Migration, Education and Change

Edited by Sigrid Luchtenberg

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Migration has become increasingly important in Europe with far-reaching consequences in the political, economic and social spheres, and particularly regarding education. This book discusses educational responses to immigration in six European countries – France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, the Netherlands and Sweden – as well as in Australia from different viewpoints.

The multifaceted contributions in this book deal with both the classical and the more recent forms of migration and investigate their divergent educational implications regarding key questions such as integration and cohesion, language education, and multicultural education. An examination of Australia's experiences as a 'classical country of immigration' contributes to a better understanding of some of the processes experienced in European countries due to migration.

Another focal point of this collection is the challenges yet to be met. The following aspects in particular are examined closely: the under-achievement of students with a migration background in comparison to the educational norm; the situation of children whose parents are undocumented migrants and the role of changing patterns in trans-national migration as regards future developments in education.

The detailed discussion of the history of migration and its impacts on education in nation states make *Migration, Education and Change* essential reading for advanced students and researchers in the fields of education and migration and those interested in the current discourse on multicultural education.

Sigrid Luchtenberg is Professor in the Faculty of Education at Duisburg-Essen University, Germany. Her research interests and publications deal with many aspects of multicultural education including questions of comparative, media, bilingual and citizenship education.

Routledge research in education

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Contributors

James A. Banks is Russell F. Stark University Professor and Director of the Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington, Seattle. His books include *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies*; *Educating Citizens in a Multicultural Society*; the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, and *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*. Professor Banks is a past president of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) and of the American Educational Research Association (AERA). He is a member of the Board on Children, Youth and Families of the National Research Council and the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences. He is also a member of the National Academy of Education.

Guus Extra studied Applied Linguistics at the University of Nijmegen in the Netherlands from 1964 to 1970. From 1970 until 1981, he was a Senior Lecturer at the same university, in the Department of Dutch Studies and Applied Linguistics. After defending his dissertation on second language acquisition at Nijmegen University (1978), he was a postdoctoral fellow at Stanford University (Department of Linguistics) and at Berkeley (School of Education) in 1978–1979. Since 1981 he has held the Chair of Language and Minorities in the Faculty of Arts at Tilburg University. In 1999, he was appointed Director of Babylon, Center for Studies of Multilingualism in the Multicultural Society, at Tilburg University. Recent publications include: Extra, G. and Gorter, D. (eds) (2001) *The Other Languages of Europe,* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters and Extra, G., Aarts, R., Avoird, T., Broeder, P. and Yağmur, K. (2002) *De Andere Talen van Nederland,* Bussum: Coutinho.

Christine Inglis is Honorary Associate Professor and Director of the Multicultural and Migration Research Centre, University of Sydney. She obtained her Ph.D. from the London School of Economics. Her research interests involve migration and ethnic relations. Current research projects include a study of transnationalism among Turkish, Hong Kong and Chinese born in Australia, a study of second generation mobility in Australia. Among her books are *Multiculturalism: New Policy*

Responses to Diversity (1996); *Teachers in the Sun: The Impact of Immigrant Teachers on the Labour Force* (1995); '*Making Something of Myself . . .*' *Educational Attainment and Social and Economic Mobility of Turkish Young People in Australia* (1992).

Françoise Lorcerie is a graduate of the Paris Institute of Political Studies and of the Paris University of Arts (with the 'agrégation', the highest teaching diploma in France). She has been teaching at various universities (Paris, Algiers, Aix-en-Provence), and is now a CNRS researcher at the Institute for Research and Studies in the Arab and Muslim World – IREMAM (L'Institut de recherches et d'études sur le Monde arabe et musulman) in Aix-en-Provence. Her main working topic is public action in European states as challenged by ethnicity and immigrants' integration, particularly in the educational field. Recently, she has carried out empirical studies on the connection between French educational policies and urban policies, and on the dialectics between modernizing Islam and politicizing Islam in French public debates (notably the question of changing secularism). She has also redefined interculturalism in this environment and, parallel to this, has concentrated on elaborating the theory of ethnicity and ethnicization in social sciences while clarifying the major conceptual connections in the paradigm that was founded by Max Weber. She is the author of numerous articles and chapters (in French) in this field of work. Her book *L'Ecole et le defi ethnique* (ed. INRP & ESF, Paris, 2003, with coll.) provides an integrated presentation of the theory of ethnicity, and various sociological and normative perspectives on school(s) in France.

