many countries the view that employers should bear a major portion of the costs connected with the social integration of the immigrants and their families is becoming increasingly prevalent.⁷ These costs can either be recouped by levying a fee, as in Germany (DM 1000 per recruited worker) or France (a similar amount), or else by making it the duty of employers to pay the wages and other costs connected with the training of foreign workers (as in Sweden, where employers are obliged to give their immigrant employees up to 240 hours leave of absence with regular pay to attend Swedish lessons, which entails a cost of about DM 4.000 or some 15 per cent of a year's wages).⁸

Increased pressure is also being put on employers to prevent them conniving at *illegal immigration*. Resolutions restricting immigration have led to a rise in the numbers of illegal immigrants, and one of the major tasks now confronting the international organizations (above all the ILO)⁹ is to try to suggest measures for the prevention of illegal employment and thus, exploitation, of foreign workers. It is partly for this reason that some countries are contemplating giving the employer instead of the employee the labour permit (i.e. permission to employ foreign workers), and an arrangement of this kind has recently been resolved on by the Dutch parliament.

Efforts to Stabilize Immigrant Population

Another feature is the increase in efforts to stabilize and integrate the immigrant population. Simplifying matters somewhat, one might say that it was only recently that the host countries discovered that over one third of immigrants intended to settle permanently, contrary to what was expected in the 1950s and despite the fact that immigration laws are still based on the assumption that the migrant worker will return to his native country after a couple of years' employment, i.e. a policy of permanent rotation of migrant workers. More than half a million foreign workers have been in Switzerland for more than ten years,¹⁰ and 21 per cent of all foreign workers in Germany have been living there for over seven years, 9 per cent for over ten years,¹¹ which is in excess of the period stipulated (together with other qualifications) for becoming

ing a naturalized citizen in the FRG.

But infrastructural reforms (housing, schools, hospitals etc.) have not been carried into effect. Sooner or later governments will be forced to redouble their efforts to adapt the infrastructure to the needs of immigrants. Otherwise they will run the risk of serious social tensions coupled with uncertainty as to how frustrated and underprivileged minority groups will act in a disturbed political situation. The process of giving immigrants a standard of living comparable to that of the native population will be expensive but it is considered more and more of a necessity. In Germany it has been estimated that each immigrant necessitates infrastructure investments to the tune of DM 75,000.¹²

Apart from the risk of social tensions, immigration countries may in the long run have a still more egotistic reason for accelerating the integration of immigrants in the host society. If the aim of maintaining a restrictive immigration policy is adhered to even during future boom periods, labour will have to be recruited from another source. But where? From the dependants of foreign workers. Even though the European Economic Community countries still stipulate that third country migrant workers are not to be joined by their families until they have been resident in the host country for at least one or two years, a steady equalization of the sexes is taking place in the immigrant population of most countries. Moreover the fertility rate among immigrants is higher than that of the population as a whole.

As the most acute social problems of immigrants are solved and, when after five or ten years' residence in the host countries, they are eventually integrated in society and share the same living standards as native workers, the long-term aspects will become increasingly prominent. During recent years two long-term aspects have come to predominate. One is the education of the children of migrant workers - is their education to prepare them for a future in their country of origin or in their country of residence or in both cultures (this topic is dealt with by other contributors to this special issue and by international organizations, particularly the Council of Europe and UNESCO)? The other is the granting of political rights to immigrants. It is being found increasingly grotesque that adult foreigners living in Europe, equalling as they do in numbers the population of, say, Belgium, are denied the right to vote and thus have a say in political life in the localities and countries where they live and work, and in their countries of origin as well, as long as they are abroad. In many countries proposals have been made that immigrants be given the municipal vote. In Sweden all foreign

citizens will be entitled to vote and stand for election in the 1976 municipal elections, provided that they have been living in Sweden for three years. Proposals for giving them the right to vote in parliamentary elections have now been put forward by the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO). The German SPD has toyed with the idea of reintroducing the system of dual citizenship, as a means of giving immigrants greater political influence, and the Commission of the European Communities in Brussels is considering awarding municipal voting rights to all immigrants residing in the Community countries no later than 1980.

As the current process of stabilization continues, many countries will probably be faced with the choice now confronting Sweden: should society merely passively permit or should it actually encourage ethnic groups wishing to retain and develop their cultural heritage and their languages? The Swedish parliament has recently opted for the latter alternative in the conviction that it is not only the members of the ethnic minorities but society as a whole that gains from a policy of active bilingualism and multi-culturalism, namely, increased solidarity and understanding between the native population and immigrants/linguistic minorities, less risk of immigrant children (and, in due course, their children) becoming a "lost generation", and also better prospects of those wishing to return home being reintegrated in their countries of origin.

Migration and Development

The reconsideration of immigration policies in Western Europe has been matched by a corresponding reappraisal of migration policies by the sender countries of the Mediterranean area (as well as Finland and Eire). More and more doubts are being raised as to whether the positive effects that in the 1950s and 1960s were expected from migration have actually occurred. One might summarize the views of many experts on the migration of labour to Western Europe as follows:¹³

It is true that emigration for the sending countries has meant a temporary alleviation of unemployment, but seen in longterm perspective, it depleted reserves of labour that could otherwise have contributed towards economic development. A large proportion of the emigrants are skilled workers and in certain countries this proportion is tending to increase (one third of all Yugoslav migrant workers in Germany had jobs in industry before emigrating).¹⁴ It is true that emigration has re-

sulted in a considerable influx of foreign exchange, (in 1973 a total of \$ 5.5. billion was saved by foreign workers and sent home to Portugal, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey),¹⁵ but these savings are rapidly spent on imported goods (thus accelerating inflation) instead of, for instance, being invested in projects which could provide employment in the emigration regions. Although migrant workers gain valuable experience of industrial employment, those who return to their native countries tend to swell the numbers of the unemployed. What is more, emigration tends to undermine the population structure of the regions concerned, leaving only the aged and children behind.

The sending countries are therefore demanding that migration should at least not detract from the aims that have been set for their economic development or perhaps, better still, that it should contribute towards the achievement of those aims. Migration must, in other words, fit into a pattern of international development and must promote an equalization of the economic differences between the immigration and the emigration countries. The following question is therefore becoming more and more urgent for the countries concerned as well as for international organizations such as the ILO and the OECD: How can we make migration fit into a context of employment, promotion, and regional development? And furthermore: How can we relate a migratory movement in the one direction to a compensatory flow of capital, technical aid etc. in the other?

Methods recommended or already used in this context are: a more selective migration policy (as in Yugoslavia, where certain occupational groups that are needed in the country are denied the assistance of the employment service if they want to work abroad); the channelling of workers' remittance into projects for the creation of employment (experiments are in progress in Turkey and Yugoslavia); bilateral collaboration between immigration and emigration countries with the aim of inducing industry to invest in the country instead of recruiting workers (discussions on these lines have taken place, for instance, between Germany and Yugoslavia and between Sweden and Finland); transference of taxes paid by immigrants in the host country to their countries of origin (proposals of this kind have been put forward by Italy vis-à-vis the European Community and by Finnish migration experts vis-à-vis Sweden); to include emigration countries in the programme of aid to underdeveloped nations (as in the Netherlands); and finally, to induce skilled industrial workers to return to their native countries by initiating development projects providing employment.

The Alternatives

The current international recession and the immigration freeze in the industrial nations may provide the emigration countries with a much needed breathing space in which to develop methods of the kind indicated above and present the case for them.¹⁶ The immigration countries too have begun to ponder over the alternatives to immigration that will be open to them when the next boom sets in. Neither side, however, imagines that migration will fail to gather speed again when the economic situation improves, although we may expect the level of migration to be far lower than during the last boom. On the other hand, in Yugoslavia, Turkey, Portugal and many non-European countries, the "push-factors" will continue to be powerful for a long time. But countries like Spain, Italy, Greece, Ireland and Finland, as well as oil-exporting nations such as Algeria, will in the long term not be able to dispense with workers so freely.

Theoretically speaking, immigration countries have to choose between three alternatives if they wish to refrain in future from using immigration as an instrument of economic policy: a) slowing down their economic growth, b) increasing the capital-intensiveness of the production process, and c) investing abroad. There is no doubt that the emigration countries would like to see them opt for the third alternative, but at the same time we know that industry will not invest in the emigration countries of its own accord and independently of Government guarantees. The efforts made to establish cooperation in bilateral development will be largely instrumental in shaping the migration policies of the future.

NOTES

1. For the idea of the self-feeding character of immigration, see W.R. Böhning, and D. Maillat, *The Effects of the Employment of Foreign Workers*. Paris: OECD, 1974.
2. A global picture of the situation of migrants in Europe is, *inter alia*, to be found in: *The Welfare of Migrant Workers and their Families*. Report of the Secretary-General of the UN (E/CN.5/515). New York: United Nations, 1974; S. Castles and G. Kosack, *Immigrant Workers and Class Structures in Western Europe*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.
3. SOPEMI (System d'Observation Permanante des Migrations) was set up within the OECD in 1973. The aim of SOPEMI, which has national correspondents in 14 countries in Europe, is to provide the countries involved in the major intra-European manpower movements with reliable information.

4. G. Tapinos, *L'Immigration étrangère en France 1946-1973*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1975, p. 135.
5. "Statens offentliga utredningar" (SOU 1974:69), Stockholm: Ministry of Labour, 1974, p. 23.
6. See SOPEMI-report for 1974.
7. For a discussion of the social costs of immigration, see e.g. G. Schiller, "Channelling Migration: a Review of Policy". *International Labour Review* 3 (1975), no.4, pp. 335-355.
8. For a description of language courses for immigrants in Sweden, see articles by M. Boye-Möller in *International Labour Review* 108 (1973), no. 6, pp. 505-515 and in *Prospects, Quarterly Review of Education* (UNESCO) 4 (Autumn 1974), no. 3, pp. 378-384.
9. See "Migrant Workers, Report VII (I)". Geneva: ILO, 1973, pp. 5-16.
10. SOPEMI-report for 1974, p. 8.
11. *Repräsentativuntersuchung '72 über die Beschäftigung ausländischer Arbeitnehmer im Bundesgebiet und ihre Familien- und Wohnverhältnisse*. Nürnberg: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1973, pp. 32-41.
12. Other figures have also been mentioned in the German debate. See the paper by Schiller (Note 7) and G. Stiens, "Zur infrastrukturierten Plafondierung der Ausländerbeschäftigung". *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung* (Bonn) 1974, nr. 2, Bonn 1974, pp. 39ff.
13. See e.g.: W.R. Böhning, "Some Thoughts on Emigration from the Mediterranean Basin". *International Labour Review* 3 (1975), pp. 251-277.
14. I. Baučić, *Porijeklo i struktura radnika iz Jugoslavije u SR Njemačkoj*. Zagreb: Institute of Geography, Zagreb University, 1970, table XI.
15. SOPEMI-report for 1974, p. 38.
16. The influence of migration on foreign policy and on the general relations between sending and receiving countries is discussed in R. Lohrmann and K. Manfrass (eds.), *Ausländerbeschäftigung und internationale Politik*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1974.

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June 1975

Macro-Planning of Education:

The Macro-Planning of Education:
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DOUGLAS M. WINDHAM

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October 1975

Dilemmas of Educational Development:

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EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Cultural pluralism is gaining importance in contemporary discussions of education. It can be viewed as a special case of freedom of choice, to be stipulated in policy making along with equity and efficiency. But, when applied to the special case of immigrants' children, implications for policy are equivocal. The spatial distribution of the residences of such children gives rise to obstacles in supplying educational services. Policies seemingly expressive of cultural pluralism are less clear when the heterogeneity within each immigrant group is considered. Freedom of choice can create major inequities.

Der Begriff des Kulturpluralismus wird in der zeitgenössischen pädagogischen Diskussion immer wichtiger. Er kann als ein besonderer Fall der Wahlfreiheit angesehen werden, der in der Bildungspolitik zusammen mit Gleichheit der Bildungschancen und Effektivität gefördert werden sollte. Aber wenn dieser Begriff auf den speziellen Fall von Gastarbeiterkindern angewendet wird, sind die Implikationen für die Bildungspolitik zweideutig. Weil die Kinder meist weit verstreut wohnen, ist es schwierig, ihnen die geeigneten Bildungsmöglichkeiten zu bieten. Politische Grundsätze, die scheinbar Kulturpluralismus ausdrücken, werden weniger einsichtig, wenn man die Verschiedenartigkeit innerhalb von Immigrantengruppen betrachtet. Die Wahlfreiheit kann ausgesprochene Ungleichheit schaffen.

Le pluralisme culturel gagne en importance dans les discussions contemporaines en éducation. Il peut être considéré comme un cas spécial de liberté de choix à stipuler dans la politique éducationnelle, de même que l'équité et l'efficacité. Mais lorsqu'il est appliqué au cas spécial des enfants immigrants, les implications relatives à cette politique présentent des équivoques. La répartition spatiale des résidences de ces enfants entrave les services éducatifs. Une politique qui semble exprimer le pluralisme culturel est moins clair lorsqu'on examine l'hétérogénéité au sein de chaque groupe immigrant. La liberté de choix peut provoquer des injustices considérables.

The truth is that the problem of teaching foreign children to speak English has never been regarded by the public schools as one of their serious problems. Although classes for these children have been in existence for the past 15 years, it is only during the past two years that the statistical summaries of the annual school reports have shown the number of pupils ... Two steps are urgently needed. The first is to secure a supervisor thoroughly conversant with the most effective methods of teaching English to non-English-speaking children. ... The second important step is to ... put every non-English-speaking child into a special class, even if this involves transportation from one district to another.¹

This pronouncement was made just before the flood of immigrants' chil-

dren into the schools of the United States was about to be choked off by World War I. The fact that recognition of this problem came so late tells us something about the sluggishness of innovation in large school systems. Response within European countries to the spreading out of "guest workers" since World War II has been more prompt; today we see a greater sensitiveness to the political, economic, and ethical issues arising from this vast transplantation of families.² Even though international organizations (such as the Council of Europe) have facilitated analysis and the design of policy, implementation of a general consensus has been uneven and nowhere proportionate to the need.

Although today we are more alert to the need to balance equity, efficiency, and freedom of choice in designing policies for education, addition to ringing declarations in the halls of international organizations has encouraged officials to underestimate the difficulties of their task. Yet the florescence of modern linguistics supplies a firmer base for pedagogic adaptation than was available to administrators in Cleveland sixty years ago.

In the first part of this paper attention is given to examining how geographic patterns in distribution of immigrants' residences facilitate or constrain educational opportunities for their children. Then, some effects of a policy of cultural pluralism are identified, and particular emphasis is given to how cultural diversity within each immigrant group modifies the effects of cultural pluralism. The last section focuses on the divergent educational experiences of different minority groups, depending upon the society's acceptance or rejection of the policy of cultural pluralism.

Logistic Difficulties in Providing Educational Services to Minorities

How immigrant children are distributed spatially over a society affects the feasibility of any program designed especially for their needs. Though data for a contemporary European educational system seem not to exist, reports for the city of Cleveland (Ohio) in 1915 give us a broad picture of what may, even today, be a typical situation.³ On one day pupils were asked to state what language was used in their home. Thirty languages were itemized in the report (plus a miscellaneous category that included only $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of all pupils), but only five languages included as many as 5 percent each of all elementary pupils. The broad spectrum of languages was as follows (in percentages): English 50, German 11, Yiddish 8, Bohemian 7, Hungarian and Polish 5

each, Slovak 2, all others together 6 per cent.⁴

The administrative task of the schools is revealed less by the distribution of languages for the city as a whole than in their distribution among the individual elementary schools. In a quarter of the schools all seven of the above languages could be found; 29 schools contained six languages, 15 contained five, 14 contained four, 9 contained three; and two schools had only one foreign language among the pupils. If these foreign-speaking pupils had been enrolled in tight clusters - most Hungarian speakers in a few schools, for example - it would not have been difficult to schedule classes and to assign teachers. While families do tend to cluster in their residence according to nationality, immigrant pupils of one nationality rarely would be found in only two or three schools. Moreover, this clustering varies within and between nationalities, depending on occupational position or education of a family and upon how long it has resided in the host country.⁵

As stated, one pupil out of nine had a German-speaking father and these pupils were found in every school; Bohemian pupils attended 81 schools, but half were in nine schools. The other nationalities were distributed in a similarly uneven way. Collecting each language set of pupils into a few schools would have been not impossible but difficult, and time for travel would have disrupted classroom schedules.

We can think of the task of teaching mother tongues to elementary pupils as being determined by the balance among three situations: (a) the proportion of pupils in a school who speak (for example) English; (b) the proportion who speak one dominant foreign language; and (c) the proportion of pupils who speak some other language and the number of those other languages found in a school.⁶ If the aim is to offer instruction in the mother-tongue for as many pupils as possible, the most difficult situation is to be found in those schools with the following mixture: less than 1/3 speak the host language, less than 1/3 speak a single foreign language, and more than 2/3 are spread among the "other" languages. The task is easiest in schools in which over 2/3 of all pupils speak the host language, it is of intermediate difficulty where although less than 1/3 speak the host language, over 2/3 do speak a single foreign tongue.⁷

In Table 1 nine categories are arranged from the most to the least difficult pedagogic situation, and the distribution of all schools and pupils among these nine situations is given. The easiest situation (over 2/3 English-speaking) characterised 31 schools accounting for 30 per cent of all pupils. Quite difficult situations were found in ten schools

enrolling 13 per cent of all pupils.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Schools among Language-Mixture Situations in Cleveland, Ohio, 1915

Type	Per cent speaking English	Per cent speaking principal foreign language	Per cent speaking other foreign languages	Number of schools	Pupils as per cent of all Cleveland pupils
I	under 1/3	under 1/3	over 2/3	1	1
II	under 1/3	under 1/3	1/3 to 2/3	4	7
III	under 1/3	1/3 to 2/3	1/3 to 2/3	5	5
IV	1/3 to 2/3	under 1/3	1/3 to 2/3	4	5
V	under 1/3	over 2/3	under 1/3	8	10
VI	1/3 to 2/3	under 1/3	under 1/3	29	25
VII	1/3 to 2/3	1/3 to 2/3	under 1/3	7	7
VIII	under 1/3	over 2/3	under 1/3	8	10
IX	over 2/3	under 1/3	under 1/3	31	30
Total				97	100

Specifying the Effects of Cultural Pluralism

Cultural pluralism is a variant of groupism, and the main elements of that situation can be laid out schematically:⁸

Amount of Interaction among Groups

High
Low

Degree of Cohesion within Groups

High

(1) Pluralism
(3) Caste

Low

(2) Mass society
(4) Transitional from low complexity

For the societies that are the object of the present discussion, the appropriate categories are situations (1) and (2). Large streams of migration are occurring from less developed to more developed societies. These mi-

grations, and the underlying economic changes, display large elements of what often is called "the mass society". But discussions of policy about the schooling of children in families of guest workers are made more complicated than they were for school officials of Cleveland by the growing commitment to a "pluralistic" society.⁹ Turkish workers in Sweden, for example, are to be assisted in preserving their language, customs, and traditions while also learning how to minimize the discomforts of living in a strange society. Restriction of association to the workplace and the growth of ethnic enclaves are deemed to be undesirable, yet at the same time immigrants are given a choice between retaining affiliation to their own society or assimilation into the host society.¹⁰ Education officials in the host society accept an obligation to facilitate instruction about the immigrants' own society and preservation of the mother tongue while at the same time aiding pupils to learn the language and folkways of their fellow pupils who belong to the host society.

When one speaks of "cultural pluralism" one does not presuppose that every individual will have identical opportunities but rather that the range of opportunities will be similar for every "group". The influence of family status upon how children do in school is not assumed to have been eliminated; rather, the intent is to ensure that children from "working class" homes will have about the same opportunities regardless of which ethnic group they belong to.¹¹ One could envisage a society in which such a parity of opportunity had been established between groups (such as nationalities), yet within that society some ethnic groups might reject the premises of cultural pluralism and seek to attain greater status in and identity with the host society than was sought by other groups. One group may strive to protect its way of life against being merged into a society that confers equal recognition to each culture. The spokesmen for such assertive groups contend that their way of life is superior, and efforts are made to restrict association with individuals belonging to other groups. The ideal of a common but diversified culture may be rejected by a group that nevertheless strives to gain autonomy for its own activities. To follow the implication of a pattern of "contending equal groups" would prolong this discussion. The societies that we are examining take the position that there will be one main language and a broad sharing of everyday customs; it is assumed that children of immigrants are to be assisted to become bicultural, capable of living without great strain in the host society, yet able to adjust to a return "home".

It is far easier to equalize some public services than others. Immigrants may be given the right to open their own places for religious worship and their clubs for leisure time. Host societies may vary from merely tolerating such activities to encouraging them actively. The house-keeping services (such as use of streets or collection of garbage) are impersonal but housing is less neutral. The host society may facilitate grouping together of immigrants by nationality in their leisure hours, but it may try to disperse residences in order to encourage "assimilation". The schools offer a complex service; schooling usually will be carried out in one or two languages while a dozen tongues can be heard in the food store during a day. Each of the school languages becomes the basis for lifelong cultural participation. Although some of the skills that are learned in school are culturally non-specific, much of the content of instruction must be drawn from a particular literature or history.¹² The first task of school officials is to make sure that children attend school, and this may be difficult when the "taste for schooling" varies between groups or is distributed differently among status levels of the minority group than in the host society. But implementation of any policy of "fairness" in schooling is far more difficult than is provision of similar housing or medical care, and any stipulation of "cultural pluralism" exacerbates the problem.

There is a large difference between a policy of passive equalization of opportunity and a policy of active encouragement of cultural pluralism. A host society may assume that immigrants will acquire sufficient capability in the host language to get and to keep jobs - especially since employment was the main incentive to migration. Parents may be assisted to learn the host language so that their life outside the home goes smoothly. Each immigrant group may be permitted or even assisted to operate programs that preserve its traditions: a press, special radio broadcasts, exhibits of folk art, etc. Likewise, pupils may be taught the host language and provided also with instruction in their home language (even beyond the point of feeling at home in school) plus instruction in the culture and history of the parents' society. Such an active policy of cultural pluralism still fails short of tolerating foreign "colonies" from which immigrants have only a job connection with the host society. Any of these variants in cultural policy must cope with many more difficulties in providing equal opportunity than does a program to keep streets

clean or to make sure that pupils need not travel far to their school.

Equal Opportunity, Plus

Writers on education have familiarized us in recent years with the notion that "equal opportunity" has both weak and strong versions: Merely removing obstacles to *access* for each individual irrespective of his social background is a minimal program. It is necessary to strive also, some would say, to make sure that pupils from different backgrounds will have the same profile of *amount learned*. Finally, in the strongest version, individuals from every background would be able to put their schooling effectively to use, i.e., the members of every group will work at an equally wide range of jobs and show the same distribution of earnings. Even in a comparatively homogeneous society such as Sweden, an educational policy designed to implement the strongest version of equal opportunity would be very difficult to carry out. When we consider also a plan for more heterogeneous societies to give equal opportunity to children of guest workers the foregoing goals become very elusive.

Even though equal access is the easiest goal to achieve, the incidental costs and foregone earnings or labour given up can be large for immigrant pupils since their parents usually have low incomes and mothers more often are employed. Beyond reducing such money handicaps, a society may try to remove obstacles to learning among pupils from immigrant families by providing remedial programs. But all remedial programs or courses requiring special instruction to clusters of "disadvantaged" pupils are hindered by the spatial distribution of such pupils.¹³ It is difficult to set up remedial programs that will be available to the least-assimilated parts of each immigrant people. It is the "plus" element in opportunity that we try to provide in order to insure "true equality" that causes special difficulty. No society has in fact solved this problem for its native pupils from different social strata or from rural as contrasted with urban communities.¹⁴

In this paper we do not need to settle the question of whether the home language of some pupils is merely different or whether it also is "less adequate", i.e. whether a "restricted code" is a major handicap in cognitive learning.¹⁵ Each factor that inhibits learning among children of immigrants is distributed very unevenly among such children; there

is no simple dichotomy of "native speaking" and "foreign speaking" pupils at the time they enter school. For example, one survey in Sweden showed that the males in three out of four immigrant nationalities had spent more time in school than had Swedish workers; among females only one nationality was more schooled than Swedes. The disparity between males and females within each nationality is of special interest for the schools, for this disparity points to a compounding of nationality difference by home milieu. Thus, in two of the immigrant nationalities males had over three years more schooling than did women and in a second nationality $1\frac{1}{2}$ years more.

