IMPLICATIONS OF INTRA-EUROPEAN MOBILITY ON EDUCATION: EDUCATION FOR IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

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The paper reviews recent trends in migration in Europe with the resulting influx of refugees and immigrants into Western European countries in numbers unmatched since the end of the World War II, and then discusses the implications in the host countries for education, drawing upon examples from Canada, a nation with much experience in the schooling of immigrant children and adults.

Nous examinons ici les tendances récentes de la migration en Europe qui a porté le nombre de l'afflux des réfugiés et des migrants dans les pays de l'Europe Occidentale à un niveau sans précédent depuis la fin de la dernière guerre mondiale. Nous traitons ensuite les implications au plan de l'éducation dans les pays d'accueil en nous servant des exemples tirés au Canada, où l'expérience sur la formation des enfants et des adultes immigrants est considérable.

INTRODUCTION

With the expansion of the European Community, increased mobility among nations is to be anticipated. Moreover, the collapse of the Communist system and the massive changes which former Eastern Bloc countries are undergoing have resulted in populations of refugees and immigrants in Western Europe in numbers not experienced since the aftermath of World War II. Both situations pose challenges for educational systems.

This paper addresses the issue of education for recent immigrants and refugees, adults and children, and draws upon studies from Canada, a country with large and varied immigrant populations. Before focusing on the Canadian experiences in regard to issues and practices of schooling, it is necessary to set the context in Western Europe by examining recent trends in migration to that area in order to assess the conditions that European educators have to address.

CHANGING TRENDS IN MIGRATION

After World War II, and for the next two or three decades, many countries of Western Europe experienced high levels of migration with hundreds or even thousands of refugees and displaced persons. The International Refugee Organization (IRO) was established in 1946 by the UN with a mandate to facilitate repatriation. Soon, however, it became clear that Eastern European refugees by and large resisted repatriation to their former homelands despite aggressive encouragement from the Soviets and other East European countries. The Western European countries, on the other hand, faced with demobilization of their armed forces as well as with massive reconstruction of war-damaged cities and ports, were cautious about accepting too many. In effect, those who were absorbed into West Germany provided inexpensive labour that ultimately contributed to Germany's rapid economic recovery (known as the *Wirtschaftswunder* - economic miracle). However, in 1946, the IRO needed to go beyond the European borders to find places for resettlement. Between 1947 and 1951, the IRO resettled 1,039,150 persons, over three quarters of whom went to four countries: the United States received 329,000, Australia took 182,000, Israel--132,000, and Canada--123,000. A further 170,000 were settled among European states with the United Kingdom, France and Belgium taking the majority. (Marrus, 1985:344-45). Some countries also encouraged emigration. Speaking of the Netherlands, Penninx states: "Between 1946 and 1972, 481,000 Dutch citizens emigrated under the auspices of the 'Directorate for Emigration,' mainly to Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand" (Penninx, 1993:7).

By the 70's and 80's however, prosperity was beginning to return to Western Europe, and in some cases former emigrants, now of retirement age, returned to their East or West European homelands. Of more interest to this study are other populations that began by the 50s and 60s to make their presence felt in Western Europe. Labour migrants, many with families from Southern Europe and North Africa had begun flooding into Western Europe, primarily to Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden, and labour recruitment continued until 1973-74. (Rogers, 1993:109-110) Toward the end of the 80's when restrictions on emigration were somewhat relaxed in Eastern Bloc countries, new trends in migration from that part of Europe began to emerge.

The 1989 United Nations Demographic Yearbook (1991) provides figures on migration patterns around the world. If one focuses on what was happening in Europe, one will learn that in 1988, for example, Poland lost 36,291 citizens to long term emigration. (p. 613) In Western Europe, after some periods of heavy migration to France, Belgium and the Netherlands prior to 1980 because of the independence of their former colonies, it seemed as if the migrations were

beginning to wane. Then in 1983, migration to Western Europe began to increase once again. (See Figure 1).

Figure 1
Long term immigrants to selected Western European Countries - 1984-1988

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
France	44,120	37,400	33,120	33,661	39,063
Germany	457,120	512,108	598,479	614,603	903,892*
Netherlands	60,115	72,461	80,485	88,992	84,439
Norway	19,688	21,858	24,196	31,149	29,964
Sweden	31,486	33,127	39,487	42,666	51,092
Switzerland	96,880	89,866	102,222	110,806	124,984

*This figure includes many people from the former DDR as well as those who could claim citizenship with proof of German ancestry.