Sigrid Luchtenberg has a Ph.D. in German Linguistics and Literature and habilitated in Multicultural Education. She is Professor in the Faculty of Education at Duisburg-Essen University, Germany. Her research interests and publications have always been closely related to German as a first, second or foreign language, but over the last years multicultural education, multicultural communication, the multiculturalism discourse in the media, and citizenship education in a multicultural society have become her dominant areas of research. Multicultural education is closely connected with her interests in comparative education (with a focus on Australia, where she has stayed several times as a Visiting Professor at the University of Sydney). Recent publications include *Interkulturelle Kommunikative Kompetenz. Kommunikationsfelder in Schule und Gesellschaft (Intercultural Communicative Competence)*, (1999) Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag; 'Bilingualism and bilingual education and its relationship to citizenship from a comparative German–Australian viewpoint', *Intercultural Education* 13: 1, 2002, 49–61; 'Ethnic diversity and citizenship education in Germany', in J. A. Banks (ed.) *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives* (2003). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass/Wiley, 245–271.

Sabine Mannitz (born 1965) is a researcher at the Peace Research Institute in Frankfurt on Main. She studied ethnology, social anthropology and political science at the University of Hamburg and the Goethe University of Frankfurt on Main. She specialized in urban anthropology, migration, and the social construction of identities, and was research officer at the European University Viadrina of Frankfurt on the Oder and at the University of Essex, UK. She is author of several articles on education and migration and the strategies of identification among post-migration youths in Germany. Her most recent article is to be found in: *Civil Enculturation: Nation-State, School and Ethnic Difference in Four European Countries*, Schiffauer, W., Baumann, G., Kastoryano, R. and Vertovec, S. (eds) (2004) Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books.

Soula Mitakidou is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Primary Education at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece. She received her BA from the English Department at Aristotle University, her MA in American Literature from McGill University in Montreal and her Ph.D. in Education from Aristotle University. She teaches anti-racist education, second language acquisition among non-native speakers and literature-based approaches to language learning. Her teaching experience covers a wide age range from preschool to graduate school students, and she has worked extensively with teachers in in-service workshops. Her recent publications and presentations focus on many aspects of diversity including integrated instructional strategies and marginalized learners. She is the co-author of the books *Mr. Semolina-Semolinus: A Greek Folktale* (New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers, 1997) and the book *Folktales from Greece: A Treasury of Delights* (Greenwood, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 2002), both in English. She also co-authored the book *Teaching Language and Mathematics Through Literature* (Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 2002), in Greek.

Tore Otterup is a university teacher and researcher at the Institute for Swedish as a Second Language, Department of Swedish Language, Göteborg University, Sweden. His special field of interest is second language acquisition in school and bilingualism among youths. He teaches subjects in connection with this within teacher training programmes and other university programmes as well as advanced training courses for practicing teachers. In addition to this he is a participant in the (Swedish) national research project 'Language and Language Use among Youths in Multilingual Settings' and also a member of the EU–ERASMUS CDA – project CANE (Cultural Awareness in Europe). He has published articles mainly about language acquisition, language development and identity-forming among adolescents in multicultural and multilingual settings, e.g. 'From monolingualism to multilingualism – The Swedish example', in Furch, E. (ed.) (2003) *Cultural Awareness in Europe*, Wien: Lernen mit Pfiff, 160–188.

Ludger Pries teaches in the Department of Social Science, Ruhr-Universität (Ruhr University) Bochum, Germany where he holds a Chair in the Sociology of Organizations and Participation Studies (SOAPS). His research fields are Comparative Sociology of Work, Organizations and Migration. Recent publications include 'Labour migration, social incorporation and transmigration in the New Europe. The case of Germany in a comparative perspective', *Transfer* (Brussels), Vol. 9, 2003; 'Emerging production systems in the transnationalization of German carmakers: Adaptation, application or innovation?', *New Technology, Work and Employment*, Vol. 18: 2, 2003, 82–100; *New Transnational Social Spaces. International Migration and Transnational Companies* (ed.), London: Routledge, 2001; 'The disruption of social and geographic space. US–Mexican migration and the emergence of transnational social spaces', *International Sociology*, Volume 16: 1/201, 55–74; *Soziologie Internationaler Migration. Einführung in Klassische Theorien und neue Ansätze (Sociology of International Migration. An Introduction to Classical Theories and New Approaches)*, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2000; *Auf dem Weg zu Global Operierenden Konzernen? BMW, Daimler-Benz und Volkswagen – Die Drei Großen der deutschen Automobilindustrie (Towards Globally Operating Companies? BMW, Daimler-Benz and Volkswagen – The Big Three of the German Automobile Industry)*, München/Mering: Rainer Hampp Verlag, 1999.