Diversity between groups of immigrants and diversity within each nationality of immigrants are equally signs of difference in handicap for children from those families. The large inquiry about the schooling of immigrants' children that was carried out in the United States before World War I illustrates what surely is a typical variation in pedagogic conditions that arises from differences among immigrants.¹⁶ When immigrant fathers had been born in an English-speaking country their offspring were not appreciably more retarded in school than were children of native-born white fathers - about 25 per cent - but if the father had immigrated from a non-English speaking country, retardation was over 40 per cent. However, if in the latter situation the father had learned English, retardation of his child was distinctly lower than if the father still spoke his native tongue. Within each nationality there was a similar contrast between pupils whose fathers had or had not applied to become a citizen. How long the father had resided in the United States was also a factor in a child's retardation: longer residence, within a given nationality, was definitely associated with lower retardation. But this effect varied among the nationalities; the effect of residence was greater among families that did not come from an English-speaking country. Language use in the home is not merely an index of literacy; it is also an index to parental attitudes about schooling.

Considering only pupils who themselves were born outside the United States, if that was an English-speaking country retardation was a little higher than for white pupils born in the United States ($\frac{1}{3}$ against $\frac{1}{4}$), whilst for pupils born in a country that did not use English, retardation was over $\frac{3}{5}$. Nevertheless, retardation for children born in Sweden or the Netherlands was about the same as for the native-born white pupils. To

have entered school by the age of six rather than at age eight or later appreciably lowered the likelihood that a child in a foreign-speaking home would be retarded. Again, we see a clue to parental attitudes toward schooling that surely affect the difficulties experienced by teachers in dealing with pupils from different sorts of home. These scattered bits of evidence do not permit us to conclude that a child's performance in school is determined solely by language of the home; parents' attitudes and education also are important.

Other items in this old investigation give us additional clues to variations of attitudes among families. Among the native-white pupils 91 per cent had attended school more than three-fourths of the days of the school year; the percentage for those pupils whose fathers had been born in an English-speaking nation was 90 and for those from other foreign countries 89. But among the latter category zeal for school attendance was not uniform: Germany 94 per cent, North Italy 92, South Italy 84, Polish (non-Jewish) 83, Swedish 95. Retardation was higher, as one would expect, in those groups displaying the most frequent absence from school. The difference in retardation rates between pupils attending more than and less than three-fourths of the days was 18 points for all native-born white pupils, 20 points if the father came from an English-speaking country, and 23 points if from another nation. For pupils whose fathers came from Germany that difference was 25 points, it was 17 points for north and 30 points for south Italians, 23 points for Polish non-Jewish children, and zero points for Sweden.

These various bits of data point to variations in cultural handicap of the sort that officials must confront when designing programs for children of immigrant-families. One would expect also that similar variations in cultural handicap would appear when youth move out from school into work. It is not easy for individuals from culturally different homes to realize the full benefit from what they learn at school in terms of occupation or income. One major goal of social policy in many societies is to make sure that individuals *of the same qualifications* are not discriminated against in obtaining jobs or in promotion after they are at work. Even where cultural pluralism is accepted, policy is expected to keep cultural differences from being reflected in the treatment of individuals who are similarly qualified. There inevitably is some strain against consistency of policy here; cultural differen-

ces are to be respected or even encouraged in schools but cultural selectivity is not to occur in the workplace.

Some of the dualism in outlook is manifested in recent programs for disadvantaged groups. There is confusion, it should be noticed, between the idea of an objectively "disadvantaged culture" and "a culture at a disadvantage" due to prejudice.¹⁷ There is also an associated confusion as to whether policy should seek to make sure that each individual obtains schooling and work in accord with his own capabilities or whether policy should concentrate on insuring parity between groups. Because parents within any one immigrant group differ in schooling or in familiarity with the host culture, they will differ also in the amount of bi-cultural or remedial schooling that they wish their children to receive and in readiness to use their own money and time in obtaining that instruction.

For a considerable proportion of pupils from any particular immigrant group the time spent in learning the mother tongue or in studying the history and culture of the homeland will reduce the time that can be spent in obtaining the best possible preparation for work or for participation in the civic life of their adopted country. Perhaps migration to a distant society tends to be selective of the well-schooled and the more ambitious and intelligent families. Probably it is the more alert families who most often decide not to return to their native country. But for many families, time spent on the mother tongue or on learning the history of their old homeland reduces opportunities in the world of work (or for advanced schooling). If we will maximize the labor-market pay-off for individual pupils, the families from a particular nation must not be treated too closely in accordance with the principle of cultural pluralism. Host-country sponsors of participation by immigrants in activities to uphold cultural pluralism must be ready to find that many of these parents will be concerned more with occupational or educational progress than with strengthening ties to either home or host cultures. There is no isomorphism between principles of cultural pluralism and the norms of equality of opportunity.

Some Dilemmas of Pluralism

One United Nations declaration states that people "should neither be deprived of their own cultural heritage nor denied access to world culture". The application of this principle is not too obscure for an old multi-ethnic empire. Its implications are less clear when we look at recent trends of migration in Europe. As immigrants from several societies

who have been attracted to other nations by a booming labor market. Some countries have chosen to regulate language by the principle of "territoriality" while others use the principle of "personality"; the child is to be instructed in his mother tongue (if sufficient pupils to make a class can be assembled), or instruction is to be uniform within each region or province.¹⁸ Where different people are mixed together geographically, the parallel choice may be phrased as between the principle of "proximity" (neighborhood) or that of "communal" membership. In the large cities of industrialised countries (and even in parts of the Third World) often there are too few children from some nationalities to allow each to have its neighbourhood school.¹⁹ Shall the more populous nationalities then be assisted to operate a "communal" school or should everyone be gathered into a single neighborhood school? The data for Cleveland given earlier show how heterogeneous the localities of a city can be.

Many parents may choose to "opt out" of a neighborhood school because it does not give sufficient time to their own language and history, but even where the policy is to support cultural pluralism, many parents prefer that their children assimilate rapidly to the host society. The latter families may have to struggle against the pressure from their more nationalistic fellow immigrants, who urge all to combine in order to obtain public support for "our own school". Many of these separatist spokesmen will strive to preserve and even to isolate their own culture from adaptation to the surrounding national way of life, and demand the use of public money to do so.

Whichever of these different kinds of policy about cultural pluralism is adopted by educational officials, different groups will experience unlike degrees of opportunity. Those immigrant groups with the fewest numbers, or whose numbers are dispersed most thinly among communities, will receive the least adequate special remedial education. The most populous minorities will have more vigorous spokesmen and more of their leaders will reside in important centers where contact with officials can be obtained easily. A more dispersed group will have the least opportunity to participate in activities organized for the preservation of their traditions.²⁰ Children of the more dispersed groups more often will have to spend a long day at school because they have to be collected from several schools in sufficient numbers for afternoon remedial instruction, especially for lessons about their parent culture and language.

As pointed out earlier, the weaker and stronger versions of "equality of opportunity" have different practical implications for education. One

can also compare the implications of the distinct principles of efficiency, equity, and freedom of choice in education. Thus, one can ask how well schools are preparing children of immigrants for normal learning in regular school classes. We can ask whether children from each immigrant group have the same freedom of choice about what they study, about making use of remedial classes, or in deciding how to balance the family's traditions against the ways of life of the host society. We can ask whether every feature of the school program for pupils from different backgrounds has been treated by the norm of equity. Children in each immigrant group experience certain disadvantages in their schooling as compared with the typical pupils of the host society. But some pupils in each minority group will enjoy advantages denied to many pupils in another minority.

Viewed from the side of the host society, the principle of cultural pluralism protects immigrants' children against educational deprivation. But viewed as a bulwark of rights for children, that principle can confine pupils to the parental culture. It can deny equality of opportunity by narrowing their experiences of the larger world. Cultural pluralism as a protector of parental ethnicity often will be opposed to free choice for the offspring.

NOTES

1. H.A. Miller, *The School and the Immigrant*. Philadelphia: Fell, 1916. pp. 75, 77.
2. In some societies many of the same educational problems arise as a result of internal migrations; see for example T. Oesterberg, *Bilingualism and the First School Language: an Educational Problem Illustrated by Results from a Swedish Dialect Area*. Umeå: Vaesterbottens Tryckeri, 1961. Two valuable studies providing perspective about the topic of this special issue are: W.L. Parish Jr., "Internal Migration and Modernization: the European Case", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 21 (1973), no. 4, pp. 591-609; and S. Lieberman and L.K. Hansen, "National Development, Mother Tongue Diversity, and the Comparative Study of Nations", *American Sociological Review*, 39 (1974) pp. 523-41.
3. Miller, *School and the Immigrant*, Chapters 2 and 5. Presumably most immigrating families intended to remain in the United States, though some would not. The study antedated the large migration of Negroes into northern states. Pupils absent on the day of the inquiry would disproportionately be from foreign-speaking homes. However, there has just appeared the study by M. Heinemann, "Die Assimilation fremdsprachiger Schulkinder durch die Volksschule in Preussen seit 1880". *Bildung und Erziehung* 28 (1975), no. 1, pp. 53-69.
4. Through the fourth grade foreign-speaking pupils were in the majority; by the

last elementary grade (8th) English-speaking pupils outnumbered the others by a half; at the end of secondary school (12th) non-English-speaking pupils numbered only a third of all. As always, a cross-section picture is not wholly dependable; academic and social selection occurs in successive grades and knowledge of English in successive years is affected by the learning of English as pupils age. Since there were 98 elementary schools, we can think of numbers as percentages approximately.

5. One has to keep in mind that to speak of "Yugoslavian culture", for example, is misleading; similarly, there are large differences in culture between south and north Italy. These differences may be important for planning lessons. In an unknown number of families the mother's language would differ from the father's, though in general nationalities were endogamous.

6. The actual percentages for the situation in each school were plotted on triangular-coordinate paper, but due to cost of reproducing charts only a tabular summary is given here.

7. I ignore difficulties arising from the uneven distribution of each language among pupils of different grades.

8. This scheme is taken from L.J. Fein, *The Ecology of the Public Schools: an Inquiry into Community Control*. New York: Pegasus, 1971; this book is invaluable on all aspects of cultural pluralism as it relates to schools.

9. See the editor's introduction in F. Williams (ed.), *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970.

10. How much choice immigrants have is determined not only by the law of the host country but also by the flexibility of administrative policy.

11. R. Pratt, "The Concept of Cultural Pluralism", *Philosophy of Education* 28, 1972, pp. 61-77.

12. This discussion is restricted to problems relating to elementary schools, and it is assumed (which is not always true) that these schools operate in the host language.

13. A discussion of this point as it pertains to England is found in J. Barnes, "A Solution to Whose Problem?" in H. Glennerster and S. Hatch. *Positive Discrimination and Inequality*, Fabian Research Series 314. London: Fabian Society, 1974. pp. 9-13 and passim.

14. Presumably pupils will learn better if their initial year or two of schooling is carried on in the pupil's mother tongue. Partly this policy reduces cultural shock and partly the pupil is learning to cope with formal instruction before he has also to acquire a second language, see V.P. John and V.M. Horner, "Bilingualism and the Spanish-Speaking Child", pp. 146-9 in Williams, *Language and Poverty*. But K.A. Bezanson and N. Hawkes in "Bilingual Reading Skills of Primary School Children in Ghana" (unpublished, 1972) question this assumption. And in *The Myth of the Deprived Child* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1972) H. Ginsburg summarises the impressive evidence against the variant "deprivation" theories.

15. B. Bernstein, "A Sociolinguistic Approach to Socialization", pp. 25-61 in Williams, *Language and Poverty* and C.B. Cazden, "The Neglected Situation in Child Language Research and Education", *Ibid*, pp. 81-101; also H. Rosen. *Language and Class: A Critical Look at the Theories of Basil Bernstein*. Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1972.
16. United States Congress, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Senate 61 Congress, 3rd Session, 1911, Vol. 1 of the section on immigrant children in school.
17. Williams, *Language and Poverty*.
18. V. Van Dyke, "Equality and Discrimination in Education: a Comparative and International Analysis", *International Studies Quarterly* 17 (1973), no. 4, pp. 375-404.
19. On the history of policies to deal with the residence patterns of the Black children in the United States, see J.R. Mercer et al, "Racial/Ethnic Segregation and Desegregation in American Public Education", in *National Society for the Study of Education, Yearbook* 73 (1974) no. 2, pp. 274, 329.
20. Acceptance of curriculum and financial assistance from embassies of the immigrants' countries has subtle consequences relating to objectivity of lessons and even political freedom of the immigrants; there also are complex conflicts between internationalism and nationalism in such arrangements.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE PROGRAMS OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION: EXPERIENCE IN THE U.S.A.

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This article summarizes an extended study carried out by Oberlin College, Ohio. Bright thirteen-year old black pupils were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. The experimental group was given compensatory instruction until they were of college age. Comparisons with the control group showed that nearly all of these pupils - from backgrounds where completing secondary school and attending college are both unexpected - entered college.

Dieser Artikel gibt die Kurzfassung einer Längsschnittstudie, die vom Oberlin College, Ohio, ausgeführt wurde. Intelligente dreizehnjährige schwarze Schüler wurden nach dem Zufallsprinzip einer experimentellen oder Kontrollgruppe zugeordnet. Die experimentelle Gruppe erhielt kompensatorischen Unterricht, bis ihre Mitglieder das College-Alter erreichten. Ein Vergleich mit der Kontrollgruppe zeigte, dass beinahe alle diese Schüler - aus einem Milieu, in dem sowohl der Sekundarabschluss als auch Collegebesuch unerwartet sind - in ein College eintraten.

Cet article résume une étude longitudinale faite par le College Oberlin, Ohio. Des élèves noirs intelligents âgés de treize ans furent confiés au hasard au groupe expérimental et au groupe de contrôle. Ceux du groupe expérimental recevaient une éducation compensatoire jusqu'à l'âge pour accéder à l'éducation supérieure. La comparaison avec le groupe de contrôle montrait que presque tous les élèves - de formation et de niveau où on ne s'attend pas qu'ils terminent l'école secondaire et qu'ils fréquentent l'université - entrèrent à l'université.

During the decades when large numbers of immigrants came to the United States, schools took major responsibility for Americanizing their children. When immigration dropped sharply early in the twentieth century, schools were still accountable for children outside the mainstream, whether alien or native. Since the 1950s, concern has focused on black children in urban ghettos. Starting with the 1954 segregation decision of the Federal Supreme Court, school officials have been pressed to improve the education that black children receive. The target of that landmark decision was the separate schools maintained for blacks in the South, but later extensions of the court's doctrine have also affected northern cities with their stubborn blights of poor housing, marginal employment, and troubled classrooms.

Pattern of US Programs

As the civil rights movement swept through many parts of the United States in the early 1960s, a critical goal was to enlarge the small percentage of blacks who went to college. Ideally, higher education requires years of preparation, and many people assumed that one must go back into early childhood to insure that eventually a pupil would qualify for college. The best-publicized American effort to improve the educability of very young blacks - and of the poor generally - was "Head Start". In it the federal government tried to apply the research by Deutsch (Deutsch, 1960) and by others which charted how far behind middle-class expectations ghetto children already are when they start kindergarten: retarded language, inability to follow directions or to adapt to the other children in the class. In addition to Head Start, various other patterns have been tried all over the country, aiming primarily at pre-school children from poor neighborhoods. One of the best conceived and most effective has been the Early Training Program, designed and later analyzed by Gray and others in Tennessee (Gray and Klaus, 1965).

Although the best preparation for college is solid schooling from the earliest years, blacks and other minorities, increasingly organized into pressure groups, have demanded immediate help to keep opportunities open for much older pupils. Most of these programs have been set up for the last years in secondary school. They look specifically for black students with the best chance of success in a traditional college. On a large scale, New York City's "Higher Horizons Project" (Schreiber, 1963) tried to reach talented adolescents, both those still in school and those who had already dropped out, by providing more counselors, adapting curricula, and working with families. The result was a rise in the number of pupils who stayed in school to graduate, and in the proportion of them who then went on to further schooling. Most large cities have experimented with methods to keep able pupils in school longer, to help them choose appropriate careers, and to see that they get the right preparation for those careers. Gordon and Wilkerson published a useful review of efforts during the early 1960s (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966). Austin has reviewed many subsequent intervention programs (Austin et al., 1972). Beside general discussions, there are important studies of specific problems associated with these efforts. For example, A. Astin points out the serious inaccuracy of conventional aptitude tests when used with black students (Astin, 1971); Labov's work (Labov, 1972), and that of other linguists, examines the dialect variations on standard

English that black children learn and that often stand between them and success in traditional schools; the so-called Coleman Report (Coleman et al., 1966) shows how the schools' efforts alone are insufficient to counter the culture of the home and neighborhood.

Most of the programs to help blacks have thus been for pupils at the extremes of school age. The pre-school programs tried to catch children early and prepare them to compete successfully from the start. Programs in upper secondary school or college aimed to oppose the tendency to drop out early, and to equip the ablest with high-level professional skills. There was a serious gap in assistance to children in the middle years. This gap has been doubly harmful: Head Start graduates usually revert to a lower level of performance in a short time if nothing more is done for them; as a result, so many potentially deserving youngsters keep falling further behind during elementary school that last-minute campaigns in secondary school are less effective. Another problem is at once subtler and stronger: very few programs have kept good enough records to provide the hard evidence needed to appraise them. In an age of social science, major efforts at educational change have therefore gone unanalyzed, and people who want to start a program can seldom find out what has worked or failed elsewhere.

Oberlin College's Program

With these problems in mind, a group of persons at Oberlin College set about in the early 1960s to design a program for the in-between years. We wanted to help pupils with clear potential for college, and to begin well before college age so as to avoid the serious loss of talent among high school dropouts. We designed our program in order to draw dependable conclusions that could be extra-polated to other school districts than our own. We wanted, with a modest investment of capital and talent, to find out whether certain ways of stimulating ghetto youngsters to prepare for college actually worked.

In 1964 Oberlin College completed arrangements to collaborate with the schools of two major midwestern cities (Cleveland and St. Louis), two smaller cities in northern Ohio (Elyria and Lorain), and the small town of Oberlin. Each year for several years we asked the schools to nominate pupils completing seventh grade (about age 13) who appeared to have the ability eventually to enter college but whose families were so poor that college would ordinarily be out of the question. From the large group of nominees we picked at random 56 to 70 each spring to

work with, and also a control group of the same size and characteristics who would proceed in school without special attention. We also chose a second control group, from schools where neither of the first two groups was enrolled, in order to guard against subtle or unnoticed effects of our program on pupils we were not working with directly. Such random assignment to experimental and control groups is necessary for the most dependable generalizations afterward, and it has given us added confidence in our results. Altogether, over a period of several years, we studied nearly 500 pupils, 195 each in the experimental and primary control groups, 98 in the secondary control group. Table 1 summarizes basic details about the 195 experimental pupils, according to the year in which each of the three groups participated in the summer program.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Experimental Pupils by Year of Initial Participation, Sex, and Ethnic Status

Measure	Number of Pupils			
	1964	1965	1966	1964-66 Combined
Sex				
Male	38	45	46	129
Female	18	25	23	66
Total	56	70	69	195
Ethnic Status				
White	14	17	15	46
Mexican-American	1	3	0	4
Puerto Rican	3	3	4	10
Black	37	46	48	131
American Indian	0	0	1	1
Mixed	1	1	1	3
Total	56	70	69	195

What did we do for the experimental pupils? First came an intensive summer on the Oberlin College campus. Each "class" had 56 to 70 boys and girls. They lived for six weeks in a dormitory, separated into small groups with college students as leaders, and followed a busy schedule of classes, counseling sessions, field trips, and cultural events. The aim was

to make as heavy an impact as possible on these children, many of whom had never been more than a few miles from home, and whose attitude toward education was a mix of interest and apathy.

During the six weeks, these pupils worked very hard at classwork and outside activities. Skillful and sensitive psychological counselors met often with each pupil, to review school history and to help plan the future. The faculty and these counselors were all from the schools to which the pupils would go at the close of the summer. They would be continuing liaison with the college, keeping watch over the pupils and offering help if needed. The college leaders, much younger, turned out to be an unusually strong influence. They lived in the dormitory during the summer, getting to know their small groups well. Some kept in touch afterward, through visits, letters and telephone calls.

Our basic assumption was that a single summer's experience, no matter how dramatic or effective at the time, would have to be reinforced over the next several years. We also believed that we could not depend on the schools alone to make the desired impact. So over and over we tried many things. It was critical that the pupils be assigned to the most appropriate classes and curricula available. We tried to see that they were put in the proper track or stream, consonant with achievement and promise. This precaution was unusual, because pupils from homes like theirs do not often get onto the college-bound tracks, whatever their previous attainment or test scores. Working through our summer liaison staff, we also encouraged participation in other activities. Outside school we helped parents to organize clubs, arranged for meetings to discuss mutual problems (especially such things as financial aid), and urged cooperation over homework, study areas in the house, and so on. We distributed a newsletter, and formed book clubs to buy paperbacks at quantity discounts. During the summer following tenth grade, when the pupils were 15 or 16 years old, we brought them back to the college for a weekend, when we discussed at length college pre-requisites, financial aid, and other critical concerns. As high school graduation approached we saw that our pupils were filing applications properly, that their families received needed encouragement and information, that the schools were doing what was necessary to assist college applicants.

Throughout these years we kept records, not only the typical data in school files, but detailed information also about the home and neighborhood. We hired and trained ghetto residents to conduct long interviews (usually with the mother) which tapped attitudes, experiences, and other vital aspects of family life. While some special activities ar-

ranged for our pupils were for them alone, everything else they did was available to experimentals and controls alike. We did not ask for special tests to be given the experimental pupils, or for other kinds of information that were not also gathered about the control pupils. All this was to forestall leakage, to cut down our uncertainty about what had affected our experimental pupils.

We observed two rules. First, use as many resources already available as possible. Except for the initial summer, very little that we did was so unusual, or expensive, or difficult, that it could not be duplicated in most schools. Even a summer's intensive experience does not require a college campus. Second, try not to dislodge the child from his home and neighborhood, even while trying to open up new possibilities. In this regard we were especially sensitive about the summer program. It was obvious that our pupils were excited during the six weeks, and it was unlikely that school would be so interesting the next September. The pupils would be going back home, to privation and crowding, as well as to love and support. So, amid the excitement, we prepared them to return home. And we kept in close touch during the year, arranging for what added stimulation we could in order to cushion the let-down.

What difference did these efforts make? Comparisons of our experimental pupils with the control pupils warrant some important conclusions. Table 2 gives comparative data about six questions: (1) Did the experimental pupils stay in school longer? (2) In secondary school were they more often assigned to college-bound curricula? (3) Did more of them go to special secondary schools? (4) Were their achievement scores higher? (5) Were their junior high school grades superior? (6) Were their senior high school grades superior? Table 2 shows that the experimental pupils made a consistently better record on all six measures. All but measure 3 demonstrate statistically significant superiority; in measure 3 the number of pupils who went to special schools was extremely small, contributing to the somewhat lower significance. These comparisons, while quantitative and significant, are not necessarily the most telling facts to know about growing personalities, but they are revealing clues. We also gathered other information, harder to measure or to compare, but probably more basic, and there we found encouragement. The following are examples of such information: comments the pupils or their families made about attitudes; information that teachers volunteered, even though they didn't know that the pupil involved was in our program; the times when pupils hitch-hiked to our campus to visit their summer leader, or to attend a ball game or a concert. These

things we couldn't quantify, or even study systematically. But they fill out harmoniously the pattern of information we could derive systematically.