(Source: 1989 UN Demographic Yearbook, 1991:545-547)

Another interesting factor is the growth of asylum seekers into Western Europe. (See Figure 2).

Figure 2
Asylum Seekers into Selected OECD Countries 1984-1991 (Thousands)

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Belgium	3.7	5.3	7.6	6.0	4.5	8.1	13.0	15.2
France	21.6	28.8	26.2	27.6	34.3	61.4	54.7	50.1
Germany	35.3	73.8	99.7	57.4	103.1	121.3	193.1	256.1
Holland	2.6	5.6	5.9	13.5	7.5	13.9	21.2	21.6
Norway	0.3	0.8	2.7	8.6	6.6	4.4	4.0	3.0
Sweden	12.0	14.5	14.6	18.1	19.6	30.0	29.7	26.5
Switz.	7.4	9.7	8.5	10.9	16.7	24.4	35.8	41.6

(Source: SOPEMI 1992 as quoted in Rogers 1993:118)

A particularly interesting figure is the number of school aged children coming as long term immigrants. Unfortunately the *1989 Demographic Yearbook* could provide these figures only for certain years, but for the purposes of this paper dealing with issues affecting the education of recent immigrants and refugees, the figures are relevant since statistics are from the late 80s and thus, many of the children will still be in the school system today (See Figure 3). Comparable figures for Canada are also quoted.

Figure 3
Children ages 5-19 entering countries as long term immigrants

Year for which numbers are available	Country of immigration	Number of Children aged 5-19
1986	Denmark	9,033
1987	Germany	169,481
1987	Sweden	13,244
1988	Netherlands	27,368
1988	Norway	8,944
1988	Switzerland	15,131
1989	Canada	56,184

(Source: 1989 UN Demographic Yearbook, 1991)

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) based in Geneva Switzerland not only keeps track of emigration and immigration trends around the world, but also provides assistance in resettlement of refugees in asylum camps and in more permanent situations as well as providing language training programs. In 1991, R.T. Appleyard prepared a monograph for the IOM entitled *International Migration: Challenge for the Nineties*. In the section on Europe (pp 29-32), he traces the growth of migration. In the 60s, Northern Europe had 10,000,000 guest workers and their dependents who had come from the Mediterranean Area and former colonies. Although it was never intended that the workers would seek permanent settlement, many in fact did and now have become citizens of countries such as Germany. When one thinks of migration, one normally considers the Mediterranean countries of Spain, Italy and Greece as exporters of population. In fact, according to Appleyard, IOM figures show that since the 80s those countries themselves have been hosting as many as 1,000,000 legal and illegal migrants from non-European bordering countries, Asia and Africa (p. 12). For

example, by the end of 1990, Italy could count among the legal, officially-processed migrants 80,000 Moroccans, 41,000 Tunisians, 34,000 Filipinos, 30,000 Yugoslavs and 25,000 Senegalese. Spain had 400,000 foreign residents in 1989, twice the 1980 figures.

By the late 80s, France, Belgium and the Netherlands experienced increases in the number of permanent immigrants from the Maghreb, Poland, Turkey and parts of Asia. As mentioned above, Eastern Europe provided a major source of new immigrants, sending 1.3 million to Western Europe in 1989 mainly from Poland, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. A recent trend has seen the new democracies such as Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic having to cope with emigration of their own people to the West as well as receiving often illegal immigration from Romania, the Middle East and from former Soviet States. Estimates put the numbers of illegal immigrants to these central European countries as high as 100,000. (Appleyard, 1991:27)

The current upheaval in former Yugoslavia has imposed additional pressures on Western Europe. William Zimmerman (1993) writing on Migration and Security in Yugoslavia, quotes figures reported by the New York Times, July 24, 1992, in which it was reported that:

the UN High Commission for Refugees placed the total number of refugees at 2.3 million. Roughly 200,000 are located in Germany, 60,000 in Hungary, and 50,000 in Austria. The bulk are located in various parts of the former Yugoslavia with roughly 600,000 each in Croatia and Bosnia, 375,000 in Serbia, something like 66,000 in Slovenia and the balance in Montenegro and Macedonia (p. 79).

The Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees of the Government of the Republic of Croatia provides constantly updated statistics on numbers of persons from Croatia and Bosnia/Herzegovina listed as displaced persons, returnees or refugees. In a facsimile received from their office on May 16, 1995, figures are provided for Displaced Persons, Returnees and Refugees as of May 11, 1995. As of that date, the Office reports 386,264 registered displaced persons, returnees and refugees within Croatia, noting that an estimated 6% of all categories remain unregistered. The same office estimates that 56,840 persons from Croatia are located in other countries, mainly in Western Europe, along with 377,120 from Bosnia/Herzegovina. See Figure 4 for a breakdown by country).

Figure 4
Persons from Croatia and Bosnia/Herzegovina registered in
Other Countries as of May 11, 1995

Country	Number of Persons from Croatia	Number of Persons from Bosnia/Herzegovina
Austria	2,500	36,550
France	n/a	2,600
Germany	35,000	180,000
Hungary	2,400	3,400
Holland	n/a	20,000
Italy	1,500	2,600
Switzerland	250	9,970
Slovenia	190	27,000
Sweden	n/a	45,000
Denmark	n/a	18,000
Norway	n/a	12,000
Other Countries	15,000	20,000

(Source: Government of the Republic of Croatia, Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees)

The various statistics above indicating how migration to Western European countries has increased in the last few years, have been provided in order to set a context against which the possible effects of increased minority populations on the school systems may be discussed. The situation in many large urban centres of Canada where schools are faced with the task of educating students from numerous ethnic minority groups will be considered by way of comparison. It is anticipated that the following discussion of language and literacy education in Canada may provide useful information for European educators. Since, the changes in Europe have happened relatively rapidly, one might wonder if European educators have yet fully appreciated the implications--all the more so since as Appleyard (1991) in the IOM report states: "Western European countries by and large have not readily acknowledged that they have become countries of immigration." (p. 31) Indeed, David Coleman in a report entitled "International Migrants in Europe: Adjustment and Integration Processes and Policies," has noted that "the Netherlands has become a de facto immigration country", and he has predicted that it will remain so "although it never sought that status," a fact supported by Penninx et al (1993:1). He also noted that "Germany does not regard

itself as a country of migration even though in 1988, 4.49 million foreigners or 7.5% of the population lived there." (1991, as quoted in Appleyard, p. 31)

If the demographics of Western European countries have now changed from relatively homogeneous to heterogeneous populations speaking many languages and representing a variety of cultures, the educational systems will have to take that into account. The situation is not unlike that of Canada, a country traditionally associated with massive immigration, although recent years, immigrants have come mainly from developing countries rather than from the Western European sources of earlier decades. With a relatively small population of 27,000,000, Canada currently accepts 250, 000 immigrants per year. What does that mean for the school system?

EDUCATING IMMIGRANT POPULATIONS: THE CANADIAN CASE

The Council of Ministers of Education of Canada conducted a survey in 1991 the results of which showed that the Province of Ontario had 59,000 school aged students who were enrolled in English Second Language/ English Skills Development (ESL/ESD) programs. Moreover, the Council has predicted that between 1990 and 1995, 300,000 children under the age of 15 would enter Canada, 55% settling in Ontario and 40% of those in Metropolitan Toronto (Curtis and Taborek, 1994:23). In 1993, statistics from North York, one of the larger burroughs of Metropolitan Toronto, indicated that of approximately 60,000 North York students, 40% were born outside of Canada (53% if one considers only those at the secondary level (grades 9 to 12), 71% have at least one parent born outside of Canada, 43% have a home language other than English, and more than 80 first languages from 120 countries of origin are represented in the schools (Majhanovich and Majhanovich, 1993:20). It is obvious for all concerned (learners, parents, teachers, administrators, etc.) that appropriate types of instruction should be available to assist not only the school-aged immigrants but also their parents, to integrate into the larger English speaking community as soon as possible.