Sally Tomlinson is Emeritus Professor of Education at Goldsmiths College, London University, and a Research Associate in the Department of Educational Studies, Oxford University. She has researched, written and taught in the area of race, ethnicity and education for some 30 years. Her book *Education in a Post-Welfare Society* won a British Education Studies prize for the best education book published in 2002 (McGraw-Hill/Open University Press). An article on 'Globalization, race and education' is published in the *Journal of Education Change*, 2003 (Kluwer).

Georgios Tsiakalos is a Professor at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece where he is currently the Dean of the Faculty of Education. He received a Ph.D. (Dr.rer.nat.) from the University of Kiel (Germany) in Biology and Geology/Palaeontology, and a Ph.D. (D.Phil.) from the University of Bremen (Germany) in Education and Social Sciences. He taught in numerous universities in Germany before he was appointed as Professor of Education at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in 1984. He has done research in the following areas: population genetics; racism and sociobiology; social exclusion and poverty; education of migrants and minorities; educational praxis; educational reforms. His recent main publications are the books (all in Greek): *Handbook of Antiracist Education* (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2000), *The Promise of Pedagogy* (Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 2002), *Reflections of Human Society* (Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 2004). He is an activist in many initiatives in support of immigrants, minorities and socially excluded people.

Kutlay Yağmur received his BA degree in English Language Teaching from the Middle East Technical University, Ankara. He pursued his postgraduate degrees in Australia. He received his MA in Applied Linguistics from Macquarie University, Sydney in 1991 and a postgraduate diploma in Education from Charles Stuart University, Australia in 1992. He investigated first language attrition and ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish in Australia as part of his Ph.D. dissertation. He defended his dissertation at Nijmegen University, the Netherlands in 1997. He worked at Middle East Technical University from 1993 until 1996. Since 1996 he has worked as Assistant Professor of Applied Linguistics at Babylon, Tilburg University. Recent publications include Yağmur, K. and Akinci, M. A. (2003) 'Language use, choice, maintenance and ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish speakers in France: Intergenerational differences', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* 164: 107–128; Fürstenau, S., Gogolin, I. and Yağmur, K. (eds) (2003) *Mehrsprachigkeit in Hamburg: Ergebnisse einer Sprachenerhebung an den Grundschulen in Hamburg* (*Multilingualism in Hamburg: The Status of Immigrant Minority Languages at Home and at School*), Münster and Berlin: Waxmann.

Foreword

James A. Banks

Migration within and across nation states is a worldwide phenomenon. The movement of peoples across national boundaries is as old as the nation state itself – as the chapters in this book make clear. However, never before in the history of world migration has the movement of diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, religious and language groups within and across nation states been as numerous and rapid or raised such complex and difficult questions about citizenship, human rights, democracy and education. Many worldwide trends and developments are challenging the notion of educating students to function in one nation state. They include the ways in which people are moving back and forth across national borders, the rights of movement permitted by the European Union, and the rights codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Prior to the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the aim of schools in most nation states was to develop citizens who internalized their national values, venerated their national heroes, and accepted glorified versions of their national histories. These goals of citizenship education are obsolete today because many people have multiple national commitments and live in multiple nation states. However, the development of citizens who have global and cosmopolitan identities and commitments is contested in nation states throughout the world because nationalism remains strong. Nationalism and globalization coexist in tension worldwide.