TABLE 2

Achievement of Experimental and Control Pupils Compared Following Summer Program

Measure	n	T (Difference favoring experimentals over controls)	P Significance of difference
(1) Years in school			
Exper.	195		
Control	195	2.66	008
(2) Assignment to academic track			
Exper.	195		
Control	195	3.88	001
(3) Admission to special school			
Exper.	195		
Control	195	1.45	148(n.s.)
(4) Achievement test scores			
Exper.	195		
Control	194	2.41	016
(5) Junior high school grades			
Exper.	195		
Control	194	3.56	001
(6) Senior high school grades			
Exper.	195		
Control	194	2.63	009

Our experience, documented fully enough to permit generalization (Yinger et al., 1970), contradicts the claim that intellectual and academ-

ic development are frozen at an early age, or that the cultural level of a child's home or neighborhood prevents a school program from having an impact. We called our program "Middle Start" because we recognized that Head Start-like gains tend to disappear and because we believed that reinforcement was both necessary and feasible. The control pupils showed that the traditional fate of bright children of the poor tended to be theirs, too, because they did not so often break out of the pattern of poor school work and low ambition.

One of the signal results of our program arises from a basic position. This position, deriving from field theory in psychology and sociology (Yinger, 1965), holds that when several factors bear on a situation they have a multiplicative effect on each other. No one influence can have a pronounced effect unless the others reinforce it. If one is missing or weak, the others have significantly less power. Building on this assumption, we expected that if we confined our efforts to school curricula, concentrating on getting our experimental pupils to do well in appropriate classes, we would be ignoring other potent forces in their lives. We had simultaneously to deal with their homes and neighborhoods, with their friends, and with their own views of themselves and their possibilities. Forced as we were to offer only modest assistance, we nevertheless spread it over as many aspects of our pupils' lives as possible. Then, if school, home, friends, and all the other influences upon our pupils were working together, results would be maximized. If we had put all our efforts into only one of these components, no matter how elaborately or intensively, the total effect would have been less potent. To say it more succinctly, placing a pupil into a superior school program cannot alone counteract the continuing liabilities of his home and neighborhood.

Recent Trends

It is important to point out that during the period following 1964 (when we started our program), dramatic gains have appeared almost everywhere in support for minorities. More black pupils are finishing secondary school, more of them are continuing into higher education, and behind these numerical gains are probably significant improvements in quality. Our control pupils did not duplicate the low level of their parents' education, for some of them went to college. The causes for this general rise are varied: officials enforcing desegregation orders, foundation and government subsidies for scholarships, changes in col-

In the United States it is now more likely than ever before that a bright black pupil will finish high school prepared to undertake further education. One reason is the number of local programs aimed, as ours was, at particular schools and pupils. In 1964 such an effort was difficult and innovative and uncertain. Now there are examples for officials to emulate. But there are also other reasons for the general improvement in opportunity for black pupils. One is the growing commitment to developing standardized tests that are sensitive to disadvantaged backgrounds. All the major test publishers are working on test batteries that recognize language differences. They are looking for creativity outside the traditional IQ metric, providing norms that are useful to counselors in black communities, and supplementing conventional tests of academic aptitude. The policy of "open admission" is being tested at many colleges, following the pioneering effort in the New York City Colleges. This policy allows high school graduates to enter college without the time-honored minimum grade or course patterns. Experience is showing, as logic would have predicted, that such admission carries with it a significant burden to the institution and a threatening sense of uncertainty to the student. The more successful institutions are those which couple open admission to intensive tutoring, counseling on both academic and personal problems, effective financial aid, and other forms of help tailored to students from poor backgrounds. The colleges' experience collectively parallels that in lower schools, by showing that identifying promising pupils is no guarantee by itself of success. A subtle force that is tapped in schools where blacks are being encouraged is the power of rôle models. It is not true that only another black person can motivate a black pupil, but there is a great stimulus to black pupils to show them that adults from their own backgrounds have succeeded. As schools and colleges hire black teachers and professors, the aspiring self-images of pupils are quietly reinforced. At times there is unsettling ambiguity, for growing separatism among blacks has damned some successful black teachers for having crossed over into the white world, thus diminishing the persuasiveness of their example.

Serious problems are emerging alongside the gains. Economic difficulties are forcing schools to increase class size and to cut back ancillary

services. Maintaining programs which began as innovations in a prosperous era is hard because they now appear expendable. Starting new ones is even harder, when they face competition for scarce funds from established activities. An argument is growing on another front, over "mainstreaming" versus special classes. This argument applies mainly to classes for handicapped pupils, whom we have traditionally taught in separate rooms with specially prepared teachers. Mainstreaming would return these pupils to regular classes, in order to promote contact with normal children. Schools which have tried to give separate attention to the brightest blacks find this movement a threat. Of course, if mainstreaming works properly, all pupils, bright blacks included, will get the attention they deserve. But more often, where classes are large, so much energy goes to troublemakers or to other insistent problems that little is left over for apt pupils.

As we look back over the recent movement to aid bright black pupils prepare for college, it is clear that there have been dramatic gains, from specific programs as well as from more general social patterns that help minorities. These gains are slowing down as economic strictures are crippling all educational endeavors. We hope that when the economy revives, the number of black pupils attending college will continue to grow.

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EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF TURKISH MIGRANTS' CHILDREN

NERMIN ABADAN-UNAT

The author deals with the education of Turkish migrants' children and the handicaps existing for equal access to all educational opportunities. She comes to the conclusion that unless realistic measures endeavouring bi-cultural integration on behalf of the growing generations are implemented, the dependency of Turkey's excessive manpower on the European labour market will mark these children and leave them on the threshold of adult life without equal means and opportunities to build a more prosperous and peaceful world.

Die Autorin untersucht die Erziehung der türkischen Gastarbeiterkinder und die Hindernisse, die deren freiem Zugang zu allen Bildungsmöglichkeiten entgegenstehen. Sie kommt zu dem Schluss, dass realistische Massnahmen zur bi-kulturellen Integration der jungen Generation getroffen werden müssen, wenn die Abhängigkeit des türkischen Arbeitskräfteüberschusses vom europäischen Arbeitsmarkt diese jungen Kinder nicht zeichnen und an der Schwelle des Erwachsenenlebens lassen soll, ohne ausreichende Mittel und Möglichkeiten, eine blühendere und friedlichere Welt aufzubauen.

L'auteur examine les problèmes de l'éducation des enfants des migrants turcs et les obstacles entravant l'accès égal à toutes les possibilités d'éducation. Elle conclut qu'à moins de mettre en pratique des mesures réalistes s'efforçant d'intégrer les deux cultures au nom des générations futures, la dépendance de la main-d'oeuvre excessive turque sur le marché du travail européen marquera ces enfants et les laissera sur le seuil de la vie d'adulte, sans occasions, ni moyens égaux de créer un monde paisible et plus prospère.

Until the end of the 1950s Turkey was by European standards a country of high fertility (even in 1974 its population growth rate was about 2,5 %) with little tradition of migration due to the expansionist nature of the Ottoman empire, and a predominantly rural character (in 1974, 63,4 % of the population were employed in agriculture). Its partly self-sufficient economy did not allow high rates of population release from the agrarian sector.

However, the surprisingly sharp labour scarcity in post-war Western Europe, the right to travel abroad guaranteed by the new Turkish Constitution of 1961, and the fast move toward industrialization and urbanization within Turkey, contributed to the growth of new horizons, both in the spatial as well as in the psychological sense. The most relevant attitudinal change in Turkey in the 60s was doubtless the intensive desire of a large segment of the population to migrate abroad. This desire can be seen both as a search for more income and as a propensity to

minimize the family's living costs by encouraging spouse and grown-up children to participate in the breadwinning process. This has produced widespread fragmentation of the family.

With the tendency of Turkish workers to prolong their stay in foreign countries due to shrinking job opportunities at home, and drastic cut-downs in the recruitment of foreign workers, three major trends began to show:¹

1. Due to the relatively high fertility trend among Turkish workers, each year more Turkish children are born abroad and represent a potential new population to receive a bilingual education.²
2. Contrary to the prevailing attitude until the 70s to leave family members at home, more workers are striving towards family reunion abroad.
3. Following a relevant modification of the tax laws in the FRG in January 1975, a sharp distinction has been made regarding the children's allowance of foreigners residing with their children in the FRG and those whose dependents are living in the home country. This alteration, which aimed to reduce the scope of the children's allowance (in 1973 Turkish workers received 357 million DM for 515,161 children), resulted in a real "children's exodus". During the first four months of 1975 almost 75% of the passengers on chartered flights for migrant workers were of the 0-16 age group.

This new type of migration will certainly have a deep impact on the structure of Turkish migrant workers abroad. It will also increase the cultural shock. Many family heads who for specific reasons decided to leave their family members and children of school age at home, are opting for the high financial advantages when being faced with the drastic alternative of either leaving their children at home and receiving only a small allowance, or of having them come even if housing and schooling create major problems.

Number of Turkish Migrants' Children

According to a survey carried out by the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (Federal German Labour Office) in 1972 among the Turkish workers residing in the FRG³, 42 % were living with one child, 32 % with two, 20 % with 3 or 4 and 6 % with 5 or 6 children. However, a correct estimate of the number of Turkish children abroad has always been extremely difficult. In the FRG, as well as in many other European countries, there is no legal obligation for the registration of aliens under 16. Thus while the German Labour Bureau indicated already in 1972 a Turkish child population of 195,000 with 46 % under 6, 22 % between 6-11, 17 % from 11-16 and 15 % born prior to 1955, the Turkish Ministry of Education gave in June 1974 for the FRG a total figure of

175,000. Parallel to these estimates the Turkish Ministry of Labour published a figure of 205,371 children abroad, while the Turkish Federation of Labour (Türk-Is) mentions about 230,000 children.⁴ According to these statistics the Netherlands come second in terms of the number of children of Turkish workers (estimated at 10,619), Belgium ranks third with 6,540, Switzerland is the host of 5,715 and Sweden of 2,043 Turkish children.

Whichever source is more precise, the fact remains that the FRG as well as other host countries have rather detailed information on the "economic aspects" of the migrant work-force in their countries, but little and unreliable information on the "social aspects" of migration. This indicates how problems of migrant workers are still treated in most Western European industrialized countries. Apparently the famous phrase by Max Frisch still holds true: "They asked for workers, but human beings came"!

School Attendance

Starting from early recommendations in the 70s by the Council of Europe, almost all international and national institutions concerned with educational problems of migrant children insist on these fundamental principles:⁵

- Provision for all children of migrant workers of the same schooling or vocational training as for children of the host country. Supplementation of this programme with extra teaching at the time of their arrival designed to facilitate the migrants' integration into the normal school system.
- Eligibility for scholarships and financial assistance.
- Additional training in the culture and way of life of the migrants' countries of origin, so that the cultural values of the migrants can be kept alive during schooling and their mother tongue taught.

However the implementation of these universally valid principles has not been easy at all. Although the Constitution of the FRG requires all children, irrespective of their nationality, to attend school until the age of 16, the lack of efficient control by local authorities and the missing interest of Turkish parents have resulted in rather low school attendance. According to official reports of Turkish consulates, only about 54 % of Turkish school age children living in the FRG are attending school.⁶ School age girls are preferably used by their parents as babysitters and housekeepers.

Types of Provision

The major concern of the sending countries is to equip the new generation abroad with the language and culture of the home country, and to provide equal access to all educational institutions. The host country, on the other hand, desires a frictionless adjustment of foreign children within the national school system, a smooth transition of these children toward technical vocations and the combination of a relatively small contingent in higher education. These contradicting goals, although officially not articulated, resulted in a dual strategy of education, integration as well as segregation; and in political rivalry: teaching of the mother tongue under the control of German authorities in some Länder, submission to consular control in others.

Thus in Bavaria and West Berlin educational activities in Turkish are provided which are authorized, but not subsidized by the state education authorities, while in Hesse, Baden-Württemberg, Lower Saxony and Northrhine-Westphalia Turkish instruction is under the direct supervision of local German authorities, who also exercise full control. This practice has led to the emergence of two different types of teachers: a) Teachers recruited in Turkey and paid by the Turkish Ministry of Education; b) Former Turkish primary school teachers, who, due to downward mobility were recruited first as blue collar workers⁸, later returned to their initial profession and now receive their payment from German education authorities.

The wide use of available Turkish teaching staff enabled the children of Turkish migrant workers to adjust themselves to the curriculum of German schools without being seriously deprived of the cultural heritage of their home countries. In practice there is however an important difference between the methods adopted in Baden-Württemberg and Northrhine-Westphalia, on the one hand, and Berlin on the other. In the two former Länder the recruitment of Turkish teachers - when realized by German authorities - is based upon consultation with the Turkish consular authorities. In Berlin such a consultation is deliberately avoided, the Turkish teachers are selected by German authorities only. There is no doubt that combined educational effort, especially with regard to bilingual education, requires a maximum of harmonious administrative relations between the two authorities. This is the main reason why the Baden-Württemberg and Northrhine-Westphalia model seems to be the more suitable one. It does not force Turkish children to study in predominantly Turkish medium, so called "dwarf" schools.

Such an educational system not only reinforces the ghetto effect, but it also leads to unnecessary administrative conflicts, thereby endangering the integration of Turkish children at all levels of German schools.

Turkish officials and academics hope to make suitable arrangements for:

- 1) favourable conditions for the active participation of Turkish migrants' children in European schools.
- 2) the elimination of discriminative practices excluding Turkish children from access to higher educational levels.
- 3) the continuity of the children's affiliation with their native language and national culture by facilitating their attendance at additional courses *besides* their regular school duties.

In 1974 about 249 Turkish teachers, directly appointed in Ankara by the Ministry of Education, were sent to the FRG, and administered supplementary Turkish courses in history, geography and Turkish literature to about 11,607 Turkish children in 321 cultural courses. In Belgium six officially appointed Turkish teachers are shouldering the heavy job of teaching about 1,544 children in 28 different classes.

The officially appointed Turkish teachers, whose salaries come from Turkey, are responsible for conducting additional, voluntary, Turkish "cultural" classes. Attendance in these classes is optional. Many children are unable to attend them, because of great distances and complicated transportation problems rather than lack of interest. Younger children, in particular cannot cope with the complicated transportation systems of metropolitan areas. Since the teachers normally have no car and do not receive an official grant for a car, the best results with these "cultural" classes are obtained in districts with a heavy concentration of Turkish migrant workers.

The Turkish teachers employed by German local authorities teach in so-called "transitional" classes; their duty is to help Turkish children to adjust to the class level their poor linguistic knowledge in German.

The co-existence of two types of teachers creates a number of conflict situations such as split personal loyalties, obligations to adhere to Turkish regulations, unnecessary competition due to higher salaries paid by the German or other European authorities, which indirectly leads to some kind of "teacher drain". It also has to be noted that the lack of a coordinating authority supervising all Turkish teachers detached from Turkey obstructs the potential willingness of Turkish teachers to conduct classes in various parts of a larger city or community. All these factors, product of the existence of two different teacher groups, deepen the cited rift to the detriment of Turkish migrant pupils.

Since the schooling problem of Turkish migrant children is particularly acute in the FRG, where public opinion is informed about the policies applied, it is worthwhile to describe this situation briefly.

The "Bavarian" model is based upon the principle that parents are given a free choice: they may decide to educate their children either predominantly in Turkish or in German. In schools with a minimum of 25 foreign children, instruction is given upon request up to two thirds in the respective mother tongue. The second alternative, called the "social integration" model, does not accept the principle of free choice for parents, but attempts to integrate foreign children fully in German society. Under this model Turkish children are either first instructed in transitional classes with the purpose of teaching them basic German, or if their command of German is sufficient, they may join regular classes in German schools.

It should be noted that while Bavaria from the beginning stood firm on the provisional nature of foreign labour employment and insisted on keeping the rotation principle, the Länder with larger industrial concentration fought for complete integration and recruitment without restrictions. Thus it becomes clear that the shaping of educational policies was determined, until the out-break of the energy crisis, by the degree of industrial absorption of foreign labour rather than pedagogical or humanistic considerations.

The official stand of the Turkish Ministry of Education has been of a dual nature: 1) insistence on teaching Turkish children born abroad their mother tongue and on creating a basis for successful re-integration, if desired; 2) special efforts to fully equip Turkish children living abroad with the national language of the host country of their parents in order to enable them to receive an adequate professional education, in other words, to avoid cultural segregation because it closes the channels of social mobility.

Education of Migrants' Children: Difficulties, Handicaps, Dilemmas

We shall now try to focus on the major actors involved in schooling abroad: parents, pupils and teachers.

Parents. 1. The attitude of foreign workers to the school system is largely determined by the conditions and traditions of the home country. Turkish workers of rural background, similar to Italians from the South and unlike the Greek and Yugoslavs, by and large only encour-

age the school attendance of their gifted male children, while trying, in spite of an absolute prohibition of juvenile employment, to obtain illegal jobs for the less bright boys of the family. With regard to the daughters of Turkish migrant workers two important factors play a decisive role in their non-attendance: a) The necessity of supervision for the younger members of the family, especially in those cases where the mother also works outside of the home, b) Dominant, negative value judgements regarding the permissive, co-educational system in Europe leads to non-enrolment, partly forced upon girls by the parents themselves, or to early dropping out. The real number of Turkish children in Europe growing up outside regular schooling remains a scandal. This assessment is even more true for countries such as Belgium, where freedom to set up schools of any kind is granted but control in regard to school attendance is not required.

2. Housing difficulties also play an indirect role in non-registration. Many parents are disinclined to register their children because the size and quality of their housing does not meet official requirements. This issue plays an even greater role in the case of illegal workers.

Pupils. 1. The various organizational handicaps that confront all migrant workers' children have an especially heavy impact on Turkish children. Lack of interest, inability of the parents to appreciate the value of pre-school education, fear of religious indoctrination, results in Turkish children having the lowest percentage of kindergarten attendance among all foreign workers' children.¹⁰

2. During primary school years a major handicap for the success or failure of Turkish children seems to stem from the inability to get access to the free distribution of books, as guaranteed in some Länder to school children in the FRG, Sweden, etc. In the FRG, some school authorities require Turkish children to buy special books which seem expensive to many parents.¹¹

3. After the completion of the obligatory nine years of elementary schooling, only 3% of the Turkish children continue their education in vocational institutions.¹² There is an almost complete reversal between the expectations and hopes of the parents and the choices opted for by the teenagers; lack of proper guidance and information, attractiveness of earning money early and socialization into the values of the consumer society play an important role in this.

Teachers. 1. Neither German nor Turkish teachers are linguistically and professionally prepared to cope with the additional burden resulting from the setting up of preparatory courses or Turkish classes

conducted in a foreign environment.

2. There is a deep rift between former Turkish primary school teachers at present employed by German authorities, who are required to prepare Turkish pupils to adjust to the German curriculum, and Turkish teachers appointed by the Ministry of Education in Ankara. The latter's primary obligation is to maintain the pupils' allegiance to their home country. Their classes, except in Bavaria, are scattered in various parts of large cities and based upon voluntary participation.

3. So far there has been no serious attempt to organize periodical seminars and workshops for Turkish teachers permitting them to acquire new educational and methodological insights.

Various institutions and scholars have started to investigate through large scale surveys the major difficulties of migrant workers' children.

TABLE 1

Major Problems of Migrant Workers' Children
(Percentual, multiple indications permitted)

Problems	Italians	Spanish	Greeks	Turks	Yugoslavs
Language difficulty	22	24	49	39	42
Curriculum too heavy	11	19	19	27	12
No help with homework	29	52	22	42	27
Distance from school	5	12	10	0	6
Lack of contact with classmates	9	12	1	24	0
Lack of contact with teachers	0	5	13	12	0
Transfer difficulties on return home	17	16	9	40	0
All problems	102	140	129	198	87
No problems	33	36	28	23	52
Other	9	0	6	14	0

Source: Ursula Mehrländer, *Soziale Aspekte der Ausländerbeschäftigung*. Bonn:

Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, 1974, p. 211.

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Table 1 shows clearly that among the major migrant worker nationalities, the Turks have the heaviest amount of multiple problems (198%) regarding the school attendance and education of their children. Especially relevant is the difficulty which these children encounter with regard to the content of the curriculum. This can probably be explained by strong differences in environment and cultural values.

Yet there are other serious problems which these children will encounter after return. According to Turkish laws there is no possibility for them to receive the equivalent of the five year Turkish primary school certificate. Thus returning children are either placed in lower grades, which separates them from their peer and age group, or are compelled to take detailed entrance examinations. Recommendations for a more flexible practice for returning primary school children are supported, but yet not implemented, by the Ministry of Education. Two other centers of concern seem to be the lack of help with homework, and the relative isolation of Turkish school children while attending school. The last problem can hardly be remedied by administrative measures. It appears to be a by-product of the negative, stereotypical image of the "barbaric, uncivilized, pagan, terrible Turks!" held in Western Countries.

Religious Education

Another complex educational factor arises from the fact that a number of Turkish workers have been asking for the establishment of Koran schools. Such demands have been vigorously criticised by the Association of Turkish teachers in the FRG in a paper stating that "the real function of such clerical schools is not to transmit religious education. This demand is an open reaction against the Turkish republican form of state in defense of the creation of an Islamic state. Their programme is a contradiction of modern civilisation and progress... Their method is solely based on memorising."¹³

If indeed these claims are right, the establishment of autonomous Koran schools is in sharp contrast with the constitutional principle of secularism in Turkey. Of course, in Turkey, public schools carry out religious education, but this is not administered by clerical personnel. It might easily be the case that the estimated 20% of Turkish children of school age not attending school, are sent by their parents solely to these non-official religious courses. Here the methods of teaching are geared exclusively to a dogmatic, theological education. The only con-

cern is to have the children memorize large portions of the Koran.

Dual or Single Language?

The discussion whether having to learn two languages overburdens the child presently continues. Meanwhile decisions in various countries have followed the economic boom. France, Belgium, Sweden still follow a policy of absolute integration, while Switzerland, desirous to send back its foreign labour force after a given period, is at present experimenting with the so-called "Scuola a due uscite - School with double exit", based on equally weighted bilingual teaching.

The most recent recommendations of the Commission of European Communities strongly stress the necessity of assisting the linguistic integration of migrant workers' children.¹⁴ The same report also recommends special courses for the training of teachers and the elaboration of pilot programmes based on new teaching methods for the realisation of bilingual education.

Conclusion

The attraction (in economic terms) of the "center" countries for people of the "peripheral" countries, resulted in the displacement of thousands of children, who are uprooted from their homes, left alone because of the double employment of the parents, condemned to loneliness at home, isolation at school and to serious handicaps in achieving an education adequate to fulfill their aspirations. The parents made their choice deliberately, the children were not asked. The Europe of tomorrow as well as the world at large will depend on the versatility of its enlarged community. This requires equal access to all education in both countries for the young generation. The parents of today have heavily mortgaged the future of their children in their search for a livelihood in alien lands. Much depends on the willingness and ability of supranational and international organizations to assume their responsibilities and indicate the ways and means to free the coming generation from being solely the next generation of "marginal men and women".

NOTES

1. The first large-scale investigation of the problems of Turkish migrant workers

was conducted by the author on behalf of the Turkish State Planning Organization. It comprised a survey with a sample of 494 Turkish workers, located in the FRG within 82 firms, in 58 cities and towns. The study was published in Turkish with summaries in German and English. N. Abadan-Unat, "Studie über die Lage und Probleme der türkischen Gastarbeiter in der BRD", in *Arbeitsplatz Europa*. Europäische Schriften des Bildungswerks Europäische Politik, Heft 11. Cologne: Bildungswerk Europäische Politik, 1966, pp. 102-124. In 1965, the Institute of Empirical Sociology, Saarbrücken, in cooperation with the Faculty of Economics, Istanbul University, launched a study in Turkey and Germany to measure the impact of industrialization on the value structure of Turkish workers. In Turkey 774, in Germany 163 workers were interviewed. Professor Orhan Tuna published in Turkish his findings on behalf of the State Planning Organization. During 1970-71, Professor Ahmet Aker of the Bosphorus University, Istanbul, conducted a survey of 590 workers, just prior to their departure. This study, published in Turkish, examined occupational mobility, unemployment and migration as well as wage differences between Turkey and the FRG. At the same time, N. Abadan-Unat undertook a small-scale study on the impact of the 1966-67 recession on Turkish workers in the FRG and their willingness to return to industrial jobs in Turkey. See "La main-d'oeuvre turque en Allemagne Fédérale. Problèmes relatifs aux secteurs conjoncturels", OCDE, MS/M/404/367, Sept. 1971. Paris: OCDE, 1971, pp. 91; N. Abadan-Unat, "Le non-retour à l'industrie, trait dominant de la chaîne migratoire turque", *Sociologie du Travail* 1972, no. 3, pp. 278-293.