Programs have to be provided that include knowledge, skills, and values necessary to prepare newcomers to survive and, it is to be hoped, flourish in the new country and culture. Within the school environment, it is recognized that if ESL/ESD students have any chance at all of meeting equitable expectations for social integration, special support must be available. Because Ontario and Metropolitan Toronto in particular receive the largest proportion of immigrants, a language and literacy program from that region of the country is described in this paper. However, other urban areas in Canada with large numbers of school-aged immigrants use similar approaches; thus, the one outlined here can be seen as a typical model for urban Canada.

A SUGGESTED PROGRAM

Canadian School districts such as North York, mentioned above, have learned from experience that support provided to immigrant students entails:

a program...linked to the conceptual development of the students, of sufficient duration to monitor students' progress for at least five years that would include cultural enrichment for all students in the school and would maintain strong contacts with the home. (Handscombe, 1989, p.26.)

Teachers involved in the delivery of ESL/ESD programs have decided that the support offered must include five components: an orientation program, a monitoring procedure, ongoing parental involvement, a strong language program, and academic upgrading where necessary. (Handscombe, 1989, pp:26-29)

The **orientation program** is designed to provide as much information as possible, both to the newcomers and the staff that will be dealing with them. The **monitoring procedure** consists of an initial assessment carried out if possible in the language the child understands best to determine linguistic and academic functioning as well as the child's educational history. This procedure ideally should be extended over time to track the student, modify placement and program decisions if necessary and provide appropriate interventions. **Ongoing parental involvement** should also be encouraged, supported by interpretation and translation services where necessary. The importance of using and fostering the development of the first language is recognized as an advantage to students. The noted Canadian researcher, James Cummins (1984:110-12, 1986:203), has criticized conventional wisdom that immigrant children's academic difficulties are caused because of interference of the home language with the second language. In North America, teachers encourage maximum exposure to the second language, English, and have even been known to advise parents to attempt to speak only English with their children even if they themselves do not speak English well. Professor Cummins argues that such an approach can lead to disastrous results since the parents may be even less proficient than their children in the second language and, thus, may be reluctant to interact with them in the second language. Klein (1986:10) has pointed out that one's sense of identity is closely linked to one's first language, and if the first language is suppressed, or seen as having less value than the second language, the students' sense of identity and self esteem may be damaged, setting up the potential for learning problems in school. Cummins suggests that sound knowledge of one's first language, in which certain universal concepts such as time, space, causality, and deictic terms¹ are developed, is essential if one is to experience success in learning a second language since these concepts can be transferred to any subsequent language one learns. When one has developed underlying proficiency in one's first language, (which will include the

ability to comprehend the above mentioned universal concepts), then one is capable of performing cognitively demanding communicative tasks. Without underlying proficiency in the first language, it will be more difficult to master a second language and the potential for problems in other academic areas is increased. That is not to say that--access to second language classes is not essential. It is just that learning a second language should not be "subtractive," that is, at the expense of the first language.

Consequently in the North York plan, a strong language program adapted to the needs of various learners is seen as central, but as an addition to, not a replacement for the first language. Where possible, opportunities for bilingual programs, especially in the early years of integration into the new country, are provided by teachers, tutors and peers fluent in both languages in order to capitalize on the first language as a basis to develop the second. A distinction needs to be made as well between ESL students who have to acquire all aspects of the language and those who already speak a variant or dialect of it. These latter students will probably possess high receptive (comprehension) skills but might require assistance in expressing themselves in the standard forms of English. This distinction might also be made for students who speak the language quite well but because of upbringing in a culture or political system radically different from the new home country may need help in adjusting to their new situation. This is especially true for refugee children from war-torn areas of the world who may have particular psycho/social as well as literacy and academic upgrading needs. See in this regard Robert Coles *Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear*.

With regard to the suggested program to cope with newcomers of various backgrounds and abilities, **academic upgrading** may be required particularly for those students from areas of the world where schooling was unavailable or sporadic. A literacy program constitutes the centre of the program, and if possible this may begin as a bilingual program making use of the students' first language. If a monolingual program must be followed, then it should be matched to the students' academic background and incorporate tried and true second language methods such as a visual/activity oriented approach, the contextualization of materials, etc.