The chapters in this book describe the complex educational issues with which nation states in Europe must deal when trying to respond to the problems wrought by international migration in ways consistent with their democratic ideologies and declarations. As Tomlinson points out (Chapter 5) when discussing the schooling of non-White ethnic groups in Britain – and other authors note when describing the education of minority groups in other European nations – there is a wide gap between the democratic ideals in European nations and the daily educational experiences of minority groups in their schools. Ethnic minority students in Europe, as in other nations throughout the world, often experience

discrimination because of their cultural, language and value differences. Both students and teachers often perceive these students as the 'Other'. When they are marginalized within school and treated as the 'Other', ethnic minority students, such as the Turkish students described by Mannitz in Chapter 4, tend to emphasize their ethnic identity and to have a weak attachment to their nation state. Mannitz also points out that Turkish students in Germany are also ambivalent about a German identity because of the Nazi period in Germany's history.

The chapters in this book examine a number of salient issues, paradigms and ideologies that democratic nation states and their schools must grapple with as their populations become more culturally, racially, ethnically and linguistically diverse. The extent to which nation states make multicultural citizenship possible, the achievement gap between minority and majority groups, and the language rights of immigrant and minority groups are among the unresolved and contentious issues examined in this informative book.

Nation states throughout the world are trying to determine whether they will perceive themselves as multicultural and allow immigrants to experience multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka 1995) or continue to embrace an assimilationist ideology. In nation states that embrace Kymlicka's idea of multicultural citizenship, immigrant and minority groups can retain important aspects of their languages and cultures as well as have full citizenship rights. Nation states in various parts of the world have responded to the citizenship and cultural rights of immigrant and minority groups in significantly different ways. Since the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 1970s, many of the national leaders and citizens in the United States, Canada and Australia have viewed these nation states as multicultural democracies (Banks and Lynch 1986). An ideal exists within these nation states that minority groups can maintain important elements of their community cultures and become full citizens of the nation state. However, there is a wide gap between the ideals within these nation states and the experiences of ethnic groups. Ethnic minority groups in the United States, Canada and Australia experience discrimination in both the schools and in the wider society.

Other nation states, such as Japan and Germany, have been reluctant to view themselves as multicultural societies. Citizenship has been closely linked to biological heritage and characteristics in these nation states. Although the biological conception of citizenship in both Japan and Germany has eroded within the last decade, it left a tenacious legacy in both nation states. As Mannitz writes in Chapter 4, 'the distinction of foreigners vis-à-vis Germans was a matter of routine in most teachers' daily practice and discourse, and it was connected to culturalist interpretations'. Castles refers to Germany's response to immigrants as 'differential exclusion', which is 'partial and temporary integration of immigrant workers into society – that is, they are included in those subsystems of

society necessary for their economic role: the labor market, basic accommodation, work-related health care, and welfare' (2004: 32).

Since the 1960s and 1970s, the French have dealt with immigrant groups in ways distinct from the immigrant nations of the United States, Canada and Australia. In France the explicit goal is assimilation (now called integration) and inclusion (Castles 2004). Immigrant groups can become full citizens in France but the price is cultural assimilation. Immigrants are required to surrender their languages and cultures in order to become full citizens.

The academic achievement gap between ethnic minority and majority group students is another salient issue examined by several of the chapters in this book. African-Caribbean, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi students in Britain and Turkish students in Germany are not achieving on a level equal to that of the majority groups in their nation states. There is also a significant achievement gap between African-American students and White students in the United States (Banks and Banks 2004). However, the underachievement of minority students is a complex issue worldwide that defies facile solutions and responses. Tomlinson (in Chapter 5) points out that Indian and Chinese students are the highest achieving students in Britain. In Chapter 6 Lorcerie reports a study by Vallet and Caille (1996) which found 'a statistically strong advantage in favour of the immigrants' children on entering secondary schools' in France. In the United States, Chinese, Japanese and Asian-Indian students often exceed White students in academic achievement.

Throughout his career the anthropologist John U. Ogbu (Gibson and Ogbu 1991) tried to uncover some of the complex issues related to the differential achievement of ethnic minority groups in various nations. He believed that researchers needed to identify the important difference among ethnic minority groups in order to understand why some were highly successful academically and others were not. His classification of ethnic groups into three types (*autonomous, immigrant* or *voluntary,* and *castelike* or *involuntary*) provides a useful way to conceptualize differences among ethnic groups. However, it can lead to harmful generalizations about the characteristics of specific groups and divert attention from structural factors that cause minority underachievement. The issue of minority underachievement is undertheorized and requires more complex and nuanced explanations and theories than those that currently exist. The examples of the differential achievement of minority groups in the various European nations in this book provides important information that needs to be considered in the construction of theories about minority underachievement.