Since autumn 1974, a Turkish (N. Abadan-Unat and R. Keles) and a Dutch (representing IMWOO, the Dutch Institute for Development) team are studying the reintegration patterns of Turkish workers and the various problems of family members left behind. This research includes a detailed survey in Bogazliyan, the province of Yozgat and its villages, the sample size is 530. The first results will be published in autumn 1975. Ayse Kudat-Sertel at the International Management Institute, West Berlin and the sociologist Mübbeckel B. Kiray have investigated the problems of Turkish workers' children. (Ayse Kudat-Sertel, "Structural Change in the Migrant Turkish Family" in R.E. Krane (ed.), *Manpower Mobility Across Cultural Boundaries*. Leiden: Brill, 1975, pp. 77-95; Mübbeckel B. Kiray, "The Family of the Immigrant Worker" in N. Abadan-Unat (ed.) *Turkish Workers in Europe*. Leiden: Brill (in press). The problems of migrants' children have been examined by Sitki M. Bilmen and Gülten Dayioglu (Sitki M. Bilmen, "Educational Problems Encountered by the Children of Turkish Migrant Workers" in Abadan-Unat, *Turkish Workers*.)

2. *Repräsentativ-Untersuchung '72*. Nürnberg: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1973, p. 25. This survey has clearly shown that the proportion of Spaniards, Italians and Turks living in the FRG with 3-4 children is rapidly increasing.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-37. According to this survey 9% of Turkish migrant workers intended to settle down permanently in the FRG.

4. "Yurt Dışında Çalışan Türk İşçilerinin (0-16 Yaş) Çocuklarının Eğitimi Sorunları" (Educational Problems of Turkish Migrants' Children). Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, no. 74-20. Ankara: Ministry of Education, pp. 6-7.

5. S. Bilmen, *Education of Migrant Workers' Children*. Strassbourg: Council of Europe, 1971.
6. "Yurtdisi Göç Hareketleri ve Vatandas Sorunlari" (External Migration and Problems of Turkish Citizens). T.C. Disisleri Bakanligi, Ekonomik ve Sosyal Isler Genel Müdürlüğü. Ankara: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1973, p. 52.
7. G. Mahler, *Zweitsprache Deutsch*. Donauwörth: Auer-Verlag, 1974, pp.154-155.
8. N. Abadan-Unat, "Turkish External Migration and Social Mobility" in P. Benedict et al. (eds.), *Turkey: Geographical and Social Perspectives*. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
9. R. Lohrmann and E.J. Hadjiandreou, "Auswirkungen der Ausländerbeschäftigung auf die soziale Struktur der BRD" in R. Lohrmann and K. Manfrass (Hrsg.), *Ausländerbeschäftigung und Internationale Politik*. München: Oldenbourg, 1974, p. 95.
10. U. Mehrländer, *Soziale Aspekte der Ausländerbeschäftigung*. Bonn: Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, 1974, p. 207. Only 7 % of Turkish workers' children under 6 attend kindergarten; 14 % of workers prefer to send young children to neighbours or foster homes.
11. Sati Erisen and Ferruh Sanir, *Türk Çocuklarının Kitabı I, IIa, IIb*. Tübingen: Horst Erdmann, 1972, are the first three books written in Turkish for primary school age children living abroad.
12. Mehrländer, *Soziale Aspekte*, p. 210.
13. Verband Türkischer Lehrer in der BRD und Westberlin, "Zur pädagogisch-politischen Funktion der türkischen Priester und Koranschulen in der Türkei und im Ausland". Paper presented at the workshop in April 1-4, 1971 at T. Heuss Akademie, Gummersbach.
14. "Programme d'Action en Faveur des Travailleurs Migrants et de leurs Familles", COM(74) 2250, 18.12.1974. Brussels: Commission des Communautés Européennes, 1975, p. 19.

L'EDUCATION DES ENFANTS DES TRAVAILLEURS MIGRANTS EN SUISSE

EUGENE EGGER et JEAN-MARIE BOILLAT

La politique scolaire suisse vise d'une part à favoriser l'intégration des enfants immigrés au système scolaire suisse, d'autre part à autoriser, dans une certaine mesure, des dispositions visant à conserver l'identité linguistique et culturelle d'origine de ces enfants. Les auteurs analysent les réalisations et leurs objectifs pédagogiques par secteur de l'enseignement.

Swiss policy vis-à-vis children of migrant workers has two objectives: promoting their integration in the Swiss educational system and permitting to a certain extent, efforts to preserve their linguistic and cultural identity. The authors analyse the policy measures and their educational objectives for each stage of education.

Die schweizer Politik gegenüber Gastarbeiterkindern hat zwei Ziele: einmal, die Eingliederung dieser Kinder in das schweizer Erziehungssystem zu fördern, und zum zweiten, bis zu einem gewissen Grade die Erhaltung des sprachlichen und kulturellen Erbes zu erlauben. Die Autoren analysieren die Verwirklichung dieser Politik und ihre Ziele nach Schularten.

LE CONTEXTE

Situation, caractéristiques, politique

La forte immigration qu'avait connue la Suisse du début du siècle (17,3% de la population résidante était étrangère en 1914) s'est résorbée pour ne reprendre avec des caractéristiques et une signification toutes différentes¹, qu'au cours des années 50 en conséquence de l'expansion économique imprévue. L'admission des étrangers en Suisse est restée jusqu'en 1963 relativement libérale et restait fondée sur le fait que l'on considérait le phénomène migratoire comme essentiellement transitoire. Depuis 1963, le gouvernement fédéral a orienté sa *politique en limitant* le nombre d'étrangers pouvant être occupés dans chaque entreprise, mais ce n'est qu'à partir de 1970 qu'il s'est engagé sur la voie d'une *politique de stabilisation* du nombre des étrangers: d'abord des travailleurs à l'année, puis des saisonniers et enfin, depuis 1974 de tous les étrangers.

Assimilation - Intégration. Longtemps utilisé pour caractériser l'objectif à long-terme de la politique suisse à l'égard des étrangers, le concept d'*assimilation* semble s'être peu à peu épuré et précisé; aussi con-

vient-il de l'examiner de plus près afin de saisir la volonté politique et l'évolution des esprits sur cette question délicate.

Assimiler signifie, au sens propre, rendre semblable et c'est le modèle biologique qui rend le mieux compte de la signification du processus. Toutefois, ainsi que l'a clairement dégagé Piaget, le processus d'assimilation ne constitue que l'un des deux rôles de la fonction biologique générale d'*adaptation*. L'autre rend compte des modifications de la structure de l'organisme sous l'effet des résistances du milieu à l'assimilation, il s'agit du pôle d'*accommodation*.² Transposé sur le terrain social et politique de la rencontre de deux sociétés, cela revient à admettre que l'adaptation, processus de recherche d'un nouvel équilibre, ne se réalise qu'à travers du couple assimilation/accommodation. Autrement dit, cela implique que le migrant assimile les valeurs et les représentations de la nouvelle société dans laquelle il se trouve, mais cela implique, en même temps, que la société d'accueil s'adapte à la nouvelle situation par un processus à double face identique.

L'assimilation de la population étrangère imputerait tout le processus de changement à la partie immigrée, la société suisse restant parfaitement statique et toujours identique à elle-même. Ce n'est socialement et politiquement pas réaliste; ce n'est humainement pas soutenable. Ce n'est pas non plus, croyons-nous, ce que veulent dire les autorités lorsqu'elles utilisent le terme d'assimilation pour qualifier l'objectif à long terme de leur politique à l'égard des étrangers.³

Il nous paraît plus correct de comprendre la volonté politique suisse à l'égard des étrangers en termes d'*intégration sociale* impliquant un mouvement réciproque. Les Eglises de Suisse l'expriment dans leurs "7 thèses pour une politique à l'égard des étrangers" (août 1974) par le raccourci: L'objectif principal - *notre avenir commun*.⁴

Le cadre culturel, linguistique et scolaire. Etat fédéral de petites dimensions, plurilinguistique et traversé par plusieurs familles culturelles, la Suisse se doit de préserver l'équilibre fragile qui maintient son existence originale.

"La Confédération suisse n'a pas à sa base une unité ethnique ou linguistique, mais son existence procède de conceptions politiques communes, d'un mode de vie semblable, ainsi que de la volonté de former un même Etat."⁵

Il nous paraît important de rappeler quelques-uns des leviers les plus essentiels de cet équilibre dans la mesure où leur jeu est significatif dans l'orientation de la politique des autorités suisses à l'égard de la scolarisa-

tion des enfants de travailleurs migrants.

La politique et le culturel. Il serait certes abusif de prétendre opérer une distinction nette entre le domaine politique d'une part et le domaine de la vie culturelle d'autre part;⁶ il n'en reste pas moins évident qu'en l'absence d'une langue nationale, soutien d'une conscience nationale, les citoyens de ce pays ne sauraient nullement circonscrire par les mêmes et uniques frontières leur appartenance culturelle et les divers pôles des communautés auxquelles ils se réfèrent. Tout au plus, le Suisse est et se sent d'abord Tessinois, Zurichois ou Vaudois. ...

Le linguistique et le scolaire. Quatre langues nationales d'importance numérique très inégale⁷ composent la mosaïque linguistique suisse. La stabilité de l'équilibre maintenu en cette matière en dépit de la forte prédominance de l'allemand et des migrations internes importantes trouve son explication dans un principe constitutionnel fondamental bien que non codifié, à savoir le *principe de la territorialité des langues*. En vertu de cette règle - qui privilégie le lien sol/langue au lien personne/langue - le véhicule de l'enseignement obligatoire est fixé par la langue du lieu considéré et on ne saurait s'y soustraire quelque soit le souhait des parents. Il y a là en quelque sorte inscrit dans la structure même du pays un instrument d'*intégration forcée* dont les conséquences pour notre propos, bien qu'évidentes, seront reprises plus bas. La sauvegarde difficile des minorités linguistiques et la paix linguistique sont au prix de ce que certains pourraient considérer comme atteinte aux droits de l'Homme⁸ et notamment aux droits des parents; ainsi, tout citoyen suisse s'établissant dans une autre région linguistique n'a aucune possibilité de faire donner à ses enfants une formation scolaire dans sa langue maternelle.⁹

LES REPONSES, PRINCIPES ET FONDEMENTS

Les dimensions du problème scolaire

Les dimensions quantitatives. Les difficultés du problème scolaire posées par la présence d'une population étrangère importante est mesurable en termes quantitatifs; soulignons-en les principales caractéristiques démographiques en référence à cette première donnée de base, à savoir que la population étrangère résidente représente en moyenne 17% de la population totale. Quelque 170.000 enfants étrangers sont d'âge préscolaire (0-6 ans), soit 30 % de la totalité des groupes d'âge con-

sidérés, mais 23 % pour les deux générations de 4 à 5 et de 5 à 6 ans. Les disparités cantonales sont importantes, ainsi ce dernier pourcentage dépasse-t-il le 25 % dans une dizaine de cantons pour atteindre des pointes de 40 % au Tessin et à Genève. La population des jeunes d'âge scolaire (7 à 14/15 ans) est à peu près 14,5 % étrangère. Quant aux jeunes étrangers de moins de 21 ans et libérés de l'obligation scolaire, ils représentent 9 % des groupes d'âge considérés.

Les indications très sommaires permettent d'avancer quelques constatations:

- le nombre des enfants très jeunes renvoie au taux de natalité de la population étrangère qui est supérieur à celui de la population suisse; il annonce la composition de la population scolaire future; il confirme la politique de regroupement familial des autorités fédérales en même temps qu'il traduit une caractéristique de la vague d'immigration depuis 1968, à savoir une migration composée de familles plutôt que d'hommes célibataires.
- la réduction importante de la proportion d'enfants étrangers d'âge scolaire par rapport à la proportion constatée dans les âges préscolaires est la résultante d'une série de phénomènes difficiles à saisir en raison de l'insuffisance des informations statistiques et en particulier - le retour au pays d'un certain nombre d'enfants atteignant l'âge scolaire parce que leurs parents, en raison de leur propre projet, préfèrent qu'ils conservent intacts tous les liens avec le pays d'origine: certains enfants d'âge scolaire n'ont pas accompagné leurs parents dans la migration.¹⁰
- l'effort scolaire des autorités doit être marqué par priorité aux niveaux préscolaire et scolaire des premiers cycles; la dimension du problème au niveau de la formation professionnelle et de la scolarité post-obligatoire reste limitée.

Les dimensions qualitatives. Au cours des deux dernières décennies, les autorités ont poursuivi une politique de démocratisation de l'enseignement visant à promouvoir l'éducation des jeunes générations et à faire participer à l'enseignement secondaire et supérieur des catégories socio-économiques de la population jusque là peu représentées dans ces filières. Il est évident que les enfants de travailleurs migrants devraient bénéficier des progrès acquis par les réformes scolaires; toutefois, deux caractéristiques socio-culturelles constituent des obstacles supplémentaires: la langue et l'appartenance à un milieu socio-culturel pauvre.

La langue. L'intégration sociale et scolaire n'est possible qu'au travers de la communication et de l'échange avec le milieu, mais les enfants de

travailleurs migrants qu'il convient d'intégrer dans le système scolaire suisse, ont à affronter l'apprentissage de plusieurs idiomes et ceci spécialement en Suisse alémanique où la langue d'école (*Hochdeutsch*) n'est pas celle qui est pratiquée dans le milieu local (*Schwyzerdütsch*). Les stratégies à mettre en oeuvre pour lever le handicap de la langue, doivent être diversifiées afin de répondre de manière optimale à la demande elle-même diverse.

Le milieu socio-culturel. La littérature sociologique et pédagogique a suffisamment montré l'importance des facteurs extrascolaires, les caractéristiques du milieu social et familial notamment, sur la carrière scolaire des enfants pour que l'on saisisse les difficultés des enfants de travailleurs migrants dans leur intégration au système de formation d'une société industrialisée et urbanisée. Ils sont issus de la catégorie socio-culturelle la plus défavorisée dont l'équilibre culturel est de plus perturbé, voire désintégré par l'expérience de la migration. L'école a une lourde responsabilité vis-à-vis de cette population; il serait cependant irréaliste et injuste de la charger seule du poids de toutes les conséquences découlant de cette situation; la politique sociale et les dispositifs compensatoires extra- ou para-scolaires en assument une bonne part.

Les grandes lignes de la politique scolaire

Il peut paraître surprenant de parler de politique suisse dans ce domaine de l'éducation qui relève essentiellement de la compétence des cantons, voire des communes. Il ne faut naturellement pas entendre par là un projet défini par un pouvoir central apte à le mettre en oeuvre; il s'agit beaucoup plus simplement de la constatation d'une certaine convergence des actions et des dispositions. De cette convergence se dégage un certain nombre de principes, de lignes d'action qu'explicitent et que confirment les recommandations adoptées par la Conférence suisse des directeurs cantonaux de l'Instruction publique (Conférence des ministres cantonaux de l'I.P.) en 1972 et 1974. La ligne adoptée par chacun des vingt-cinq cantons ne saurait être fondamentalement opposée ou en rupture avec les principes qui sous-tendent la politique générale en matière d'immigration.

Il s'en suit que le premier objectif de la politique scolaire vise à l'*intégration* des enfants étrangers au système scolaire suisse, ce qui a pour conséquence une politique plutôt restrictive à l'égard du développement d'enclaves scolaires étrangères (institutions éducatives privées dispensant

une éducation conforme à celle en cours dans les pays d'origine), mais qui implique au niveau des systèmes cantonaux un effort important d'adaptation.

Dans la mesure où l'objectif d'intégration se distingue du processus unilatéral de l'assimilation tel que nous l'avons précisé plus haut, il implique sur le plan de l'éducation, la reconnaissance et le *respect de l'identité culturelle* de l'enfant migrant et, en particulier, ses attaches linguistiques originelles. Dans cette perspective, l'action des diverses autorités suisses en matière d'éducation est guidée par les trois principes généraux suivants:

- a. La nécessité d'intégrer les enfants des travailleurs migrants dans les écoles locales, en principe sans perte d'année scolaire; en aménageant des solutions aptes à surmonter les difficultés particulières qu'ils peuvent rencontrer.
- b. La nécessité d'assurer, dans toute la mesure du possible, un enseignement adéquat de la langue et de la culture d'origine.
- c. La nécessité de promouvoir la participation consciente de la responsabilité des parents en matière scolaire et éducative.

LES REPONSES, REALISATIONS EN MATIERE SCOLAIRE ET EDUCATIVE

Le décor étant tracé, les axes généraux de la politique scolaire définis, il convient maintenant de décrire les réalisations et leurs objectifs pédagogiques. Nous procéderons systématiquement par secteur de l'enseignement.

La scolarisation pré-obligatoire

Le rôle de l'éducation préscolaire comme préparation aux apprentissages scolaires fondamentaux (mathématique, lecture, écriture), comme facteur de socialisation de l'enfant, comme préalable à la démocratisation des niveaux d'enseignement ultérieurs et comme élément de politique sociale, est reconnu en Suisse et les progrès enregistrés sont importants, surtout dans les régions urbaines. On peut estimer que le taux de scolarisation des enfants de 4 à 6 ans varie de 30 à 80 % selon les régions et on observe pour les enfants étrangers des taux oscillants dans la même marge; ils sont admis dans les institutions préscolaires aux mêmes conditions que les enfants suisses. En cas d'excès de la demande par rapport à l'offre de places, de très nombreuses communes accordent explicite-

ment la priorité aux enfants de langue maternelle étrangère, à ceux dont les deux parents travaillent, à ceux qui sont issus des catégories sociales les moins favorables.

L'éducation préscolaire est considérée comme un facteur important d'insertion harmonieuse des enfants de travailleurs migrants dans la communauté locale et propre à assurer une bonne intégration scolaire. De plus, à maints endroits (surtout en Suisse alémanique) une initiation par méthode directe à la langue du lieu est offerte aux enfants de langue étrangère (Zurich, Bâle, St-Gall, Lucerne, Genève notamment).

La scolarité obligatoire

Quatres types de dispositifs sont communément appliqués: les classes d'accueil, les cours complémentaires de langue, l'allègement des conditions de promotion, les cours de langue et de culture du pays d'origine.

Les classes d'accueil. De telles classes sont organisées dans les localités les plus importantes de la moitié des cantons à l'intention des nouveaux arrivants et de ceux dont l'insertion dans une classe normale se révélerait trop difficile en raison notamment du handicap linguistique. Ces classes paraissent, selon les lieux et parfois les circonstances, remplir deux fonctions différentes et s'adresser par conséquent à deux publics d'enfants.

- a. Une fonction d'*allègement* du travail scolaire lorsque les possibilités d'intégration des classes normales sont dépassées.
"Lorsqu'un allègement des classes normales s'impose par suite d'un grand nombre d'enfants de langue étrangère, il est recommandé de mettre sur pied des classes de langues étrangères en tant que classes de transition et d'aide intensive."¹¹
- b. Une fonction de *transition* entre deux systèmes scolaires.
"Destinées aux enfants qui arrivent à Genève à l'âge du Cycle d'orientation (12-15 ans) sans savoir le français, les classes d'accueil ont pour but de préparer et de favoriser l'intégration dans une classe ordinaire."¹²

La formule des classes d'accueil n'est possible et n'est souhaitable que dans certaines circonstances. Sur le plan pratique et économique d'abord, elle présuppose un nombre assez important d'enfants migrants nouvellement arrivés, sans quoi elle risque de se justifier par la prolongation du séjour des enfants en son sein, ce qui irait à l'encontre de son objectif initial. Sur le plan psychologique, elle doit constituer une étape intermédiaire dans le processus d'intégration scolaire et ne pas se transformer en

obstacle supplémentaire. Sur le plan pédagogique, la classe d'accueil ne prend sa signification que si le gain pédagogique (accélération de l'apprentissage de la langue, mise à niveau des aptitudes dans les disciplines principales) est supérieur au coût psychologique que constitue cette étape intermédiaire (adaptation à la classe d'accueil, puis adaptation nouvelle à la classe normale).

Une telle formule n'est réellement efficace que pour des adolescents nouveaux arrivants qui ont déjà accompli une partie importante de leur scolarité obligatoire dans leur pays d'origine. Pour les autres cas, la solution optimale consiste - de l'avis des pédagogues et des responsables de la politique scolaire et selon l'expérience acquise - à intégrer immédiatement les enfants étrangers dans une classe normale de degré correspondant à leur âge, et de leur accorder les mesures d'appui nécessaires parallèlement à cette situation d'intégration directe. C'est dans cette perspective que s'inscrivent les dispositions suivantes.

Les cours complémentaires de langue. Des cours de rattrapage gratuite sont organisés systématiquement dans la très grande majorité des cantons. Ces cours intensifs sont dispensés par petits groupes, voire par enseignement individuel. L'organisation de ces cours est subventionnée par le canton.¹³

L'allégement des conditions de promotion. L'intégration immédiate des enfants de langue étrangère dans une classe normale risque de compromettre abusivement leur carrière scolaire. C'est la raison qui a conduit un certain nombre de cantons à prévoir *expressément* des allègements dans les conditions de promotion. Ceux-ci sont parfois formulés de manière générale et indépendamment du problème des enfants de langue étrangère, mais qui en bénéficient comme cas particulier¹⁴; ailleurs on ne tient pas compte, durant un ou deux ans, des résultats en français ou en allemand et le principe peut s'étendre à d'autres disciplines; des difficultés linguistiques de compréhension peuvent avoir des répercussions dans d'autres branches, sans que les aptitudes de l'élève ne soient elles-mêmes en cause.

Les cours de langue et de culture du pays d'origine. Afin d'éviter un déracinement complet et assurer, le cas échéant, une réintégration aussi aisée que possible dans le pays d'origine, les pédagogues et les autorités reconnaissent la nécessité d'accorder aux enfants migrants la possibilité de suivre des cours de langue et de culture de leur pays d'origine. La conférence suisse des directeurs cantonaux de l'instruction publique recommande aux autorités cantonales:

- de permettre la fixation de deux heures hebdomadaires au mini-

- mum, d'enseignement de langue, d'histoire et de civilisation du pays d'origine, dans le programme scolaire ordinaire;
- d'ajouter au certificat de fin d'études une attestation sur la fréquentation de ces cours;
- d'autoriser - durant un certain temps - la fréquentation d'écoles privées étrangères à ceux qui ont l'intention de rentrer dans leur pays d'origine."

De tels cours sont actuellement dispensés dans tous les cantons. Leur fréquentation est variable et de l'ordre de 20 à 30 % pour les enfants italiens tout au moins et selon les organisateurs.¹⁵

Secteur para-scolaire

Au titre des réalisations para- et péri-scolaires visant à favoriser l'intégration sociale et scolaire et à réunir les meilleures conditions afin qu'ils soient en mesure de bénéficier au même titre que les Suisses des chances de formation offertes par le système, nous mentionnerons sommairement trois types d'action qui font l'objet d'expériences diverses: les semi-internats pour enfants d'âge préscolaire, les devoirs surveillés et l'école des parents.

Semi-internats pour enfants d'âge préscolaire. (Crèches et jardins d'enfants à journée entière.) Il convient de constater que la prise en charge éducative des enfants, en dehors du temps scolaire et par des institutions de l'Etat ne constitue pas une politique très répandue en Suisse. Certaines organisations privées ont répondu aux besoins actuels, le potentiel de main d'oeuvre non-active (au sens économique) est en train d'accentuer ce type de besoins sociaux. Les enfants étrangers bénéficient au même titre que les enfants suisses de l'extension de ces réalisations. Les moyens d'apprécier quantitativement la demande et l'offre actuelle ne sont pas disponibles pour l'ensemble du pays.