Having established the five main features of the program, what is the best way to deliver it, and for how long? Length of academic support for immigrant students is a particular concern. Often minority children appear to have achieved linguistic proficiency in a relatively short period, perhaps as quickly as by the second year in the host country. After all, they appear to be quite capable of carrying on casual conversations and can follow most instructions. Nevertheless, researchers such as Cummins, (1984, 1986), and McLaughlin (1985) recommend that it may take as long as five to seven years in formal schooling for newcomers

to gain the ability to perform complex academic tasks in their new language. All too often in North America, immigrant children who appear fluent in their new language, experience real difficulties when assessed for academic abilities and are relegated to classes for the learning disabled. In fact, the real problem is often a lack of proficiency in English, their second language. Cummins and Swain have pointed out that there is a difference between surface fluency which includes pronunciation, grammar and the vocabulary necessary for basic interaction with others or what they call "Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills, and the type of proficiency needed to function in a complex academic situation, or what they term "Cognitive/ Academic Language Proficiency" (Cummins & Swain, 1986:151 ff). It is this second type of proficiency that Cummins and the other researchers mentioned above estimate will require five to seven years to develop, and only then if a solid underlying proficiency in the first language with (as discussed before) comprehension of the universal concepts of time, space and causality as they are expressed in that language are in evidence.

However, to sustain academic second language support programs over many years when more and more immigrant students are constantly entering the system is not a simple task for school authorities. One thing that must be guarded against is the "submersion" approach, where students are placed in regular classes with first language students, and are expected to pick up the language simply by being there. The Canadian experience has shown that this approach leads to a high rate of failure and dropping out of school among minority students. Therefore, some explicit support must be in place. The usual approach in Ontario is a combination of withdrawal of second language students where absolutely necessary for certain periods of the day while still allowing integration of SL learners with fluent speakers in subjects which are not as language intensive (e.g. Mathematics, Science, Arts, Music and Physical Education). In language intensive subjects such as literature and history, if withdrawal support is not always available, then the curriculum has to be modified slightly to provide word lists, simpler adaptations of the content and some integration of second language teaching with regular content teaching. Surprisingly, some secondary teachers have found that some of their first language students prefer the modified materials since the regular texts are often written at a level above the literacy level of the native language students. Finally, where it can be arranged, first language tutoring for immigrant students is provided as a bridge to acquisition of content delivered in the second language.

These support programs for immigrant students have implications for teacher education and preparation as well. Although in Ontario ESL/ESD teachers are theoretically required to have certification in the area, not all teachers are in fact qualified. Recently there has been an increasing tendency to mainstreaming with the result that the regular classroom teacher will have to cope with using second language methods in areas of the curriculum that are not supported by

student withdrawal to an ESL class taught by an ESL teacher. Hence, recent recommendations from the Teachers of English as a Second Language have included a call for a course on ESL for elementary and secondary teachers as part of their teacher preparation.

The program discussed above is geared to the elementary and secondary systems. However, in cities like Toronto with a massive immigrant adult population who do not speak English as their first or even second language, other programs have to be available. In fact, ESL teachers have included among their recommendation regarding teacher preparation, the addition of adult education as a possibility for certification since they are aware that many ESL teachers will work with adults in various settings. In Ontario, there are many adult education centres where immigrant students can acquire language skills, settlement information, career counselling and recognition of their adult experience and qualifications from their home country. Community Colleges and to a lesser degree, Universities also provide ESL support. In some cases, language classes are even set up in the workplace, in factories and other industrial complexes.

Evidently similar programs are available in Europe. The International Organisation for Migration Annual Report for 1992 mentions that 8,906 migrants and refugees were involved in cultural orientation courses where they could upgrade their language skills and learn to adapt to their new environment. For example, the IOM offered English, French and German language courses in Italy, Portugal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Viet Nam for migrants who would be leaving for areas of the world where those languages are spoken. (International Report of the IOM, 1992, p. 16)

Certain facilities already exist within the school systems of Western Europe to provide linguistic and cultural orientation to new immigrants. However, the influx of migrants has risen so rapidly that the schools may not yet be able to cope - even though it is to the benefit of all, not the least the host country, that the most urgent educational needs of immigrants be met. Canada has a long tradition of providing and refining language and social integration programs for its pluralistic, multilingual populace. Perhaps those European countries that only recently have had to come to terms with a rapidly changing demographic reality can profit from Canada's experience when they develop their own programs.

Note

- 1 *Deictic* is a linguistic term referring to lexical units that point, but do not specify elements of a particular situation, eg - here, there, yesterday, I, you, this.

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