Global migration has increased the number of languages within the nation states and schools in Europe as it has within the United States, Canada, Australia and Japan. One of the most significant issues discussed in this book is the increasing language diversity in European nation states

and how schools in various nations are responding to it. Constructing a thoughtful and equitable national language policy related to the languages of immigrant and ethnic groups is a complex and divisive issue in European nation states as it is in other nations throughout the world. In Chapter 8, Extra and Yağmur provide a rich description of the language diversity in European nations and propose that all children be taught three languages. Experiences in various nations since the 1960s teach us that an exclusive language approach to the educational problems of ethnic and immigrant groups is insufficient because languages are integral parts of cultures, and that cultures have differential status and capital within societies and nation states. In order for the language of an ethnic group to attain legitimacy and status within a society, the group that speaks the language must have power and high status. The power of the United States within the international community is probably related to the recommendation by Extra and Yağmur that English should become the lingua franca for international communication.

The chapters in the book raise other important issues and problems – often in thoughtful and probing ways – that require deliberation, thoughtful research, theorizing and action before ethnic minority groups will experience social justice and democracy in their societies and nation states. These issues include reforming teacher education so that it can more effectively prepare teachers to work with students from diverse cultural and language groups and transforming the curriculum so that it reflects the increasing diversity within European nation states. This book will stimulate educators to rethink the purpose of schools in multicultural democratic societies and to conceptualize ways in which schools can actualize human rights and social justice. I hope it will attain the wide readership it deserves.

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Acknowledgements

those discussed in the 1980s and 1990s. This seemed to be of special interest for education when – after long debates and restrictions – multicultural education had finally developed in most European countries as a response to permanent immigration. Now education and educational policies are confronted with the fact of rather new forms of migration, which are described by sociologists as transnational migration. The result of many discussions was to seek approaches to such newer forms of migration and examine their impact on education in a European context. Since we were aware of the importance of the developments in the traditional countries of immigration, we also sought an exchange with colleagues from classical countries of immigration, such as Australia, to give us an impression of their more recent developments in migration.

A book such as this needs all kinds of support and help, including critical discussions with colleagues, and it has been most enriching to experience that support.

1   Introduction

Sigrid Luchtenberg

This book discusses educational responses to immigration in six European countries – France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, the Netherlands and Sweden – as well as in Australia from different viewpoints. While reflecting upon the history of migration, there is also a focus on the challenges to be met at present and in future. Migration has become more and more important in Europe, but the contributions in this book show not only different reactions in politics and education, but also the shift from emigration to immigration in some countries. Changes with regard to migrant groups are also revealed. Therefore, it is of great relevance to include a contribution from Australia as one of the 'classical countries of immigration'. This helps us to understand some of the processes European countries are experiencing due to migration, though there are, of course, significant differences between a country like Australia, which is based on immigration, and the European states, which have taken and are still taking a long time to acknowledge their status as countries of immigration – with all the consequences this has for education.

Migration has become one of the great challenges worldwide. This is due to the increasing numbers of migrants in all parts in the world, though migration is by no means a new phenomenon. Nevertheless, Castles and Miller (1993) call this era the 'age of migration'. The challenges posed by migration affect many fields, from politics to education, with different answers found in different countries and under different circumstances. In this introductory chapter, we will discuss aspects of migration that are especially important with regard to Europe, but also in comparison to the situation in classical countries of immigration such as Australia. Such comparative studies have proved to be the best way not only to explain phenomena that occur in several countries, but also to clarify questions regarding a single country by comparing these to similar ones in other countries (cf., e.g. Bommes *et al.* 1999; Castles and Miller 1993; Müller-Schneider 2000; Pitkänen *et al.* 2002).