Les devoirs surveillés ont avant tout pour but d'assurer aux enfants appui, conseil et complément d'information pour l'accomplissement de leurs devoirs scolaires; ils ont lieu dans les locaux même de l'école. Dans certaines communes du canton de Zurich et à l'initiative des autorités scolaires locales, des mères de famille volontaires se sont inscrites pour recevoir à leur domicile quelques enfants étrangers dont les parents en ont exprimé le souhait, afin de leur apporter appui. Dans la ville de Zurich, des écoles de quartiers (*Quartierschule*) sont nées à partir de l'initiative d'un groupe de maîtres et d'une organisation professionnelle de travailleurs immigrés; elles accueillent, à la demande des parents, des

enfants suisses et étrangers à raison de trois fois par semaine de 16 h 15 à 18 h 15; le travail se fait par groupe et déborde les activités scolaires (théâtre, loisirs divers). Dans le canton de Lucerne, ce sont des mères de famille volontaires qui “tentent d’assumer le rôle de parents plutôt que celui de maître, afin de surveiller les devoirs des enfants”.¹⁶

L'Ecole des parents. L'expérience des cours de langue organisés dans le cadre de l'Ecole des parents à Genève, à l'intention des parents de langue étrangère mérite d'être mentionnée à titre d'exemple. Ils poursuivent essentiellement deux objectifs: a) favoriser l'insertion sociale des parents; par la stimulation de l'intérêt pour la langue de contact, ils acquièrent ainsi l'assurance qui leur permet d'entrer plus facilement en relation avec les indigènes; b) développer les contacts entre l'école et les parents par la création d'un intérêt culturel commun aux parents et aux enfants. Par ailleurs, ces cours remplissent manifestement une fonction d'encouragement à l'éducation permanente et d'élargissement des relations sociales.¹⁷

CONCLUSION

Le panorama des mesures prises afin de favoriser l'intégration scolaire et sociale des enfants de travailleurs migrants, reste sommaire et incomplet. La politique d'information des parents par brochures et rencontres de groupes, l'activité des centres de contacts suisses-étrangers et des nombreuses associations et commissions mériteraient d'être soulignées, de même que les expériences de participants des parents étrangers à la politique scolaire locale par le biais de commissions scolaires consultatives.

Par ailleurs, et pour conclure, il convient de mentionner les problèmes pendants et ceux dont la solution reste insatisfaisante. Quelques indicateurs, indices d'une intégration encore imparfaite, incitent à la réflexion; les enfants des travailleurs immigrés ne sont pas encore en mesure d'exploiter toutes les possibilités du système scolaire suisse, leurs chances restent limitées. Leur taux d'échec est supérieur à celui des enfants suisses;¹⁸ ils sont parfois trop nombreux dans les classes spéciales, ils accèdent encore difficilement à certaines filières de l'enseignement secondaire et aux formations professionnelles les plus scolarisées. De la connaissance des faits à leur interprétation puis à la thérapie, il y a pour le moins deux pas qui ne sont pas aisés à franchir. La question ne se limite pas à un problème linguistique; l'explication sociale et culturelle

s'impose, mais elle reste encore trop globale pour guider la pédagogie et la politique scolaire.

La formation des enseignants en général ne tient pas suffisamment compte de cette composante de la réalité sociologique qu'est le phénomène migratoire dans son ensemble et qui marque profondément la société suisse.

Notre analyse des problèmes et notre description des solutions apportées se sont essentiellement centrées sur le domaine de la scolarité obligatoire. Ce fait ne doit pas signifier l'absence d'efforts de réflexion et d'action au niveau de la formation professionnelle notamment, où la politique d'orientation et d'information est particulièrement importante et fait l'objet de soins particuliers.

NOTES

1. Au début du siècle, la population étrangère était répartie, dans les diverses branches d'activité et catégories sociales, sensiblement de la même manière que les Suisses, ils provenaient des pays et régions limitrophes. Dès les années 50 et surtout vers la fin de la décennie 60, les étrangers sont essentiellement originaires des régions méridionales les plus éloignées; ce sont avant tout des travailleurs non-qualifiés, leur taux de renouvellement est élevé.
2. J. Piaget, *Biologie et connaissance*. Paris: Gallimard, 1967; et J. Piaget, *La naissance de l'intelligence*. Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1936, pp. 12-13.
3. *Rapport de la Commission chargée de l'étude du problème de la main-d'oeuvre étrangère*. Berne: Office fédéral de l'industrie, des arts et métiers et du travail, 1964, p. 151; et H. Tzaut, "Intégration des étrangers" dans *Civitas* 30 (1974), no. 4, p. 244. (Zurich: Société des étudiants suisses.)
4. "Die 7 Thesen der Kirchen zur Ausländerpolitik" dans *Gesellschaft und Entwicklung* 3 (1974), no. 3. (Herausgeber: Institut für Sozialethik des Schweizerischen Kirchenbundes in Bern; Institut für Sozialethik der Universität Zürich; Soziale Studienkommission des Schweizerischen Reformierten Pfarrvereins.)
5. *Rapport*, p. 147.
6. *Rapport*, p. 142.
7. Pourcentage des Suisses selon la langue maternelle (recensement 1970); allemand 74,5% (3,8 millions); français 20,1% (1,04 million); italien 4,0% (208 mille); rétho-romanche 0,9% (49 mille). En 1970, 17% de la population résidant en Suisse vivait en dehors de sa région linguistique.
8. "Les parents ont, par priorité, le droit de choisir le genre d'éducation à donner à leurs enfants." *Déclaration universelle des droits de l'Homme*, art. 26, lettre 3.
9. L'école française de Berne constitue la seule exception. Institution privée, elle est

subventionnée par le canton de Berne, et la Confédération en faveur des enfants de fonctionnaires de la Confédération de langue française.

10. M. Rey, *Le rôle de l'école dans l'insertion sociale des familles des travailleurs migrants*. Genève: Ecole de service social, 1974. Les enfants italiens admis dans les classes d'accueil du Cycle d'orientation de l'enseignement secondaire genevois (7, 8, 9^e année de la scolarité obligatoire) en 1973 ont été séparés en moyenne durant 7 ans de leur mère et 9 ans de leur père. Pour les enfants espagnols, cette séparation est respectivement de 4 et de 8 ans.

11. "Eingliederung fremdprachiger Kinder". Stellungnahme des Erziehungsrates in *Schulblatt des Kantons Zürich*, nr. 6, Juni 1973.

12. M. Rey, *Le rôle de l'école*, p. 60.

13. 2 heures par semaine dans l'horaire scolaire normal à Bâle. Dans ses recommandations aux autorités scolaires locales, le Conseil zurichois de l'éducation propose 2 à 4 heures d'enseignement intensif d'allemand lorsqu'il s'agit de petits groupes n'excédant pas 8 enfants, et 8 heures hebdomadaires lorsque le groupe atteint 12 élèves.

14. "Die Zeugniskonferenz kann ... von der Nichtbeförderung absehen, wenn die Leistungen eines Schülers durch unregelmässige Vorbildung, längere Krankheit oder ungünstige Verhältnisse so beeinträchtigt worden sind, dass ihm in einzelnen Fächern keine oder keine ausreichenden Noten erteilt werden können. Dasselbe gilt, wenn ein Schüler aus einer anderen Schule übergetreten ist und dem Unterricht noch nicht zu folgen vermag. ..." *Verordnung über die Zeugnisse und die Promotionen und Remotionen für die Realschulen Basel-Stadt*, 17.4.1973, Art. 10.

15. 20 % en moyenne pour l'ensemble de la Suisse, selon un tableau statistique établi par le Dr Cagol, de l'Ambassade d'Italie à Berne; 30 % à Bâle selon Madame Dr Cerri Negrini, directrice de l'école italienne de Bâle.

16. H. Rudolf-Gruber, *Kurzbericht über die ersten Erfahrungen über die verschiedenen Dopuscuola-Aufgabenhilfen im Kanton Luzern*. Emmenbrücke: Kommission für Fremdarbeiterfragen, 1974.

17. M. Rey, *Le rôle de l'école*.

18. A l'âge de 12/13 ans, les enfants scolarisés à Genève accomplissent normalement leur 7^e année de scolarité; or, parmi les enfants suisses (de cet âge) issus de la couche sociale supérieure, 7,3 % sont en retard et 1,9 % sont dans une classe spéciale; pour les enfants issus de la couche sociale inférieure les chiffres correspondants sont les suivants: 23,1 % de retard, 8,2 % en classes spéciales s'ils sont suisses; 46,7 % de retard, 13,9 % en classes spéciales s'ils sont espagnols; 34,4 % de retard, 13,6 % en classes spéciales s'ils sont italiens. Source: *Annuaire statistique de l'éducation*. Genève, 1974, p. 73.

TEACHER TRAINING FOR A MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY IN THE UK

RICHARD WILLEY

Britain is a multi-cultural society which now includes some 1 1/2 million people of Asian and Afro-caribbean origin, over 40% of whom were born in the UK. This paper examines whether teacher training institutions have responded to this new situation and suggests as to how such training can be provided.

Grossbritannien hat eine poly-kulturelle Gesellschaft, in der jetzt etwa 1 1/2 Millionen Menschen asiatischer und afro-karibischer Herkunft leben, von denen wiederum über 40% im Vereinigten Königreich geboren wurden. Dieser Artikel untersucht, ob die Lehrerausbildungsstätten auf diese neue Situation reagiert haben, und schlägt Ausbildungsformen vor.

La Grande-Bretagne est une société multiculturelle comprenant maintenant quelque 1 million et demi de personnes d'origine asiatique et africaine (Caraïbes), dont plus de 40% naquirent au Royaume-Uni. Cet article examine si les instituts de formation d'enseignants se sont adaptés à cette nouvelle situation et ont fourni des suggestions sur la manière d'assurer une telle formation.

This paper examines the ways in which the education of teachers for working in a multi-cultural society has developed in the UK. It considers both initial training for student teachers and in-service programmes for those already working in schools, and is based primarily on two recently published reports - *Teacher Education for a Multi-cultural Society*¹ published in June 1974 jointly by the Community Relations Commission and the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education and *In-service Education of Teachers in Multi-racial Areas*² published by the CRC in October.

Britain is a multi-cultural society which now includes some 1½ million people of Asian and Afro-caribbean origin, over 40 per cent of whom were born in the UK.³ While children from these backgrounds constitute only approximately 4.0 per cent of the total school population, this small proportion conceals an uneven distribution. The London area accounts for slightly more than half, followed by South Lancashire and the West Midlands. Two local authority areas have more than 25 per cent of their pupil roll defined as "immigrant", five between 20-25 per cent and a further six 15-20 per cent. Furthermore the number of individual schools with heavy concentrations is growing. Nearly 1,000 schools out of 33,000 have over one-quarter "immigrant" pupils, and

some authorities with few children of minority groups overall have one or two schools with very large percentages.⁴ Within these multi-racial schools a significant change is occurring in that, with further immigration into the UK now severely restricted, teachers are teaching fewer and fewer "immigrants" but increasing numbers of young black and brown Britons born in the UK. These children want the same educational and occupational chances as their white classmates, and it is recognised that if they do not get these chances they will suffer as individuals and society as a whole will suffer from their disillusion and alienation. The opportunities which are given to this first generation of brown and black Britons passing through our educational system will be among the important determining factors in building satisfactory race relations in Britain.

Educational Achievement of Minority Group Children

Although there has been little sustained research on the educational needs and responses of minority group children over the country as a whole, there are two separate sources of evidence which demonstrate that their educational responses to the education system and the latter's responses to their needs require urgent consideration at this time. These are a series of enquiries conducted by the Inner London Education Authority and investigations by the National Foundation for Educational Research. Broadly, these studies indicate that black and brown children are underachieving in British schools in relation to most underprivileged whites. Four years ago the Inner London Education Authority completed a literacy survey of pupils at the beginning of their second year of primary schooling; it showed a disturbing gap between the performance of immigrant pupils and that of the indigenous population. Nearly twice as many immigrant children were described as poor readers, compared with the indigenous population (14.8 per cent of native born were defined as "poor" readers compared with 28.5 per cent of immigrants). The same survey suggested that four times as many indigenous pupils were "good" readers as were immigrants (12 as compared with 3 per cent). Follow-up research in the Inner London Education Authority done in 1971 indicates that "as in the previous survey immigrant attainment was on average markedly lower than that of non-immigrants" and that the mean reading age for immigrants is at least a year below that of non-immigrants. Information collected at the end of primary schooling suggests that twice as many immigrant pupils are placed at the bottom

of the performance distribution than would be expected by chance and only about one third of the expected proportion is placed in the upper bands. Perhaps more significant, the Inner London Education Authority researches show that even pupils from minority groups who have been fully educated in this country are still functioning across the primary curriculum at a level well below that of the indigenous population and comparisons within the schools suggested that minority group pupils are not performing at the same level as underprivileged white pupils.⁵

Their low performance is an important factor in their placement in poor ability streams in those primary and particularly those secondary schools which retain streaming. The National Foundation for Educational Research's survey, *Organisation in Multi-Racial Schools*, shows that West Indian, Indian and Pakistani children were more often found in the lower streams; of the 230 multi-racial schools which were surveyed by Townsend and Brittan, only one reported that black and brown children were clustered in the middle streams and in this case they were referring to Indians and Pakistanis. Moreover, although this pattern of low stream placement and low performance applied throughout the education system, larger proportions of minority group pupils stay on at school in the fifth and sixth forms of secondary schools compared to indigenous pupils, but then follow relatively low level courses, such as 'O' level or CSE. In higher studies the proportions of minority children are reversed; a smaller proportion of these children in the sixth form does 'A' levels compared to indigenous pupils. Only one in five West Indian sixth formers was following such a course; the proportion of Indians and Pakistanis was only slightly higher.⁶ The authors stress that urgent action is needed to prevent this situation worsening.

Response of Teacher Training Institutions

As far as teacher training institutions are concerned it has only been recognised fairly recently that it is necessary consciously to prepare students to work in this multi-cultural society. It was only in the second half of the 1960s that colleges and departments of education began to pay specialist attention to the needs of "immigrant" pupils, and later still that education for *all* students to teach in a multi-cultural Britain came to be considered. When a committee appointed by the Govern-

ment to examine higher education reported in 1963, they declared as one of the aims of higher education "the transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship",⁷ but they clearly had only the indigenous culture and its standards in mind and they saw no need to relate these to a multi-cultural society. By 1971 the position had changed sufficiently for the committee of inquiry into teacher education and training chaired by Lord James to state categorically that "an understanding of the multi-cultural nature of society should feature in any general education"⁸ and two years later a Parliamentary Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration made a special inquiry into education and concluded that "all students on initial and postgraduate courses can and should be made aware that, wherever they teach, they will be doing so in a multi-cultural society".⁹

An initial analysis of the influence of race relations on the syllabuses of colleges of education was published in 1970.¹⁰ The findings of this survey, based on a questionnaire circulated to colleges in the late autumn of 1968, were, firstly, that after a gradual start in 1966 and 1967, by the autumn of 1968 a number of colleges were paying some attention in their courses to the problems of immigrants and secondly that this was being done through two major categories of study in the colleges - the education of children from immigrant communities and the development of studies for *all* students who would be teaching in a multi-cultural society. Although there had been advances in the efforts of colleges to come to terms with the education of immigrant children, progress in the second category had been much slower. Two broad objectives can thus be differentiated in the response of teacher training institutions to the changing composition of UK society. First the need to provide specific intensive courses at both initial and in-service level for teachers who will be working in multi-racial classes; second to make provision in the training of all students for the fact that, wherever they eventually teach in the UK, they will now be doing so in a multi-cultural society. Overall, provision to meet these objectives has been uneven. Teacher training institutions have reacted on an individual and ad hoc basis; there has been little co-ordination or government pressure to implement changes. Although perhaps 75 per cent of colleges now include some relevant provision in their courses, the number who have given thorough and systematic attention to the issues is much smaller.

However, a unique opportunity for a thorough reappraisal of existing provision has now been given by the government's current reorganization of higher education, which involves a re-casting both of the

teacher training institutions themselves and of the courses which they teach.¹¹ It was in this context that the joint Community Relations Commission/Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education Working Party, which produced the report *Teacher Education for a Multi-cultural Society*, was set up. Consequently, the report considers how an education for teachers for a multi-cultural society can be provided in the context of changes such as the setting up of new degrees and Diplomas of Higher Education, the move toward an all-graduate profession and the expansion of in-service training with its new patterns for the induction year, the growth of professional centres and the development of studies for experienced teachers.

New Approaches in Teacher Education

The report begins by arguing the premise that appropriate training for teachers is crucial to the development of a racially just society and then attempts to set out practical guidelines for the colleges and departments. There are chapters dealing with provision for all students in initial training, specialist options, postgraduate courses and the in-service stage. Appendices provide details of existing courses and of resources available. The report mainly deals with the new course patterns which may emerge from the re-organisation of the colleges and with ways of preparing students within this framework. It does this in the context of the re-organisation of patterns of training and the opportunity this gives for taking a new look at the aims of the training which is provided. The report therefore considers all types of courses - three year Certificate, new B.Ed Ordinary and Honours, the Diploma of Higher Education, BA degrees and postgraduate and in-service courses.

The pace of change is such that it is difficult to forecast what a student now in training will be teaching in twenty years time or how he will be teaching. Most training institutions have accordingly been looking again at what they mean by training and at the part they can play in a process of recurrent education. The work done in colleges and other institutions with an eighteen year old student is not seen as a once and for all preparation for teaching, but as one stage of a career-long process. Furthermore, most colleges will now be educating for a wide range of allied professions, for all of which certain abilities stand out as being essential; the ability to cope with change or the ability to recognise one's own training needs and to follow these up. Professionals working in such a society will need to give a priority to the develop-

ment of certain qualities, knowledge and skills. They will need the ability to relate to a wide range of people; the teacher in particular must extend the ability he already has to deal constructively with pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds and encompass a still wider range of ethnic differences. In order to communicate effectively with a different outlook, class or culture from his, the teacher needs an understanding and appreciation of these sub-cultures, be they of a particular class, of black Londoners, or of Bradford Pakistanis. It is only when this background understanding is achieved that a teacher can hope to develop the essential skill of diagnosing educational needs and learning difficulties. It is in this broader context that the need for specific training in classroom management calls for renewed emphasis. The techniques of management of a class or school will need to respond to the differences in outlook of the children, since the cause of indiscipline or lack of cooperation will stem from different sources. Underlying all these training needs, and indeed a basic prerequisite to them, is for students to know more about themselves.

Action at Three Levels

The CRC/ATCDE report therefore argues firstly that all students, wherever they teach, will be working in a multi-cultural society and should leave their teacher training institutions with some awareness of what living in such a society means for them as individuals and professionals, and secondly that specialist provision must be made for those who plan to teach in multi-racial classes. Appropriate preparation, the report argues, needs to be diffused throughout both the general education and personal development of the student through knowledge of a subject or subjects, and the more specific professional training. Action is necessary at three levels - informational, technical and affective. The informational level would cover, for example: study of the broad social and cultural background of migrant groups, migration, prejudice and discrimination, how minority group communities operate and the agencies available for assistance, race and the law, how change is brought about by local and national government, the factors affecting policy change. The technical heading would involve: preparation for teaching practice, curriculum development, how to teach English as a second language, how to teach children with dialect variations, classroom management. The affective level is the very broad area which includes: the students' attitudes to those of other cultures and ethnic groups, his

awareness of his own attitudes and fears, his perception of the situation minority group children face in this country, and his feelings about the future of the multi-racial society. For all students, wherever they may come from and wherever they may finally teach, some work under the informational and affective headings is essential. The technical aspects will need to be dealt with as far as teaching practice, classroom control and some introduction to the teaching of English as a second language and dialect variations are concerned. More advanced issues relating to the technical and affective headings are properly left to in-service training. In particular the report stresses the importance of direct contact with members of minority groups as a way of breaking down stereotypes, the role which can be played by colleges in rural as well as multi-racial areas and the importance of a whole college attempting to provide an ethos in which students are made aware of the multi-cultural nature of society and which involves all members of staff.

Curriculum Development

An example of work which can be done with all students is opening up the possibilities for relevant curriculum development in areas such as history, literature, religious studies etc. Wherever students eventually teach, regardless of age range or type of child, they will be involved in making curriculum choices. Therefore, all students need to be given an opportunity to consider carefully the inherent attitudes and assumptions contained in the subject matter they teach and its manner of presentation. Highly ethnocentric and implicitly biased views may be transmitted to children, both in obvious ways such as in relation to history or geography teaching about countries from which migrants have come, and also less directly, but nevertheless damagingly through the attitudes communicated by other subject specialists. Such teaching can both confirm prejudiced attitudes in all-white classes and aggravate difficulties of identity and confidence for children from minority groups. On the other hand, the curriculum can provide excellent opportunities for presenting other cultures and highlighting the achievements of all human groups. It is therefore important that teachers become sensitive to this function of the curriculum. It has been argued that having come to live here, minority ethnic groups should cast off their customs and beliefs and integrate fully in the wider community. The role of the schools would then be to inculcate Asian or West Indian children with a set of British concepts and values to enable them to take their place in such a

society. While there may be arguments to support this point of view it remains a fact that the school must build on what is there and that this requires a knowledge of children's backgrounds on the part of the teacher. A prime objective must be to encourage a positive and receptive attitude to learning and this cannot be achieved when a child has a negative self-image. Integration must involve not an eradication of differences, but a harmonious synthesis of and respect for differences. In this situation education has to take account of how to ensure that the black and brown child forms an adequate image of himself and his community and that the prejudices of society at large are challenged.

Prejudice

As far as the critical issues of attitudes and prejudice are concerned it is recognised that experimentation is needed in a wide variety of different techniques, experience of which can then be disseminated. Solutions are being sought in two directions: in-service courses for lecturers and the exploration of different techniques for use with students. As far as in-service courses for lecturers are concerned, the fact that the skills required in this area are applicable to a wide variety of learning situations suggests that a course could be devised which would meet the needs of people from various professions and could well be provided by the multi-disciplinary institutions emerging following reorganisation. With regard to students three possible levels of approach would be - small group discussions where issues are explored in an academic fashion, in other words where the focus is not on the group's personal beliefs and attitudes but on the general level of how these are acquired and how they can be changed; small groups where role playing, socio-drama or simulation is the vehicle for exploring one's own beliefs and attitudes in a relatively "safe" way; and small groups which explore directly their own beliefs and attitudes in an inter-personal situation. The teacher training institutions must now commit themselves to a whole series of experiments such as these.

In-service Training

It is particularly urgent to meet the needs for specialist training of teachers in multi-racial areas, the vast majority of whom will have received no specifically relevant training at the initial stage. In-service provision will, of course, have the most immediate effect on the posi-

tion in schools, and, as has been stressed earlier, if large numbers of minority group pupils continue to fail significantly to realize their potential and only a small minority achieve their aspirations, a substantial part of the population identified by the colour of its skin will be performing at a level below that of other groups. There is a need for a wide diversity of in-service courses at all levels - advanced studies leading to formal qualifications, the development of in-service B.Ed studies and a wide variety of shorter courses, both college and school based. University institutes and departments should use their academic freedom to develop courses along study group lines which may appeal to teachers who are not attracted to more formal lecture based courses. In particular specific help for the inexperienced teacher in multi-racial areas should be built into the intended induction year provision, and professional tutors in multi-racial areas should be given specialist training. A high priority must be given to in-service programmes for lecturers.

School Based In-service Courses

The concentration of minority group pupils in certain areas, and in certain schools within these areas, creates the need for particularly urgent concerted in-service programmes for these schools. The Government figures quoted earlier show that 64 per cent of schools have no "immigrants" whereas 8 per cent of schools have 10 per cent or over and 3 per cent of schools have 25 per cent or over.¹² Teachers in these heavily multi-racial areas need urgent practical help in a comparatively new situation.

In this context the CRC report on *In Service Education of Teachers in Multi-racial Areas* looks at the range of present provision and comes to the conclusion that the school based courses have the greatest potential to influence the environment of pupils, although these courses cannot be effective in isolation and it therefore recommends that local authorities should provide a diversity of courses with the emphasis on those based in the school. There can be no doubt that there is at present a disturbing lack of in-service training for teachers in multi-racial situations. A National Foundation for Educational Research study revealed that during the three year period studied (1968-70) only 15 per cent of primary teachers and 3 per cent of secondary teachers had attended any course dealing with "immigrants".¹³ Yet the evidence of the CRC study, based on interviews with over 100 course providers and teachers was overwhelmingly that teachers want to be given the expertise and re-

sources with which to help adequately all their pupils to attain their full potential.

Teachers interviewed felt that traditional forms of in-service teacher education were not adequate to meet the demands made of them in the multi-racial school, and that training for teaching in this situation should be qualitatively different from training for teaching a specific subject such as mathematics. Multi-cultural education was thought to be more like ROSLA (raising of the school-leaving age) or the teaching of mixed ability groups in that its success depended more on the involvement and understanding of the entire staff and on the management and commitment of the school as a whole, than on techniques which can readily be assimilated by an individual specialist teacher.

For this reason many felt that some in-service training courses for multi-cultural education should be directed at the policy of individual schools. These courses should involve those in a situation to formulate policy, including not only the head teacher and staff but also the local authority and even the community of which the school is a part. Bearing this in mind, it became clear during the study that national courses, for example, those run by the Department of Education and Science and Colleges and Departments of Education and courses provided by local authorities for the professional refreshment of individual teachers, are not in themselves adequate to enable school to develop the ethos and techniques required for multi-cultural education. This is not to deny the important role of these courses for individual teachers; however it suggests that institutional change is necessary to meet the needs of multi-cultural education, and this must involve the school as a whole.

Implications

This paper has considered briefly the response of teacher training institutions in the UK at both the initial and in-service stages, to the needs of a multi-cultural society. The recommendations contained in the two reports which have been discussed have been made in the light of UK experience to date. It is a matter of critical urgency for the future of race relations in Britain that the changes they ask for are implemented. Far too many teachers are insufficiently prepared to work in today's multi-cultural society and unless their training is updated teachers will be unable to meet the new challenges they face. Certainly the quality of community life in Britain may be profoundly influenced by the way the recommendations of these reports are interpreted and implemented.

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BILINGUAL–BICULTURAL EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN SWEDEN

INGVAR JOHANNESSON

Current research emphasizes the importance of the mother tongue in second language teaching. This paper describes a longitudinal project which studies 4 groups of Finnish children in Malmö, Sweden, who are receiving a bilingual education starting from the pre-school.

Die zeitgenössische Forschung betont die Rolle der Muttersprache beim Zweitspracherwerb. Dieser Artikel beschreibt eine Längsschnittstudie an vier Gruppen von finnischen Kindern in Malmö, Schweden, die eine zweisprachige Erziehung von der Vorschule an erhalten.

Les recherches courantes soulignent l'importance de la langue maternelle dans l'enseignement de la langue seconde. Cet article décrit un projet longitudinal examinant quatre groupes d'enfants finlandais recevant à Malmö, Suède, un enseignement bilingue qui commence dans l'école maternelle.

The Problem

How to give children from immigrant families an adequate education in Swedish schools has become a serious problem during the last ten years. During the 1960s there was a steep rise in the number of immigrants coming to Sweden. In 1962 about 25,000 immigrants entered this country, and in 1969 this number had risen to about 69,000. At the beginning of 1970 the total number of immigrants in Sweden was estimated to more than half a million.

In contrast to those of the 1940s and 1950s, these later immigrants more often consisted of families with children. There are about 60,000 children from immigrant families of compulsory school age (7 to 16 years). At the pre-school level, 0-6 years, there are at least the same number of children, probably more. An inventory undertaken in Malmö in 1970 by Holm and Insulander (1971) shows that the largest number of immigrant children are to be found in the age group 0-6 years, with some 300-400 children per year-group.

The immigrants in Sweden come from a large number of countries. It is not unusual that 20-25 different nationalities are represented in a larger city. Due to the free Nordic labour market, however, the largest number comes from Finland (about half of all immigrant children in Sweden are Finnish).

Many immigrants find it hard to adjust to their new surroundings and this can make it difficult for their children to find their feet at school. They have difficulty in understanding the teacher's instructions and explanations and are often at a loss for the right words to express themselves. This also creates problems in their relations with other children. There are probably many factors contributing to the difficulties encountered by immigrant children trying to adjust to school life in Sweden. They are accustomed to different values and perhaps to completely different forms of behaviour from those they find in Swedish classrooms. But by far the greatest difficulty lies in their deficient command of Swedish. The problem is however more than simply teaching immigrant children spoken Swedish as quickly as possible. It is at the same time important that immigrant children be given an opportunity to develop their ability to speak and understand their mother tongue, in order to retain contact with their native country and its culture. Even relations to parents can be disturbed if immigrant children forget their own language. Thus the most important consideration seems to be an allround development of the immigrant children's linguistic ability regarding both their native language and Swedish. The goal of the instruction of immigrant children in Swedish schools should therefore be bilingualism.

Importance of the Mother Tongue

Linguistic experts and educationists have in recent years tended more and more to emphasize the importance of the child's native language. They underline the necessity of reading practice and school instruction being conducted in the child's own language, when he enters school.

In 1951 a meeting of specialists convened in Paris by UNESCO, made the following recommendations in its report *The Use of Vernacular Language in Education* (1953):

Recent experience in many places proves that an equal or better command of the second language can be imparted if the school begins with the mother tongue as the medium of instruction subsequently introducing the second language as the subject of instruction. (p. 49)

On educational grounds we recommend the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. (p. 48)

An expert meeting in 1969 at the Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg gave in its report *Mother Tongue Teaching* (1972) new arguments for the importance of the mother tongue as the first language for instruction.

Psychological and linguistic studies are of comparatively recent origins and it was not formerly recognised how closely related are the development of thought and speech, and how closely bound up with speech is the growth of the personality in its individual and social aspects. Nor was there then sufficient emphasis on the individual needs of the learner. For some less able children literacy is a new skill, hard of attainment; oracy builds on a system they already possess, and the possibilities of success are greater. (p. 13)

The initial impulse for valuable talk and writing comes from having something which the child feels is important to say, and this comes from having meaningful experiences. First-language teachers now attempt to draw on the experience of children, and to supply them with experience on which to draw.

There are the experiences of visiting places or seeing pictures and statuary, or watching a sparrow peck about in the gravel, as Keats watched a sparrow pecking in the gravel. (p. 14)

Thus it seems to be essential to develop the immigrant's native language before the national language, Swedish. But the goal for the education of immigrant children should be the development of both the native and the national language, i.e. *bilingualism*.

Aims of Bilingual Education

Bilingualism as defined here means not merely the ability to speak two languages but also to participate in the culture communicated by the languages, and of which the languages are an integral part. The purpose of bilingual education in its ideal form is therefore to produce *balanced bilingualism - biculturalism* in the learner, that is to say, the ability to function equally within two linguistic and cultural contexts. However, the practical overall aim of bilingual education for immigrant children is to equalize the learning opportunities for these children to produce a *functional bilingualism*. Functional bilingualism has two major objectives: perception and production. Perception is the common name for the function of comprehension, listening and reading. Production is the common name for the functions of expression, speaking and writing.

Condon (1974) distinguished between two major approaches to bilingual instruction in school education, true bilingual education and transitional bilingual education and gives the following definition of the terms:

1. *True bilingual education* is a total program of bilingual learning from the pre-school to the adult education levels, in which parallel subject matter offerings, given in the native and other language, are made available to all individuals in various institutions.

2. *Transitional bilingual education* is a partial program of bilingual learning at any designated instructional level, whereby the students are offered intensive training in English as a second language while receiving subject matter instruction in their native language, until such time as they are able to function adequately in a normal classroom situation. (p. 10)

Our plan for instruction of immigrant children has been formed to give the mother tongue a dominant role during the two pre-school years. During the first two years in the compulsory school (*Grundskolan*) reading and writing are taught in the mother tongue by a Finnish-speaking teacher, but Swedish is also used as a teaching language to the same extent by the Swedish classteacher. The project is planned to continue until the children reach the end of the lower level (grade 3) of the compulsory school. By that time it is expected that they will have attained the goal of functional bilingualism, with equal ability to speak and read both languages. Our project is therefore to be characterized as a form of transitional bilingual education.

Organization of the Project

The project "Bilingual-Bicultural Education" does not only deal with compulsory education for children from the age of 7. We are of the opinion that it is essential to start earlier, during the pre-school years. It is these years between 3 and 6 that are of basic importance for the language development of a child. This early development influences to a great extent what happens later in the compulsory school. An essential part of the project is therefore devoted to study the training and development of immigrant children in the special pre-school, where the teachers are aware of these problems and have experience of language training.

But we are also aware of that a bilingual schooling is greatly influenced by the parents' attitudes and involvement in their children's education. For this reason we have also initiated study-activities for the parents of the children participating in the project-groups. The project as a whole is therefore comprised of three integrated parts:

1. Bilingual pre-school education
2. Bilingual instruction in the compulsory school
3. Study-activities for parents.

Groups of Pupils Studied

The project is a longitudinal study devoted mainly to four groups of

Finnish children. A number of Finnish families living in the "Rosengård" area of the city of Malmö were offered a place for their children in a special bilingual-bicultural pre-school educational program. Most families accepted this invitation and the number of children in a year-group has been around 15.

The development of every child is followed during the years they are enrolled in the project groups. Longitudinal case studies will be the most essential method for the final evaluation. At the same time cross-sectional comparisons with larger groups of other children are planned. This is especially planned to take place at the end of grade 3. The groups enrolled in the project are to be compared with children of the same age both from Sweden and Finland. This evaluation is planned to compare school achievement, language development and adjustment. All groups (except group I) start in the pre-school for 5 year olds (L 5) and are followed up to the end of grade 3 of the compulsory school.

Bilingual Pre-school Education

During the first year of the project, 1972/73 two different models for bilingual education were tried out in the pre-school. One special pre-school was established in the "Rosengård" for at about 15 Finnish-speaking 5 year old children. Most of the time the children were activated by a Finnish-speaking pre-school teacher, but for one hour a day a Swedish teacher came to give them training in listening to and speaking Swedish.

In the other model the Finnish children, here 6 year olds, were integrated in normal Swedish pre-schools. They were trained together with the other Swedish children in the group, by a Swedish pre-school teacher, but received some training in Finnish by an ambulatory Finnish-speaking teacher one hour a day.

This first year was aimed at studying the practical consequences of the two models. The experiences gained during this year showed that the model with a separate Finnish pre-school group gave the best results. The children were trained in a homogeneous Finnish environment, that seemed to give them security and a good adjustment.

In our future activities with pre-school education in the project therefore, only the model with separate Finnish pre-school groups has been applied. They have shown so many advantages that it has been designed as our general model for organization of pre-school education for both 5 year old and 6 year old immigrant children. Thus the Finnish pre-

school, "Leikkikoulu" has during the years 1973/74 and 1974/75 consisted of one group of 5 year old children in the morning and one group of 6 year olds in the afternoon. The same teachers have followed the children during the two pre-school years. The Finnish-speaking pre-school teacher and the Swedish teacher have lead the activities of the "Leikkikoulu" since the beginning of the project. From the autumn 1973 a Finnish-speaking assistant teacher has been employed to help the other two teachers. The aim of the pre-school education in the "Leikkikoulu" is to give the children an all-round bilingual and bicultural education and training both in motor, cognitive, social and linguistic domains.

FIGURE 1

Distribution of Children According to School Year and Teaching Group

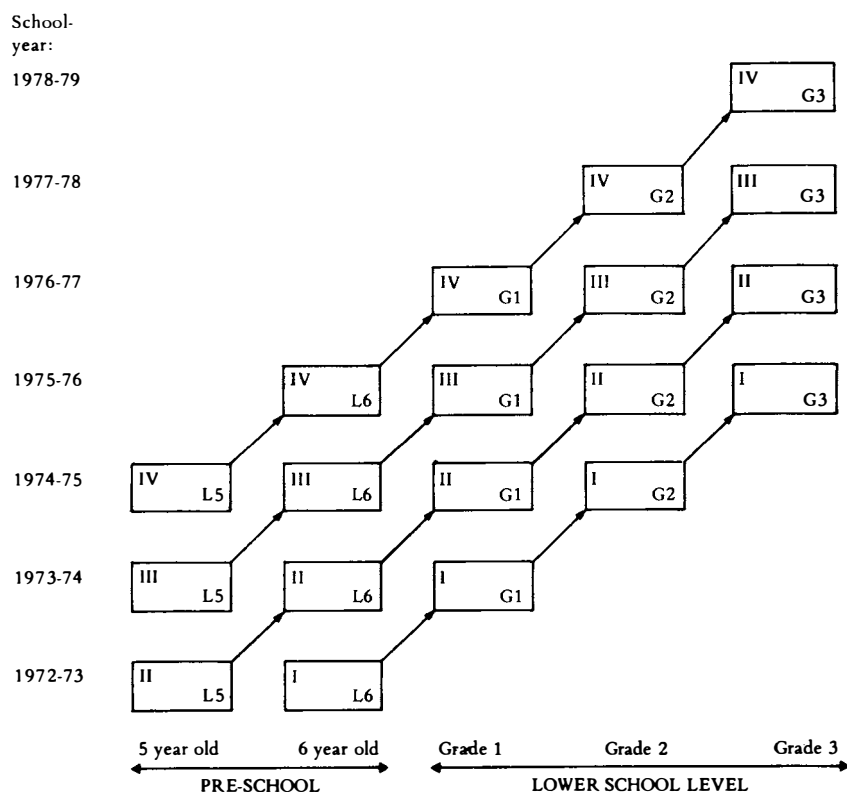
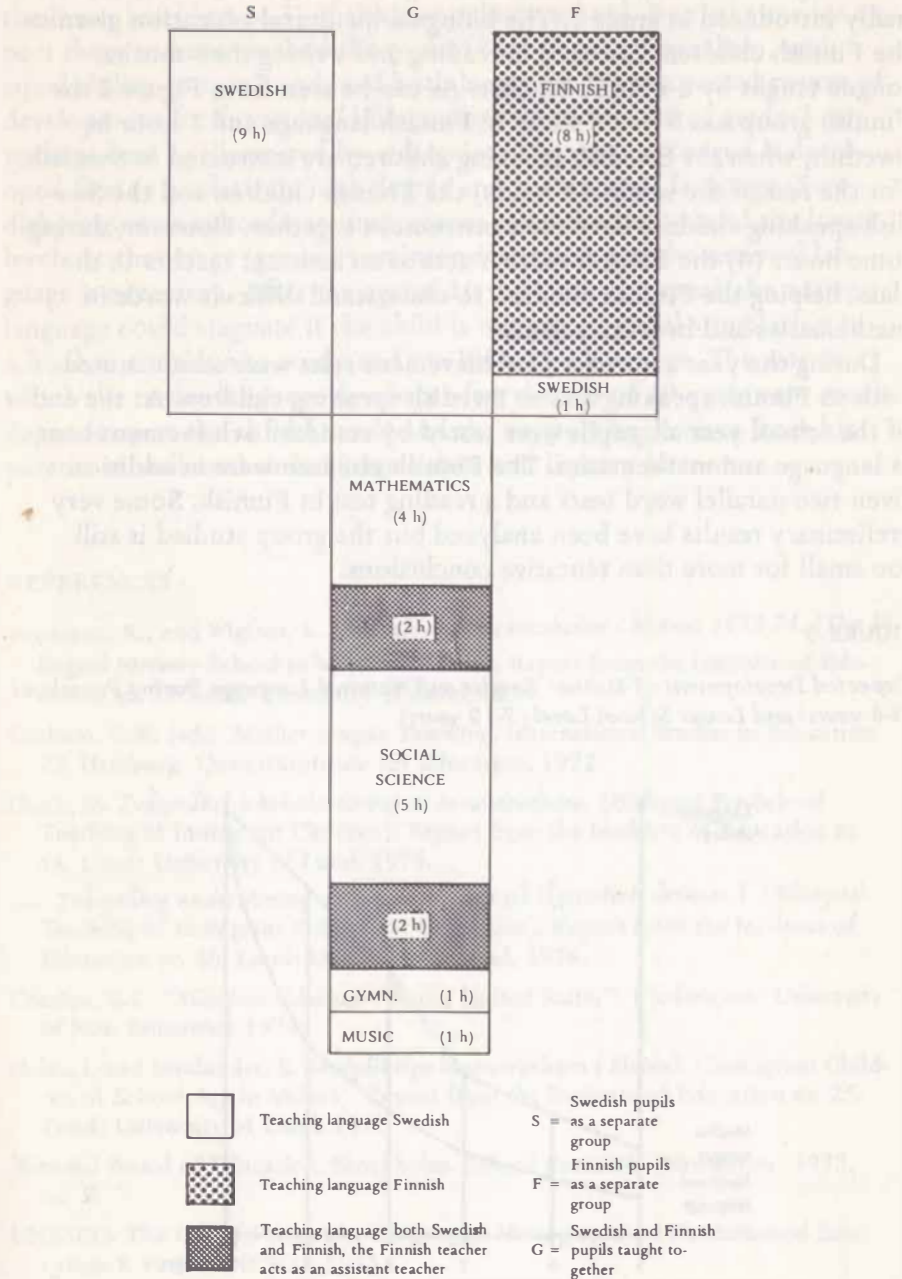


FIGURE 2

Grade 1 Timetable for Bilingual Instruction in grade 1



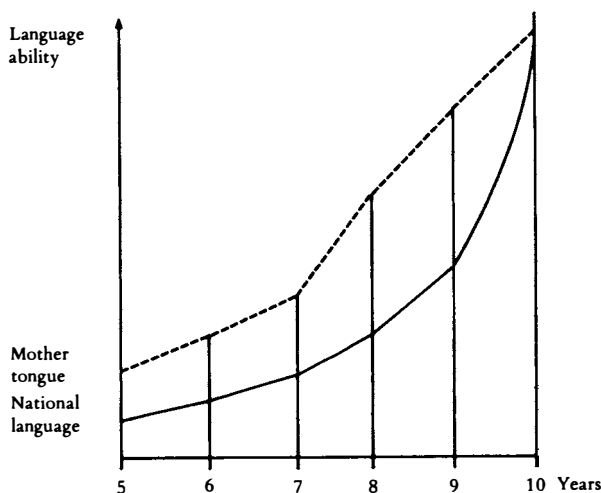
Bilingual School Education

During the school year 1973/74 bilingual instruction was more formally introduced in grade 1. The bilingual-bicultural education given to the Finnish children consisted in reading and writing their mother tongue taught by a Finnish teacher. As can be seen from Figure 2 the Finnish group has 8 hours study in Finnish language and 1 hour in Swedish, when the Swedish-speaking children are instructed in Swedish. For the rest of the week (11 hours) the Finnish children and the Swedish-speaking children have their instruction together. However, during some hours (4) the Finnish teacher acts as an assistant teacher in the class, helping the Finnish children to understand difficult words in mathematics and in social science.

During the year a number of achievement tests were administered both to Finnish-speaking and to Swedish-speaking children. At the end of the school year all pupils were tested by standard achievement tests in language and mathematics. The Finnish children were in addition given two parallel word tests and a reading test in Finnish. Some very preliminary results have been analyzed but the group studied is still too small for more than tentative conclusions.

FIGURE 3

Expected Development of Mother Tongue and National Language During Pre-school (5-6 years) and Lower School Level (7-10 years)



Expected Effects

Our project is planned to continue until the children reach the end of the lower level (grade 3) of the compulsory school. By that time we expect them to have reached the goal of functional bilingualism, with equal ability to speak and read both languages. The expected course of development for functional bilingualism up to the end of grade 3 can perhaps best be illustrated by a diagram. The mother tongue is developed first to a relatively high degree and the national language (Swedish) is given a subordinate importance until the last year of the lower level. At that stage (grade 3) an intensive training in the national language is necessary. After the age of 10 the ability to speak the native language could stagnate if the child is not given special stimulation in school to continue to study and use his native language. The way in which the native language develops after the age of 10 years very much depends upon the child himself and the support he receives from his parents as well as their language habits and literary interests.

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SCHOOLING OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN WEST-GERMANY – SWEDEN – ENGLAND: THE EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED

INGEBORG WILLKE

The focus of this article is on children of migrant workers and immigrants in the schools of West-Germany, Sweden and England. One central problem, that of language, is considered both as it is dealt with in policy, i.e., in curricula, and as it is actually implemented in some programmes, which are typical for the actions in these countries. The three countries that are compared have similar proportions of immigrant children but these children differ in nationality. The analysis is based on the concept that children of immigrants belong to the disadvantaged people in our societies, which include not only immigrants but people with whatever kind of deprivation. Some demographical data are given as background information and underline the urgency of action.

Dieser Artikel behandelt die Kinder von Gastarbeitern und Einwanderern in den Schulen Westdeutschlands, Schwedens und Englands. Ein zentrales Problem, das der Sprache, wird einmal im politischen, d.h. Curriculums-Aspekt, betrachtet, zum anderen so, wie es in einigen Programmen verwirklicht wurde, die für die Aktionen in diesen Ländern typisch sind. Die drei verglichenen Länder haben ähnliche Anteile an Einwandererkindern; diese Kinder haben jedoch verschiedene Nationalitäten. Die Analyse beruht auf dem Konzept, dass Einwandererkinder zu den benachteiligten Gruppen unserer Gesellschaft gehören; diese schliessen nicht nur Einwanderer, sondern alle Arten von Benachteiligten ein. Demographische Angaben als Hintergrund unterstreichen die Notwendigkeit des sofortigen Handelns.

Cet article se concentre sur les enfants des travailleurs migrants et des immigrants dans les écoles d'Allemagne occidentale, de Suède et d'Angleterre. Un problème essentiel, le problème linguistique, est considéré à la fois comme on l'aborde p.ex. dans la politique, dans les curricula, et aussi comme il est véitablement appliqué dans certains programmes qui sont typiques pour les actions de ces pays. Les trois pays que l'on compare ici ont des proportions similaires d'enfants immigrants, mais ces enfants sont de nationalité différente. L'analyse se base sur le concept d'après lequel les enfants d'immigrants font partie des défavorisés de notre société, qui ne comprend pas seulement des immigrants, mais aussi les personnes affectées par toutes sortes de privations. Des données démographiques sont aussi mentionnées comme renseignements de base, et elles soulignent l'urgence d'une action à prendre.

1. Demographic Background

1.1 *The problem of numbers.* The crisis of the world economy during the years 1973 and 1974 has forced the industrial countries of

Europe to curb employment of foreign workers (by stopping those outside EEC or the Nordic Labour Market).¹ Meanwhile it has become clear that the educational situation of migrant workers' children has not substantially changed. Their number will continue to increase for three reasons. Firstly, there is the age structure of the immigrants. In England for example 83,000 children were born to foreign mothers in 1972;² in Germany in 1973 about 15,000 Yugoslav and roughly 33,500 Turkish children out of a total of over 99,000 foreign children were born;³ in Sweden 9% of all births were to alien mothers. Secondly, there is a lessened mobility on the labour market - which applies to all member countries of the European Community - so that people are less inclined to give up their jobs voluntarily. Finally, free movement between the EEC countries will be followed by a new influx of foreign workers as soon as favourable economic conditions increase mobility. In this respect the coloured immigrants above all in Great Britain become important. W.R. Böhning has estimated that within two years more than half a million coloured immigrants of working age will gain the status of patrials and thus be entitled to move freely to other EEC countries⁴ (this will probably affect the German situation). Already in 1974 the number of children (up to 16 years) of migrant workers residing in the receiving countries has been estimated at 3.2 million; half are aged 0-6 and half 7-16.⁵ Although these figures should be treated with caution, they give a rough idea of the situation.

TABLE 1

Migrants' children in European countries, 1972 (in 000's)

<i>Country</i>	<i>0-6</i>	<i>6-15</i>	<i>Total</i>
France	400	500	900
Germany	350	360	710
England	330	280	610
Switzerland	170	140	310
Belgium	60	140	200
Sweden (1973)	70	70	140

Those children are mainly Italians, Yugoslavs, Spanish, Turkish, and West Indians. These estimates depend on what definition is used for the migrant status of their parents. Are "guest-workers" immigrants? Are they temporary or permanent settlers? In Britain all of the above mentioned are migrant workers' children, except for the West-Indians, who

are regarded as immigrant children. The length of a guest-worker's stay depends, however, on many factors; only one of them is the market situation. Local practice determines where the line between temporary and permanent settlers is drawn. In England especially, where the number of permanent immigrants - mainly coloured - is large, although various definitions are applied,⁷ language and colour of skin are not taken into consideration.