It will be stressed that integration is one of the key words in the political as well as in the educational discourse in most countries of immigration (cf. Pitkänen *et al.* 2002: 3ff.). This applies to all seven countries dealt

with in this volume. Yet, even if integration is a common response in most European and classical countries of immigration, its meaning can still differ since this common approach does not neglect the fact that there are also differences between these countries due to their varying national and cultural developments. There have been periods in world history as well as in European history where mass emigration was part of daily life – generally amongst the poorest social classes of a country. In Europe, the Irish emigration during the great famine is an example as well as emigration from Germany during and after the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century. In European history, there has, however, not only been work migration or migration due to poor economic conditions, but also migration due to political or religious persecution, e.g. the emigration of the Huguenots from France into Prussia. This example also illuminates the pull-and-push effects of migration, since Prussia was very much interested in the migrants because of their craftsmanship. We also find examples of work and settler immigration that were welcomed by the countries of immigration, such as migration into Russia at the time of Empress Catherine the Great. Here, the pull effect is stronger than the push effect. While migration is no new theme to mankind, neither worldwide nor in Europe, we find new developments in the ways in which migration challenges societies today. Migration has become part of the daily life of many, if not most people in Europe since migrants are present in most neighbourhoods or work places. Migrants and their families have also become a topic in the media – though often with negative connotations. This contributes to the fact that most people are aware of migration, migrants, and especially of the changes in their societies due to migration. These changes are experienced in different – positive and negative – ways. While the richer variety of cuisine is generally well accepted, a shortage in housing, which is thought to be a result of migration, is not. Migration has also become an option for more people in European countries and this holds true especially for the middle classes. This kind of migration is often due to studies or work in another country for a limited time and is therefore not always regarded as migration. Thus, emigration is nowadays less reflected on than immigration. Furthermore, immigration is often discussed critically due to its impact on the labour markets, the socio-economic structure and on the educational system of the receiving country.

Although migration is no new phenomenon in Europe, it has challenged European nation states since the post-war period in many aspects despite differences amongst states as to when it took place, the migration groups themselves and the political reactions to it. This is also applicable to a certain extent to the classical countries of immigration, as, for example, when Australia was in urgent need of new immigrants after the Second World War and the experience of being in danger of foreign occupation. Worldwide, countries of development have experienced

immigration as well as emigration due to natural catastrophes and wars of different kinds such as civil wars or wars of liberation. The European development is of special interest as these migration processes fall in the time of the growth of European unity. Therefore, the impact of the European developments on migration is one important aspect, but the other one is that of studying differences and similarities of immigration and the handling of its influence on politics, economics and especially education within Europe (cf. The Council 1988).

While, worldwide, most war refugees migrate into a neighbouring country and thus, in the developing countries in Asia, Africa and South America, pose the greatest problem, migration into Europe is more complex. This is due to a combination of reasons for migration, such as war or civil war, undemocratic or unstable political conditions, or poor economic conditions in the country of origin. In most European countries this is dealt with as refugee migration. There is also work migration into Europe, which is due to labour force shortage in different periods and different branches. It has also to be taken into consideration that all forms of legal immigration are followed by family immigration, thus adding to the number of people immigrating. Illegal immigration has become a further challenge within European countries, but also in the classical countries of immigration, among which Australia in particular has been shocked by the experience that illegal immigration is possible. This has led to political overreactions and deep confusion within the population. Illegal immigration – recently also referred to as 'sans-papier immigration' or undocumented immigration – is fought against since it is related to criminal gangs bringing migrants without documents into the countries (cf. Lindemann 2001). While these gangs are the real 'criminals', the persons without documents are often treated as criminals. Illegal immigration is also a challenge to be dealt with from a political, socio-economic and educational viewpoint since there are no rules about how to deal with these people (cf. Mitakidou and Tsiakalos, Chapter 7 in this volume).

While the main reasons for migration, like political insecurity or poverty, are to be found in the countries of origin, there is also often a connection to the country chosen, such as a political closeness. This is often the case in former colonial states, so that we find immigrants from Northern Africa in France. A migration into the country of the forefathers describes the situation of the 'Aussiedler' (resettlers or ethnic Germans) in Germany. Another possibility is the existence of a large group that had already migrated earlier, which applies, for example, to the Italians in Victoria, Australia, or the Germans in Southern Australia, but also for the Turkish communities in Berlin or Frankfurt.