To the 3,2 million children of immigrants two groups have to be added. First, there are foreign children residing in the host countries who were not counted by the schools or registration offices; this undercounting is estimated at 20% to 30%, which means that 300,000 children are living in the immigration countries of Western Europe but do not receive school education.⁸ Second, there are children who have been left behind by parents in their home countries, they do not appear to exist and thus are neither a problem for our schools nor - as yet - for our society. These "orphans of peace", as they could sarcastically be called, may number 2.5 million.⁹ Altogether, then, the number of children directly affected by migration movements within Europe is about 6 million.¹⁰

1.2 The problem of comparability of origin. The problems that schools face, however, arise not only from the large number of immigrant children; problems also exist which are connected with the children's origin and with their social and cultural background. As regards these problems, the situation differs profoundly in the three countries chosen here for comparison.

TABLE 2

The proportion of foreign children aged 6-16 years compared with the nationalities of migrants' children in Germany (1974).

<i>Foreign children</i>	<i>in Germany¹¹</i>	<i>in England</i>	<i>in Sweden</i>
Italians	68,200	12,000	900
Turks	99,200	4,400	1,060
Greeks	45,500	9,500	1,900
Spanish	26,500	3,300	850
Yugoslavs	30,700		5,100
	270,100	29,200 ¹²	9,810
Others	149,900	250,000	52,970
	420,000	280,000	62,780
Five specified countries as percentage of total	65	> 10	< 15

The five specified countries furnish two-thirds of all school-aged immigrant children in Germany, but in England and Sweden more than four-fifths come from other sources. Therefore the common term "migrant workers' children" should not lead one to neglect the differences among these national, ethnic, and cultural groups, even though all receive the same term in the respective host countries.

1.3 The problem of regional concentration. Although foreigners constitute only a small proportion of a country's population, they are usually highly concentrated in certain areas; this is true for Germany, England, and for Sweden as well. In Germany, the authorities in Krefeld predicted that by 1970/80 more than 60% of the pupils in grades 1-4 (Primarstufe) attending inner-Krefeld's schools will be foreign children.¹³ Foreign workers as a percentage of the total working population in Germany vary (1973) between 1.3% (Emden) and 26.5% (Stuttgart); in approximately one third of the Labour Office areas the percentage is above the national average of 10.8%.¹⁴ In England the London area accounts for over half of the immigrants, followed by South Lancashire and the West Midlands.¹⁵ The London boroughs of Haringey, Brent, and Ealing had the highest percentages of immigrant pupils (25.3 to 27.6%), but in Highfields district (Leicester) with an average proportion of 16%, more than half the schools had over 50% immigrants (1973), in some schools up to 83.66%.¹⁶ Taking the whole of Britain, however, immigrant pupils constitute not more than approximately 4.0% (foreign workers 7.5%).¹⁷

The presence of a high proportion of immigrant children in one class could, however, easily create many problems related to general routine of working. Consequently it was agreed to maintain a limit: in England of about 30%, in Germany 20% in any one school. This was the origin of the official dispersal policy and thus created new problems: it both tended to reinforce popular views about the danger of English and German children being held back and involved moving 5-7-year-old pupils long distances (the problem of bussing).¹⁸

In Sweden those municipal areas having more than 5% immigrants are regarded by the authorities as areas of high immigration density. The 5% is the average percentage of immigrant workers to the working population. About one third of the immigrants settled in urban areas of Greater Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö and one third moved to the ironmines in the northern regions.¹⁹ In two school districts in Malmö, e.g. immigrant pupils exceeded 12%;²⁰ in the Stockholm borough of Hjulsta they were 23% of all pupils in 1972, coming from 18 different countries.²¹

2. Problems in the Schools

2.1 The problem of language. The problems faced by schools with immigrant pupils arise mainly from language difficulties of pupils. It would, however, be too much of a simplification to reduce all handicaps to this one source. Transition from one culture to another often causes "culture shock", which makes adaption a difficult process. Bad housing, overworked or unemployed parents, parental difficulties and prejudices can all have a strong impact on a child's school work. If the society does not act promptly there is a danger that the bad initial situation may lead to a prolongation of the period of maladjustment, eventually putting the second generation among what we call "disadvantaged families".

2.1.1 The problem of language in Germany. 2.1.1.1 Policy. In 1964 the Standing Conference of Education Ministers of the Länder for the first time decided to issue recommendations on "Instruction of Children of Foreigners" in order to make sure that compulsory education was extended to the then 30,000 foreign workers' children. In 1971 the Ministers developed basic recommendations, and now, in 1975, they are discussing a new version. The number of immigrants under 21 years and therefore in need of schooling in one or another form have already exceeded one million.²² Some of the suggested school arrangements for foreign children were in 1971 as follows:

Foreign school beginners will attend, as a rule, instruction for German children from the first grade.

Foreign children with language difficulties, who according to their age should attend grade 2 to 9, are to be assigned to preparatory classes.

The preparatory classes are a constituent part of German schools. They are designed to facilitate and to speed up the process of acclimatisation. A preparatory class can be organized for about fifteen children speaking the same language or different languages. When the number of children reaches twenty-four, the class can be divided... The instruction is based on the generally applicable curricular guidelines. In the subjects of music, art, crafts, textiles, domestic science (home economics), and sports, the children in the preparatory classes and the German children can be instructed together. After sufficient help in the German language, children in the preparatory classes are to be assigned to the grades that correspond to their age or performance level. As a rule, children attend the preparatory classes for one year... Further aid... includes intensive courses in the German language for school children who are already attending German classes but who need additional help and assistance in doing homework.²³

The Education Ministers of the Länder agreed (1972) that foreign "school children should also have the opportunity of attending instruction given in their native language. The aim of this instruction is to preserve the pupils' ties to the language and culture of their homeland; as a rule this instruction is to be given by teachers from the various homelands."²⁴

As recommended by the Conference of Education Ministers the education authorities have taken care that the foreign children are given supplementary German instruction if organisational reasons preclude the possibility of establishing a preparatory class in the school. When possible, such instruction is also provided for foreign children who have attended a preparatory class but who still do not have sufficient knowledge of German to participate successfully in a normal class.²⁵ In all Länder, secondary school instruction in a pupil's native language can be counted as foreign language instruction in accordance with the guidelines and is entered accordingly on the term reports.²⁶

2.1.1.2 Action. Action taken by the education authorities of the Länder have, following the 1971 recommendations, resulted in several different decrees and regulations adapted to local situations; experimental classes have been established in several Länder dealing with some of the problems on instruction of migrants' children. The main difficulties in the German system seem to be the following.

a. Preparatory classes for teaching the German language (2 hours/day; as a rule for one year) are too often overcrowded (15 to 23/30; in reality many times more). Those classes are usually made up of mixed nationalities, levels of performance, ages, and, moreover, new pupils arrive throughout the school year. To allow a comparison these figures have to be seen against normal classes for German children: in 1974 there were more than 30 children per class in compulsory school and nearly 30 in the gymnasium.²⁷ Compared with the smaller Swedish classes or with the very flexible English arrangements one may ask if a more improvised action like using groups other than trained teachers, would be equally satisfactory. The children's need for human warmth and care - besides social welfare - in strange and often prejudiced surroundings could be met by smaller groups run by experienced but not necessarily teacher-trained mothers who would be willing to dedicate some hours to such work. The schools' innovative capacity could be expressed by taking advantage of parental help for many of the schools' social aims as has been done in the Swedish school system for many years.²⁸ In such emergency

situations, perhaps, welfare programmes can do without expensive cadres of professionals. Since the discussion on intelligence and environment has shifted to emphasizing the decisive importance of motivation, of parental interest in school work, and of a stimulating and emotionally warm home background for achievement at school, one has to think in terms of compensating for what is omitted by many working parents and not only by the foreign parents.

b. Another difficulty arises from the fact that one year (or legally two years) in the *preparatory class is too short*; there is also a risk of remaining in this class without being transferred to normal schooling. In North-Rhine-Westphalia in 1969 approximately two thirds of the foreign pupils - compared with one quarter of German pupils - failed to get the prerequisites for "qualified" vocational training. According to a survey of Spanish pupils only 16% were attending the correct classes according to their age.²⁹ Officials in all schools with a high number of immigrants have to face this problem.

c. The third difficulty occurs in the sphere of *teaching the child's mother tongue*. These classes operate in some of the German Länder (Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, and partly in Berlin) organized solely by the consulates of the respective countries. Elsewhere, however, such classes are not only under the auspices of the Länder but also controlled by them. Most of the teachers (even in the remaining Länder) are hired and often paid by the foreign consulates. These foreign teachers have divided loyalties. This dependance on the consulates is necessitated, according to the German authorities, by the large number of teachers required to teach so many foreign children. This arrangement makes it possible for the teachers to remain civil servants of their own country for the time they are abroad; this facilitates their return to the home country. Assigned as complementary lessons in order to maintain cultural and linguistic ties between the child and his parents and with his parents' roots in the native country, these classes often become the only kind of school a child attends. Parents often prefer these classes because they offer certificates that are valid in the home country and this facilitates the child's further training.

Several experimental projects, still going on in some of the Länder, are aimed at improving the efficiency of instruction for foreign children. Particular importance in the last decade has been given to early language learning and to compensatory education for children in the pre-school ages. For example in 1973 Bavaria commenced experiments with learning of the German language by foreign workers' children in

state-supervised kindergartens. By joining foreign children of only one nation together with German children it is hoped to prepare them better for school.³⁰ The arrangements in Hamburg are aimed particularly to improve the children's socialization by e.g. role plays, round games, and stories in addition to increasing their vocabulary and creativity.³¹ The insufficient development of pre-school institutions in all Länder is, however, in great contrast to the demand for such schools for foreign and even for German children. Special arrangements are needed to reserve a certain number of places for foreign children. Bilingual classes or schools are running as pilot studies in several Länder. They came into being to remedy the short-comings of preparatory classes. The worldwide discussion on bilingualism³² has for migrants' children found its important outcome in the recommendations given by the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education in November of 1974. They invited their governments to take action in some priority areas of which one was language teaching.

Migrants' children should be assured of a good knowledge of their mother tongue and indigenous culture, for the mother tongue is one of the foundations of their development and is likely to facilitate the learning of other languages.³³

For the same reasons the Bavarian government in 1973 offered classes for migrants' children in which two thirds of the instruction is given in the child's mother tongue (the "thinking language"). German is taught as a foreign language 8 hrs/week. The syllabi are adapted to the curricula of the countries of origin. By these arrangements authorities hope to open up two facilities: to enable the child to have further education in his home country without serious retardation, and to facilitate progress in the German class providing the language is sufficiently acquired. In this so-called "Open model" in 1973/74 there were 28 classes for Turks, 21 for Greeks, 21 for Italians, 7 for Yugoslavs and 4 for Spanish children. In all, 2,590 children were included from big and small cities, and for the next school year double the number were planned. These experimental classes were under the supervision of the Bavarian government as were the other classes for instruction in mother tongue; all remain also under the administration (*Trägerschaft*) of the foreign consulates.³⁴ Bavaria requires that the consulates give their teachers leave for at least five years; 25 children of one language group are required for setting up a class. It is needless to mention that some of the disadvantages with this model arise from its dependence on the consulates for teachers; moreover, in rural areas it will be difficult to

find sufficient children all speaking the same mother tongue. There is considerable concern among the public that teachers from non-democratic countries considering their dependence on the consulate, might spread undesirable ideas in German schools.

Other experiments with bilingual education at several places in the Ruhr have not yet reached the level of publication.³⁵ Even the pilot studies, initiated by the government of North-Rhine-Westphalia, are still dependent on a sufficient number of foreign teachers having command of the German language to be sent by the consulates. These nationality classes are aimed to run from the first to the sixth grade with the following proportions of hours per week between mother tongue and German (initially language teaching only, later subject oriented): grade one = 10:6 of 20 hours; grade two = 10:12 of 22 hours; grade three to four (if combined) = 13:14 of 27 hours; grade five = 20:10 and grade six shall be integrated in the German school system with mother tongue taking the place of English and four extra hours in one subject. The remaining hours shall be used for integrated instruction in sport, art etc. Children in nationality classes start reading and writing in their mother tongue. Unlike the Bavarian system in North-Rhine-Westphalia the control of these classes rests solely with the government and instruction follows the ordinary school curricula.

Since Germany is a country with a federal school system, the policies surveyed above in various Länder are only a small part of the picture.³⁶

2.1.2 The Problem of Language in SWEDEN: 2.1.2.1 Policy. In Sweden where there exists a centralized school system there is only one curriculum, including that for immigrant children (*invandrarbarn*). When the Board of Education in 1970 published the first edition of a curriculum for "*invandrarbarn*" it was believed that six weeks of intensive instruction in Swedish in preparatory classes would suffice to achieve the necessary linguistic integration. Significantly, the revised edition (1973) no longer incorporates the former idea of integration (better assimilation) in the sense of quick and comprehensive adaptation of Swedish language and culture. As Sweden is very homogeneous in ethnic, linguistic, and religious respects, it was distinctively unprepared for the tide of foreigners. The old humanitarian tradition was expressed in the first edition by stressing e.g. understanding about tabooed dishes, abnormal behaviour resulting from contrasts in ethical values between home and school, the need for interpreters at the occasions of visits to the school doctor, and for a part-time teacher versed in the pupils' language who can be responsible for contacts with the family.

Since the end of the 1960's the public has intensively discussed the problem of minorities - including research on gypsies - whereby comprehension of the term identity changed to *cultural identity*.

In the new edition of the curriculum this is expressed as follows:

Instruction in the Swedish language and orientation about life in Swedish society are of first importance, but the immigrant also needs help in his efforts to interpret the language and culture of his home country to the inhabitants of his new country... The school's task is to evoke mutual understanding and respect and a positive interest for the similarities and differences in language and culture, in standards and ethical values, among Swedish pupils as well as among pupils from a different cultural environment.³⁷

Special arrangements for *invandrarbarn* exist for preparatory classes, remedial groups, language clinics, and for instruction in the mother tongue of the child. Preparatory classes are reserved for communities with a relatively permanent immigration. These communities receive a subvention for an average of two lessons per week, for a group of 1-5 foreign pupils receiving voluntary teaching of the child's mother tongue (*hemspråksundervisning*) and on an average six hours per week for each group receiving compulsory auxiliary instruction. Of these six hours, two hours may be the teaching of a subject in the child's mother tongue; these groups may include more than five children. The other four hours are remedial instruction, mostly in the Swedish language; these groups should have as uniform a level of proficiency in Swedish as possible and usually contain 1-5 pupils instructed by a Swedish teacher. By means of individual diagnosis communities can allocate these lessons according to preliminary knowledge of the children.

Newly arrived pupils receive intensive instruction in Swedish either in the preparatory class or in the remedial group. It should be decided in each individual case how long a pupil should stay in the preparatory class and if required he can be moved back into this class. Concept formation and ability to read should be tested over and over again; exercises should be short but repeated often. From the beginning each child should spend a few hours per week in a class appropriate to his real age, irrespective of this own standard.³⁸

The aims of instruction in the child's mother tongue are given (1973) under the heading of *bilingualism*:

Recent studies in linguistics have proved and emphasized the importance of the first language (language of the parental home) for a child's emotional and intellectual development. If knowledge of the mother

tongue stagnates during the child's early attendance at school and at the same time a second language is introduced as the only language of instruction, there is a danger of an imperfect development of both languages. Experience has shown that the faculty of many immigrant children to speak an idiomatic everyday Swedish, can give a misleading impression of their knowledge of the language, a "facade" hiding wide gaps in vocabulary, ability to read, and concept formation. At the same time the child's command of his home language shows the same deficiencies. Pupils thus run the risk of failing in their education in the Swedish school as well as, in the event of their return, in the school of their home country. On the other hand, development of the child's first language up to a capacity for abstraction provides the best conditions for acquiring a good knowledge of the second language and consequently, in the long run, for a successful schooling. These are important pedagogical reasons for teaching the immigrant children both in their mother tongue and in Swedish.

The strongest reason for being concerned about the mother tongue of immigrants is our knowledge about the deep personal meaning of the native language for every human being. It happens quite often that immigrant children themselves develop a negative view of their own language and try to deny their origin. Such an attitude is a symptom of an identity conflict which has in many cases caused serious psychic and social problems. A development like that has to be regarded as a failure of school and society.³⁹ It is, however, important that training in the Swedish language should neither repress the child's mother tongue nor favour an undervaluation of this language by the child. Even though the knowledge of Swedish is of great importance for immigrant children, the aim of the preparatory school must never be a one-sided training in Swedish but has to strive toward the whole development of the child's personality. In many cases the immigrant child needs practice both in his mother tongue and in Swedish, especially if the language spoken in the parental home is deficient or if both parents either work or do shift-work, thus having neither time nor energy to communicate sufficiently with their children or to spend time with them.⁴⁰

In larger beginner classes foreign pupils today learn first of all how to read and write in their mother tongue and only when this knowledge is adequate do they learn how to read and write Swedish. The subject matter for all classes is prescribed in the curriculum and to a certain extent translated into Finnish, Serbo-Croat, Greek, and Turkish.⁴¹

2.1.2.2 Action. The Swedish situation differs from the German and

English in that two-thirds of the 62,800 immigrant children of school-age (7-15 years) are from the Nordic countries with a similar cultural background. Amongst these the Finns make up half, and a quarter of the Finns are Swedish speaking.⁴² For school this still means about 53,000 non-Swedish-speaking pupils from 120 nations, (most of them Finnish speaking).

a. Action with bilingual pre-schools: In 1971 the National Board of Health and Welfare initiated experimental pre-school activity for immigrant children. About 400 children in 40 pre-schools took part in special language training within two types of pre-schools: a small number of special pre-schools (for children 4-6 years old; 3 hrs/day) with additional bilingual staff (sometimes parents) prepared immigrant children for ordinary school (which starts at age 7). Some of these pre-schools were one-nation schools (Turkish or Finnish), the others were mixed. In the one-nation pre-schools organized by Professor Johannesson⁴³ in Lund, a Swedish infant school teacher gave each child individualized Swedish language training for 30 min/day. In the other type immigrant children were integrated into the ordinary pre-school together with Swedish children.⁴⁴ A peripatetic bilingual teacher gave daily 20 minutes training in Finnish, Turkish, Serbo-Croat, or Greek. Experience suggests that special pre-schools for children from one foreign language group (10-12 children) or children integrated with a small number of Swedish children and with bilingual staff are the most successful.⁴⁵

b. Action with parent-schools: Parallel to training immigrant children in pre-school classes and then regular schools it was felt to be important to include the parents as well. As part of the experimental pre-school activity six communities began University extension for immigrant parents (122 persons). These activities were intended to motivate the parents to support their children's bilingual training with encouragement and by talking frequently to the child, etc.⁴⁶

The Polish parent-school in Stockholm⁴⁷ planned to involve the migrant parents in co-operation with the very different Swedish school. A female Polish school-teacher together with Swedish teachers and some social workers gave information to the parents about Swedish society, social institutions, general aims for school and child rearing, how Swedes look upon religious and sexual education in school etc.⁴⁸ Owing to lack of information and language difficulties some parents felt terrified by the permissiveness of Swedish schools and by their own powerlessness to exert any influence. Having a teacher from their home country parents were enabled to exchange opinions about their conflict with

new cultural values and at the same time the Swedish teachers came to appreciate some of the problems of parents and pupils.⁴⁹ It is intended by the National Board of Education that this kind of parent-school should be spread to other national groups with programmes adapted to their special needs.

c. Action concerning teaching the immigrant child's mother tongue: Instruction in the mother tongue has been given in Swedish comprehensive schools since 1970. According to a poll in 1971 instruction offered was scanty, but 3,854 pupils had instruction in their mother tongue. The following year enrolment more than doubled (9099); lessons were offered in 116 municipalities in 23 languages. This year, 1975 surveys have demonstrated that 18,500 pupils are receiving teaching in their mother tongue; for an additional 4,400 pupils it could not be arranged. Moreover, 10,750 auxiliary lessons in mother tongue for about 7,500 pupils in the comprehensive school were given.⁵⁰ These figures say more than words about the desire of immigrants for this teaching and the readiness of the National Board of Education to facilitate the cultural identity of immigrants. The 1975 survey showed that 17,100 immigrant pupils also took auxiliary Swedish lessons in the comprehensive school (22,700 teaching hours were spent in this kind of auxiliary instruction). In evaluating this readiness one has to remember 2 hrs/week in Swedish curricula for the immigrant child's mother tongue compared with 5-10 hrs/week in Germany and outside school hours in England.⁵¹ The authorities have started to ask the immigrants for their opinions, to state their difficulties and wishes. This mutual adaptation is difficult: the immigrant is "provided for" by a perfect state machine but at the same time helpless against an overwhelming bureaucracy; he may feel lost in the new society and alienated, not able to use the host country's language with people not used to communicate with foreigners. To allow space for individuality and protect against injustices committed by bureaucrats in government agencies may be an ambitious programme for a welfare state having long experience in social services; but with short experience in dealing with immigrants this re-orientation may entail complicated changes within the system.

2.1.3 The Problem of Language in ENGLAND: 2.1.3.1 Policy. Migration in large numbers from the former colonies to England⁵² coincided with the liquidation of the Empire and, consequently, created a very different situation compared with either Germany or Sweden. Not only are these migrants to a larger extent immigrants;⁵³ as British subjects - with attitudes linked to colonial history and possessing a con-

glomerate of expectations and resentments - they generate a different kind of problem and call for different policies. The status of migrant workers is, however, different from those of British subjects; for the children of the former, education is provided only if their stay exceeds twelve months.⁵⁴ Responsibility for equal educational opportunity of all children rests on local authorities and is therefore covered in the next section.

2.1.3.2 Action. Schools in England are faced with problems arising from the presence of coloured children, black and brown. In 1972 there were (000's):

West Indies	102 (40%)
Indies	56 (20%)
Pakistan & Bangladesh	31 (11%)
Africa ⁵⁵	33 (12%)

Although colour is most easily noticed, language, religion, culture and tradition are at least as important to integration.⁵⁶ The Country Report states: "In January 1972 teachers reported that 44,496 immigrant pupils in schools in England and Wales were considered to be, by reason of language difficulties, unable to follow a normal school curriculum with profit to themselves."⁵⁷

a. Action with preparatory classes and withdrawal groups: A considerable proportion of teachers at infant schools - even with higher concentration of immigrants - do not consider special arrangements are needed to teach non-English-speaking children.⁵⁸ Class teachers often prefer integrated classes, because language classes must, by definition, be formal in method and therefore go against modern infant-teaching ideas. Apart from making allowance for infant-teaching methods many teachers are not trained in teaching English as a second language to 5-7 year old children. Neither are they able to rate the quality of the language nor understand the way the non-English speaker's linguistic needs differ from those of the English-speaking child; thus the success of all arrangements (especially for withdrawal groups) is very dependent on the training of teachers. When entering secondary school children from integrated infant schools start by attending language classes. Special classes are found mainly in areas where a dispersal policy is practiced. If schools make arrangements they provide three types: either withdrawal groups, special classes or reception centres. Withdrawal groups are small groups of pupils withdrawn for special tuition; they are instructed by the teacher they are used to, by one specialized teacher or group of them, or by a peripatetic language teacher at ap-

pointed times.⁵⁹ Townsend & Brittan (1972) observed in their sample of 260 schools special arrangements for Asian pupils in both junior and secondary schools, but provisions were rarely made for West Indians. A number of language centres were set up, not by individual schools, but by local education authorities. The language centres might be built up of special classes designated: *reception class* (up to 12 children without any command of English, mostly for half day); *International English 1* (up to 26 children, any age or background, who have lived generally less than two years in England, where all subjects were taught, but concentration on the language skills was necessary for school subjects); *International English 2* (up to 10 children, who do not fit into either of the above classes, sometimes children who appear to be retarded in their own language as well). Children might be in these centres for two terms (two-year courses) in full-time special class learning English through the much simplified subject-matter of the ordinary school curriculum. Then the peripatetic teacher follows them up to enable them to cope with their normal age group's work; if they are Asian children, they are placed in third-year classes and withdrawn from English lessons in normal class for special English tuition in the language centre.⁶⁰

b. Action or non-action for West Indian children: A special problem concerning language instruction as well as for the school in general is presented by children from the West Indies. When at the end of the 1960s the large proportion of West Indian pupils who were in the so-called ESN schools (Educational Subnormal-schools) became known, research programmes were started.⁶¹ The English dialect of these children and of their parents was found to be so different from Standard English that language-teaching came to be seen as necessary for them as for the non-English-speaking pupils; Townsend & Brittan found - in their survey 1970 - the West Indian pupils forming the group least likely to share in any special provision.⁶² In addition to language problems occurred behaviour difficulties - either aggressive opposition or depressive seclusion - presumably as a consequence of culture shock. It was found to be extremely difficult for these children to adapt suddenly to English conventions of family life after many of them having lived apart from their mothers for years. Since West Indian workers (even most of the mothers go out to work) are at the bottom of the income scale and do the least respected work, there is a bias against their children. The disturbances of these children are thus the result of a complex social situation and consequently their level of achievement is particularly low.⁶³

c. Action or non-action for cultural identity: As research into the linguistic handicaps of West Indian children and the consequences for many of them became known, their complex social situation became a more central focus of interest. Some of the key concepts in this discussion were:

- discrimination: a whole racial group being labelled as less capable of satisfactory school attainment;⁶⁴
- matriarchal family structure: the stable unit is the mother and the children (perhaps fathered by more than one partner);⁶⁵
- largely English cultural heritage: West Indian children have far more in common with English children because of their educational background...⁶⁶

One may ask, do the West Indians not need to feel identity with their own culture? Having the development of European societies with immigrants in mind, we should remember the hard-won insight about the priority of one's own cultural values. As the Second Report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council stated in 1963: "...but a national system cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of immigrant groups",⁶⁷ similar statements could easily be picked up from prolegomena in this matter in Germany and Sweden. Out of vehement discussions - in any case in England - has emerged the realisation that we are already living in a multi-cultural society.

In Sweden and Germany this concept of a multi-cultural society may be counter-balanced by emphasizing the fundamental importance to be given to the child's mother tongue. One may repeat the question: Why is the child's mother tongue in England only in the abstract discussed as belonging intimately to a child's personality without drawing any conclusion for the curricula in schools? In spite of the international influence that Basil Bernstein exerted on the discussion about language and about the class-structure of speech, about the modes of speech as related to the child's family structure and the child rearing practices - one is amazed not to find any discussion of a policy of bilingualism for immigrants. In Britain bilingualism is associated only with the Welsh-speakers in Wales and the Gaelic-speakers in Scotland.⁶⁸ Even allowing for the fact that most of the one million black and brown immigrant children will seek to remain in Britain and live there as British citizens, there are also 29,000 European children living in England. Why is the English discussion so reticent concerning Italian, Greek, Turkish, Spanish, and Polish children? The main interest, both in Germany and Sweden - with strong ideological reference to the economic factors on which the in-

stitution of guest-workers is based - has been the instruction of migrants' children not only in the host-country's language but also in their native language and in their country's history and culture. Almost nothing of this discussion is found in England.⁶⁹ Not counting the one half of immigrant children in Sweden who are Scandinavians, the number of 29,000 European children in England is comparable to that in Sweden.

3. Conclusion: The Challenge for Educational Systems

The arrival of an increasing number of immigrant children in our schools has in many schools changed the teaching situation profoundly. But in their pre-occupation with keeping schoolwork running, schools were seldom able to display responsibility for the individual immigrant child's difficulties in so far as these were not strictly related to school work. The governments in the here surveyed countries indeed affirm that special attention is to be given the children who for one reason or another are most likely to fall below their true potential. However, immigrant children are seldom seen as deprived children comparable to the deprivations of some native children. Authorities are used to seeing immigrants as one group belonging to different nations, cultures or ethnic groups, one group which is very different from their own children. As such they constitute a problem or a cluster of problems. Among these problems schools may feel teaching the host country's language to be the most important. Clearly a command of the host country's language is basic to all successful performance at school - at least if a country does not choose to have segregated nationality schools. Apart from agreement that measures have to be taken to cope with the child's language handicap the governmental education authorities do not coincide in their policy as to what extent immigrant children need special or remedial arrangements to preserve their own identity, even when these measures are not necessary for better school achievements. This applies to bilingual education, teaching and encouraging the child's own cultural values, helping him to have a positive view of himself, to the intentional inclusion of other persons in the child's surroundings (classmates, parents) in order to prevent prejudices and to foster multicultural attitudes. Even though many of these measures and intentions appear to exist in various schools in each of the three countries, it seems unmistakable that different priorities emerge both in the public discussion, in the policy and in action.

3.1.1 In Germany the discussion about immigrant children (not

workers) among the public centres upon coping with the high number of pupils and the scarcity of teachers. Research work is concentrated on bilingual education and on mapping their conditions of life. In the following official policy that Germany is not a "country of immigration", remedial measures for children's eventual return are widely accepted. Bilingual education is rather to be seen as remedial action to smooth out the child's path than effort to promote the child's emotional development. Official statements make no pretence to stress psychological viewpoints, but centre instead on bureaucratic duty and effectiveness, (by e.g. not allowing ghettos, by raising the enrollment, by giving a family allowance on a par with the Germans, by co-operating with foreign consulates but without coming to an agreement, either bilaterally or via e.g. the Council of Europe in order to secure recognition of the immigrant childrens' German term papers in the sending countries). One may find that education authorities cope with their difficulties stoically or gloomily, but always with a sense of duty.

But effectiveness and duty has sometimes to be discounted in the public discussions because many immigrant children are allowed to grow up in conditions like slums (e.g. Kreuzberg, Berlin), or many children have not been registered in schools. Social phenomena seldom are seen in their causal connections in this country by either the bureaucrats or the public. Whereas Swedish authorities attach particular importance to child care - whether immigrants or their own - or to housing as preventive measures, this policy in Germany is looked at suspiciously and enviously as a product of welfare state; while on the other hand Swedish authorities responsible for immigrants - and many German people too - take a dim view of German authorities' policy regarding guest-workers and their children; they consider that policy to be "*Vogel-Strauss-Politik*" (evasive) and inhuman.

The challenge to the German school system to enlarge the curriculum for native children to what in Britain is called multi-cultural, has up to now not reached German school authorities. Pressure groups and teachers are more interested in the political background of the institution of guest workers than in cultural diversity. This political argument seems to have improved the childrens' situation (e.g. by help with home work, play groups, compensatory measures) but these children risk remaining a minority group apart from and not integrated into the country's disadvantaged groups. As such they are dependent on certain groups' interest, but there is a question whether this interest contributes to more humane strategies for education as such.

3.1.2 *In Sweden* public discussion centred, to begin with, upon the question of assimilation or integration. It was a highly political matter of whether refugees living in Sweden are entitled to subsidized national schools (i.e. Jewish, Estonian, Latvian and later Gypsies and their own minority, the Lapps). This discussion turned out to be a contribution to the aim of the internationalization of the educational system. Whilst public controversy regarding immigrants in Germany was inflamed by alleged inhuman conditions of existence, in England by colour and race, it was conditioned in Sweden by concern over cultural diversity. Each of these phenomena can be traced back to its cultural roots, it may be sufficient to allude to key words: For Germany there was no tradition in democracy, whether in policy or child rearing, and effects of a divided country after the Second World War. Sweden had a homogeneous culture and had not experienced war for one and a half centuries. In Britain there was responsibility for and bias against the British Commonwealth. Research on immigrant children corresponding with Swedish policy in most areas is pragmatic: e.g. bilingual education, achievement in schools, socialization in pre-school and comprehensive school, summer courses for immigrant teachers (10 days each summer in Bålsta), such courses for immigrant families etc.⁷⁰ A characteristic feature of the Swedish curriculum for immigrant children is the central position of the child, which means fostering the child's harmonious development rather than stressing achievement, and also means encouraging empathy in the face of human problems; applied to the immigrant child's situation this means e.g. bilingual education, many social services teachers are responsible and compensated for, and co-operation with foreign embassies regarding curricula for nationality groups. From a Swedish viewpoint responsibility for and supervision of instruction and employment of foreign teachers is solely a matter of the National Board of Education (in contrast to Germany, and partly England). However, the lack of understanding for cultural diversity is to be criticized. Swedish curricula reserve 2 hrs/week for education in the child's mother tongue, history and culture compared with 5-10 hrs/week in Germany. Swedes are not only unfamiliar with cultural diversity and therefore react with reserve in this respect. Their social democratic policy also acts against individuality and diversity with a target of equality. This policy is counterbalanced by stressing each individual child's right to develop its own personality and a strong identification with the ideals of humanity - but not cultural diversity within Sweden. Needless to say, there is a contradiction in official policy between being

in favour of internationalization and against such cultural diversity as nationality schools.

3.1.3. *The scene in England* differs in several respects from that in Germany or Sweden. The economic determination of the immigration of foreign workers is not as strong. Since the government in the early 1960's limited the number of work-vouchers after the country had acquired a coloured population throughout the 1950's, a reverse effect resulted: a strong immigration of family-members (e.g. 93% of all Pakistanis arriving in 1966 were women and children).⁷¹

The public discussion was and still is a discussion of official policy or rather the policy of *laissez-faire*. Public opinion criticized discrimination because of race and on the other hand protested against black children in schools (when 60% was reached in Southall; "Powellism"). Presently (18.7.1975) the Department of Education and Science was asked who decided that Britain's schools should have multi-racial staff-rooms.⁷² Nevertheless, Englishmen have a more relaxed relationship with their institutions and with their government than the German public with their excited discussion on radicalism.

Research units⁷³ assisted schools in tackling the many new and unfamiliar problems and - due to the high degree of local autonomy - in making known the experience of single schools. Compared with Germany - and probably with Sweden with its fewer immigrants - there is considerable research work in Britain on immigrants, both in the number of projects, in pupils included in the samples, and in the range of topics. Some main topics are English language teaching, factors determining ability levels, studies indicating the influence of culture of non-European pupils on Western type intelligence and achievement tests, mapping of attitudes, compensatory education, and curriculum development for multi-racial education both in schools and in teacher training.

The concept of a multi-cultural (or multi-racial) school (or society), emphatically embraced by many immigrant schools in England, (particularly by stressing race) is used rather as a basis for public discussion about risk of a coloured society than as a concrete aim. Seen against the background of 4,0% immigrant children in schools race can easily become an overstressed concept, a pseudo-problem.

By directing public interests on peculiarities, in Britain on race, in Sweden on foreigners as an outgroup, in Germany on guest workers as capitalism's slaves, the human being is at risk to lose his individual features and become an anonymous outsider. Observing our prejudices

is not enough for improving the atmosphere in our schools. The children need our help, the schools need our assistance with pedagogical materials, and, moreover, the societies all need a concept. It seems to me that the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1974)⁷⁴ offers a useful concept by including the special needs of different ethnic groups with all others' suffering from educational disadvantage. In the same way as we integrate handicapped children in our classrooms, the Swedes do not speak of compensatory education (with the political undertone of working class children) but instead offer a child help where it needs help, try to offer equal educational opportunity for all, all of which may contribute to a more human society. As the German society has little interest in the child's own rights, still less in the immigrant child's, the critical and active commitment of all people, not only the young, is needed to develop a more human society, in order to make cultural diversity in our schools a challenge to our educational systems.

NOTES

1. Since Nov. 23, 1973, workers from the following countries did not get work-permits in W-Germany: Greece, Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey. See *Wirtschaft und Statistik*. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt, 1974, p. 767.
2. Community Relations Commission (CRC), "Ethnic Minorities in Britain". Stat. data, 3 ed., 1974, p. 16.
3. See Statistisches Bundesamt (for 1973), *Wirtschaft und Statistik* 1975, H. 2, pp. 102 f.: Berlin (27.5% foreign births), Baden-Württemberg (22.2%), Hesse (18.8%), North-Rhine-Westphalia (18.2%).
4. W.R. Böhring, *The Migration of Workers in the UK and European Community*. London: Oxford University Press, 1972. p. 130-136. The very complicated definition of patriality means, in short, that British subjects and UK passport-holders will need to qualify for patriality by registering as UK citizens after they have stayed in the country continuously for five years or more.
5. Jonas Widgren, Migration to Western Europe: the Social situation of migrant workers and their families. Working paper presented at the UN expert meeting in Yugoslavia, September 1975, see § 37 (4 millions 0-21 years).
6. Ursula Mehrländer, *Soziale Aspekte der Ausländerbeschäftigung*. Bonn: Neue Gesellschaft, 1974.
7. DES defines immigrant pupil as a child either born outside the UK (but now living with parents, relatives, or guardians in the country) or born inside the UK, whose parents have been in the UK for less than 10 years.

8. Children under 16 in West Germany are not obliged to be officially registered. See Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, *Repräsentativuntersuchung '72*, p. 24. Council of Europe: *Country Reports*, e.g. p. 5, 119. In Frankfurt in 1971 1,000 children out of ca 5,000 German and foreign children were not registered in school. See Maria Borris, *Ausländische Arbeiter in einer Grossstadt*. Frankfurt: Europäische Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1973, p. 170. In North-Rhine-Westphalia a campaign resulted in 1972 in the registration of 10,938 unregistered children out of a total of 74,966 immigrant children in schools in NWF. See Domhof, *Arbeitnehmer im Ausland*. Pullach: Verlag Dokumentation, 1974, p. 26.
9. Widgren, UN: 1975, § 41. In Germany the number of children left behind by foreign workers has probably been reduced by the fact that since January 1, 1975, allowances (*Kindergeld*) are paid only for those children who live in the FRG. Comp.: *Bundesarbeitsblatt* (1975) no. 1, pp. 33-38.
10. Widgren, UN: 1975, § 51-55.
11. Germany means Federal Republic of Germany. Statistisches Bundesamt, *Ausländer 1974*, 7. Ausländer am 30.9.1974 nach Alter und Geschlecht, p. 20.
12. The proportion of Europeans in the total flux of immigrants to the UK in the 1970's was approx. 19%, this means 1973, 16,500 from the EEC and 11,100 from other countries, a total of 27,600; this compares with 20,300 immigrants (leaving UK for Europe), acc. to the SOPEMI report 1974, p. 14.
13. Amt für Stadtentwicklung, Krefeld (Hrsg.), "Materialien zur Schulentwicklungsplanung" 1974/75.
14. Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Nürnberg, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer 1972/73*, pp. 22, 100-104. The highest concentration is to be found 1974 in North-Rhine-Westphalia (29,1%), Baden-Württemberg (22,1%), Bavaria (17,0%).
15. See e.g. H.E.R. Townsend, *Immigrant Pupils in England*. Slough: NFER, 1971, pp. 20.
16. Select Committee of Race Relations and Immigration, Session 1972-73, vol. 1, pp. 7-10. vol. 3, p. 480.
17. 3.3%-4.1% based on the def. of DES or the calculation of H.E.R. Townsend and E.M. Brittan, *Organization of Multiracial Schools*. Slough: NFER, 1972, pp. 11, 20-22. - Foreign workers see Widgren, UN, 1975, § 12 for 1971.
18. Dispersal policy originated from protests by white parents in Southall. See Deakin, pp. 173-177. Dispersal is now officially rejected but still depends on the LEA's. See *Educational Disadvantage and the Educational Needs of Immigrants*. London: HMSO, 1974.
19. SOU 1974: 69, p. 67. Leo Klaassen and Paul Drewe, *Migration Policy in Europe*. Westmead: Saxon House, 1973, pp. 77 f.
20. In 1969 see Harald Swedner, *Invandrare i Malmö. Forskningsrapport från invandrarutredningen 1973*. Stockholm 1973, p. 227.

21. Tage Nodemalm, "Rectors önskemål i Hjulsta..." in *Lärartidningen*, 6 (1972) no. 13, pp. 16-22.
22. Statistisches Bundesamt, Bevölkerung u. Kultur, R.1, VI Ausländer 1974.
23. Recommendation 14-15 May 1964; 3 December 1971. See Council of Europe *Country Reports* CME/Hf-M (74) V, pp. 98-105, cit. p. 100. See also Harald Kästner's article on the special provisions adapted by the Länder in *Bildung und Erziehung*, 28 (1975) no. 1, pp. 2-15.
24. Kultusministerkonferenz KMK 20.4.1972, §6, *Country reports*, p. 10.
25. Council of Europe, *Country reports*, 1974, pp. 107 f.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
27. Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Struktur Daten 1974*, Bonn, 1974, pp. 21 f.
28. E.g. school hostess, mothers helping by apportioning food as in England; professionals: school social workers, school psychologists, school nurses.
29. Council of Europe, *Country Reports*, 1974, p. 119.
30. Gerhard Mahler, *Zweitsprache Deutsch. Die Schulbildung der ausländischen Kinder*. Donauwörth: Auer, 1974, p. 98. Council of Europe, *Country Reports*, 1974, p. 117.
31. Bürgerinitiative Ausländischer Arbeitnehmer e.V., Hamburg, 1974. pp. 3-11.
32. See the article by I. Johannesson in this issue. Patricia Engle has surveyed some of the relevant literature, see *Review of Educational Research*, 45 (1975) pp. 283-325. Wilh. Arnold in *A.W.R. Bulletin*, 13 (1975) no. 1, pp. 25-33.
33. Council of Europe, *Record of the Proceedings of the Ad Hoc Conference on the Education of Migrants*, Strasbourg, November 1974. /CME/IX (75) 7, p. 50.
34. Mahler, 1974, pp. 143, 150, 73; Bayr. Staatsministerium f. Unterricht u. Kultus, 17-7-1974, /III A 4-4/102 423./ Parents may send their child to the preparatory class and then to the integrated German class.
35. According to information given by Mr. Franz Domhof, responsible governmental representative in North-Rhine-Westphalia, and the minutes of an information meeting in Bochum on April 5, 1974.
36. E.g. projects related to teacher training have not been mentioned. The project Alpha is covered by two articles in *Bildung und Erziehung*, 28 (1975) no. 1, pp. 30-42, 43-52.
37. *Läroplan for grundskolan* (= Lgr 69), Supplement: *Undervisning av invandrabarnm fl-2*. 2nd ed. 1973, p. 6.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 7 f, 10; 76-78.
39. *Lgr 69 II: Inv.* (ed. 1973), p. 93 f.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

41. According to *Lgr 69, Allmän del* (General part), p. 111, §15, 16: with exception of 2 hrs. mother tongue all instruction is given to the whole class (Swedish and foreign children). In grade 1-6 mother tongue is taught as complementary principal subject, in grade 7-9 it is an optional subject instead of another principal or optional subject chosen by agreement between pupil and headmaster.
42. *SOU (Statens offentliga utredningar)* 1974:69, pp. 232 f.; acc. to the census on 31.12.73 140,000 children were 0-17. The main groups: 67,545 Finns, 13,100 Yugoslavs, 10,329 Danish, 8,840 Norwegians, 5,799 Greeks. Immigrant children aged 7-15 account for 7.4% of the school population.
43. See the article in this issue.
44. For children 6-7 years old; or in Norrköping whole day pre-schools for children aged 3-6.
45. Gunilla Svensson, *Socialstyrelsen, Försöksverksamheten inom barnstugeområdet (FIB), Avslutande rapport*, Nov. 1974, pp. 62 f.; *School Research Newsletter*, Stockholm: National Board of Education, 1975: 9(July); Britt-Ingrid Stockfelt-Hoatson, *Invandrabarn i Norrköping. Avslutande rapport om den försöksverksamhet med språkträning i förskolan, som bedrivits av Socialstyrelsen i Norrköping 1971-74*. Norrköping, 1974.
46. *SOU* 1974: 69, p. 245.
47. Initiated by *Stockholms invandrarnämnd*. Anna-Greta Heyman, Minutes 28.7.1972 (unpublished).
48. The Swedish prospectus on social services, in Swedish and in the main languages of foreign workers is distributed by mail to every household.
49. Anna-Greta Heyman, *Stockholms invandrarnämnd, Invandrabarn. Slutrapport*. July 1973, p. 117.
50. Data for 1971-73 see *SOU* 1974:69, pp. 252 f. Data for 1975 are from the Official Statistics of Sweden, series U 1975:42 published by the National Central Bureau of Statistics, Stockholm; - auxiliary teaching hours are given (as study guidance) to children who continue to have language difficulties (e.g. after they moved to a normal class).
51. England means United Kingdom.
52. Compare Table 2.
53. Böhning, 1972, pp. 50 f. argues against the dichotomy of coloured Commonwealth immigrants = permanent settlers, and foreign workers = temporary immigrants. 1963-1970 for every two immigrating workers and their dependants there was one returnee.
54. A period of between 6 to 12 months is treated individually. See Council of Europe, *Country Reports*, 1974, p. 254.
55. Community Relations Commission, *Statistical Data 1974*, p. 15: Kenya with Asian origin 17,340; with African origin 1,385; other African Commonwealth 14,444.

56. The most comprehensive study of British race relations is: E.J.B. Rose et al., *Colour and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations*. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
57. Council of Europe, *Country Reports*, 1974, p. 255.
58. See e.g. Diana Stoker's survey (1967) in June Derrick, *Immigrant Children in Infant Schools*. London: Evan & Methuen, 1970, (Schools Council Working Paper 31), p. 27; Townsend and Brittan, 1972, pp. 23 f.
59. Derrick, 1970, pp. 27-31; see also Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. Session 1972-73, *Education vol. 1. Report*. London: HMSO, 1973, pp. 9, 11.
60. Townsend and Brittan, 1972, pp. 27 f.
61. While 0.63% of non-immigrant pupils and 0.44% of Indian and Pakistani immigrant pupils attend E.S.N. schools, the figure for West Indian pupils is 2.71%. See Margaret Rogers in *New Community* 2 (1973), p. 225. - In 1970 the Inner London Education Authorities found out of 16.9% immigrant children were 33.6% E.S.N. pupils; four out of five were West Indians. See "Why E.S.N.?" CRC, *Education and Community*, May 1971.
62. Townsend and Brittan, 1972, p. 26.
63. Nicholas Deakin, *Colour Citizenship and British Society*. London: Panther 1970, pp. 183-86, 283 f.; Francine Taylor gives a detailed chapter on language teaching with special programmes for West Indians in *Race, school and community*. Slough: NFER 1974, pp. 65-87; Bernhard Coard, *How the West Indian child is made educationally sub-normal in the British school system*. London: New Beacon Books, 1971.- Regarding achievement see Alan Little, "Performance of children from ethnic minority backgrounds in primary schools" *Oxford Review of Education* 1 (1975) pp. 117-135.
64. Deakin, 1970, p. 186.
65. Ibid., p. 284.
66. Talk given by Prof. R.B. Le Page to the Educational Panel NCCI on Oct. 19, 1966.
67. Deakin, 1970, p. 172.
68. See e.g. the papers published by the Schools Council Committee for Wales "Aspect of Primary Education: the Challenge of Gittins", 1970; "Development of Bilingual Education in Wales", 1972.
69. Instead of arrangements made by schools immigrant committees (or other bodies as e.g. ecclesiastical or consulates) teach their own language outside school hours. Townsend and Brittan, 1972, p. 32, found almost half of the communities in their sample; the Italian consulates made arrangements for 6,000 of their children; there exist 110 Polish Saturday classes. See Council of Europe, *Country Reports*, 1974, p. 257.

70. Publications on immigrants in Sweden (about 1.300 titles) are to be found in Andersson, Tjellén and Włodarczyk, 1973. See bibliography at the end of this issue.
71. Clifford Hill, *Immigration and integration*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970, p. 38.
72. Mark Jackson, "The DES didn't seem to know much about us", *The Times Educational Supplement* 18.7.75.
73. E.g. National Foundation for Educational Research (Slough), Department of Education and Science, Community Relations Commission, Schools Council, Social Science Research Council (all in London), and the universities East Anglia (Norwich), Bradford, Bristol, Leeds. Institutions such as The Institute of Race Relations, The Runnymede Trust, The Richardson Institute are mainly concerned with race relations and conflict, and not with education.
74. *Educational Disadvantage and the Educational Needs of Immigrants, Observations on the Report on Education of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration*. London: HMSO, 1974.

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This bibliography is in two parts:

part 1 should facilitate access to some necessary contributions for each country: 5 important books, official reports, and 10 recently published articles; part 2 lists useful works under key-words.

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