Migration into the three main immigration countries – the USA, Canada and Australia – was and is needed by these countries. Here migration took and takes place in a regulated procedure and immigration has thus always been understood in these countries as a permanent process

leading to citizenship fairly quickly. Migration into Europe was largely different and only seldom planned by the European countries as permanent immigration. Immigration regulations are therefore less elaborate and often not very stringent. Again, there are differences due to the historical background, because the former colonial states – here England, France and the Netherlands – took different approaches to members of their former colonies than, e.g. Germany or Sweden did to migrants who were invited into the countries to overcome labour shortage.

Germany is a good example of a mixed form of partly planned, partly unplanned migration: the country needed a high amount of workers in the late 1950s and early 1960s and therefore work migration was initiated with the help of bilateral contracts with southern European countries. This was the 'Gastarbeiter' model which was supposed to solve the labour market problem without permanent immigration by limiting each worker's stay to a maximum of two to five years. This rotation model did not function as planned so that immigration became more and more permanent, mainly due to family members joining their working partners and parents. This happened even more after work migration came to a stop in 1973 due to an economic recession. Thus, families received the status of residents, but no citizenship under the conditions of the legal regulations of the foreigner law. Germany belongs to the western European countries which only recently began a political discussion about an immigration law without even daring to call it such. Instead, the possibilities of the German language were used to create an expression that is thought to be less emotive ('Zuwanderung' instead of 'Einwanderung' i.e. more a case of 'joining' than 'coming into' the country and therefore not such a great threat). A lot of damage has resulted from the recent failure of this law in the political arena as regards the relationship both of migrants and Germans and migrants and Germany respectively, because the failure can be understood as a lack of political will to accept migration and migrants after nearly 50 years of immigration.

All European countries have their own, varying immigration experiences, though now at least the members of the European Union live under newly related conditions: Europeans have the possibility to move within Europe and find new places to live and work. Thus, countries like Italy or Spain who have sent 'guest workers' to Germany and other western European countries, are now member states of the European Union. This, in turn, allows for different, rather flexible forms of migration as short term migration.

The phenomenon of 'guest workers' is one of the ways in which migration is occurring in Europe and which is of relevance within Europe, but of less importance within the classical countries of immigration where permanent immigration is dominant. While work migration takes place in most European countries, there are other forms of migration that can be found, though not in all European countries to the same extent:

- In Scandinavia there are special rules which allow for movement and work within the Scandinavian countries. This explains the high amount of Finnish immigrants in Sweden.
- Former colonies face the immigration of inhabitants from their former colonies. These people often had citizenship or could claim citizenship and thus had or still have full rights in their country of immigration. This holds true for Great Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, but also for Spain and Portugal.
- Only in Germany do we find the immigration of ethnic Germans whose ancestors emigrated from Germany into the former Russian Empire and other East European countries (cf. Bade and Oltmer 1999; Dietz and Hilkes 1994). These emigrants and their descendents continued to cultivate their German heritage there. This led to discrimination and worse in the communist realm and therefore they were granted immigration into Germany as German citizens.
- In all European countries immigration of refugees takes place, though the rules applied to them differ, even if a general European regulation may be expected. There are already European rules existing like the Schengen agreement, which allows non-controlled travelling within the European states involved due to stricter controls at their outer borders. Yet, a more stringent and all inclusive regulation is still to come.

While immigration was well known, though not always accepted in the northern and western countries of Europe, the countries in the south experienced mainly emigration. They now encounter immigration in very different forms: immigration from former colonies can be found especially in Spain and Portugal, undocumented (illegal) immigration has become a phenomenon especially in Italy and Greece. East European countries have faced special challenges since the fall of the Iron Curtain, especially those about to become member states of the European Union since they have to comply with the existing rules of the European Union with regard to protection against illegal immigration and to refugee policies, according to which they are often regarded as the first 'safe' country entered by refugees. Then they are the receiving country into which refugees could be sent back by Germany or Austria.

   Immigration is often divided into work migration, refugee migration and family migration. Nearly all European countries face these different forms of immigration, though to a different measure and in varying intensity. These various forms of migration can also be divided into voluntary migration (of workers and their families) and involuntary migration of refugees. The situation of people who leave their countries due to insufficient living conditions could be characterized as being between the poles voluntary – involuntary. In general, these forms of migration occur simultaneously. Different frameworks have been developed in order to