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Canadian and Austrian Integration Policy

The Correlation between Education and Economic Mobility

Verfasserin

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

1.1 RELEVANCE OF THE SUBJECT

Western democracies have undergone deep transformations in the last three decades. The development of global communication, the changing labor market conditions and the appearance of new political regimes and international conflicts gave incentives to people to move to other countries. More precisely, employment opportunities and safety from prosecution are among the reasons for migration and brought many immigrants primarily to countries in the Western hemisphere.

The receiving countries, in turn, needed and still need immigrants to satisfy the economy's demand for labor that cannot be provided by an overall ageing population with low birth rates. Yet, the different cultural and social norms and values of the immigrants bring challenges for the national identities of the host countries (cf. Schulte, 1992, p.94 f).

The new immigrants have to be incorporated into the host society to hold up the existing social equilibrium. Integration is a process that enables the individual to participate in the political system and society. In order to facilitate integration, states have developed different approaches to immigrant incorporation, which may enhance or limit the scope of integration of the immigrant population (cf. Federal Ministry of Interior, International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2005, p.16 ff).

Since countries are becoming more culturally diverse, it is important to examine which integration policy with its underlying integration concept is more successful in the incorporation of new immigrants in the political system and society. Prejudices, xenophobia and discrimination are signs of a malfunctioning incorporation process (cf. Schmidtke, 2006, p.352 ff).

Exclusion and discrimination, which correlate with limited socio-economic opportunities, are mainly based on personal characteristics such as religion, sexual orientation, gender, social class, culture[1] or ethnicity[2] (cf. Castles, 1994, p.12 f).

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[1] Culture, which is embedded in the economic, political, religious and social institutions of society, may be described as a system of common beliefs, values and knowledge (cf. Westin, 1998, p.54). Since culture evolves in a particular context of space and time, it is

Discriminatory treatment of immigrants is a normal occurrence in almost all democratic societies whether the integration policy is based on diversity or exclusion. The important point is whether this discrimination is persistent (cf. Esser, 2006, p.542 ff). Economic mobility of the consecutive generations is the necessary precondition for the removal of structural and institutional discrimination. Hence, the schooling system characterizes an important institution for the social integration of immigrant children and provides the necessary means for economic mobility within society through education. Educational credentials and the command of the official language are important for integration in all dimensions of society (cf. Volf, 2001, p.183 ff). "Public policy can play an important role in facilitating immigrant incorporation" (Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p.87).

1.2 HYPOTHESIS AND STRUCTURE

The comparison between the Austrian and Canadian integration policy with a special emphasis on education will indicate both which policy is more efficient and better policy alternatives to enhance immigrant's economic mobility. More precisely, it will suggest that immigrant incorporation is more successful in a country with a multicultural orientation on integration than in a country that applies an exclusionary integration policy.

The analysis will start with an examination of the theoretical foundations of this thesis.

We will discuss the outcomes and consequences of the two integration concepts "acculturation" and "multiculturalism". In addition to that, we will examine three models of integration policy. Both models and concepts will be

usually based on a common ethnicity (cf. Parekh, 2000, p.149 ff). Culture is modifiable since it is able to incorporate new technical, political and social elements into its framework (cf. Westin, 1998, p.61). Communities, which are based on culture, are very heterogeneous, as members differ in the intensity of performing cultural practice and in the way, they may organize their life according to their culture.

[2] Ethnicity is in some way similar to culture. Castles (1998) defines ethnicity "as a sense of group belonging based on ideas of common origins, history, culture, experience and values" (p. 230). An ethnic community defines itself by group membership that is based on culture.

related to the case studies, as the thesis will provide an outline of the Austrian and Canadian integration policies.

The following chapter will analyze three educational programs for immigrant incorporation in the school systems in Austria and Canada, namely remedial courses in the official language(s), intercultural learning (multicultural education in the case of Canada) and heritage language education.

The next chapter will look at the economic mobility of the first and second generation of immigrants in both countries, as measured by education and labor market integration.

Finally, the last part of this thesis will provide a comparison of the discussed integration policies, educational programs and economic mobility of people with an immigrant origin. It will determine which integration policy with its related educational programs is more successful in the incorporation of immigrants and verify the hypothesis.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

In order to discuss a given policy, it is necessary to differentiate between the three dimensions of the political process, namely polity, politics and policy. The polity dimension describes the institutional setting of the political system (cf. Schubert, Bandelow, 2003, p.4).

"Politics refers to the processes and conflicts over questions as to how (…) authoritative and coercive means are to be employed-who or what agencies are to employ them and for what purposes (public policies)" (Almond, Powell, Mundt, 1996, p.28). It refers to the procedural aspect of the political process and concentrates on the way political decisions are achieved.

The last dimension, namely policy, focuses on the content of political decisions in terms of political solutions and the normative constitution of societal goals. Policies may contain regulations, laws or political programs, which are interrelated with the other two dimensions (cf. Schubert, Bandelow, 2003, p.4 f).

Policy Analysis is based on the evaluation and implementation of a political program (cf. Alemann, 1995, p.99 f). "In the language of politics and policy

evaluation, goals and assumptions are examined for their contribution to the larger common good, public interest, or general social welfare of the society, shorthand normative standards for the social order as a whole" (Fischer, 1995, p.112). The society can be considered as a system that is divided into subsystems. Each subsystem is composed of economic, social, political and cultural relationships between its members. Relationships within the systems are mediated through different societal institutions. The term *larger society* or *dominant culture* characterizes the group, which is the bearer of the national identity. As groups can never become homogeneous, differences within a group are acceptable as long as they do not violate basic cultural institutions. In general, policies are directed towards the societal goals of the dominant culture. A policy can only be effective when it underlies an understanding of societal processes, structures and functions (cf. ibid, p.112 ff). Since it examines the circumstances under which certain political decisions are achieved, it may produce theoretical knowledge and models (cf. Schubert, Bandelow, 2003, p.7).

A policy program may be evaluated on its efficiency or effectiveness in achieving the intended outcome. Policy analysis comprises a vindication of the reasons, consequences and content of political programs (cf. Alemann, 1995, p.100). This thesis will provide an examination of the educational programs for immigrant incorporation in Austria[3] and Canada[4]. Methodologically, this analysis is based on an *experimental program research*.

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[3] This analysis will strictly focus on the Austrian immigration and integration policy with special emphasis on education and will not look at the influence of the European Union on this policy field. The reasons for the exclusion of the European Union level are based on the fact that there exists no mandatory regulations, which influence educational programs aimed at immigrant incorporation in the European Union legislation.

The European Commission currently focuses and works on the development of a coherent immigration and asylum policy. For more information see, for example, "Green Paper on an EU approach to Managing Economic Migration" (cf. Schmidtke, Kovacev, Marry, 2006, p.2).

[4] The special case of Quebec within larger Canada will be mentioned at some points, but not discussed sufficiently to draw any conclusion about its particular situation, as this will go beyond the scope of this thesis. For more information on the province of Quebec see. Gagnon, A.-G (Ed.) (2004). Québec: State and Society. 3rd Edition. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

The evaluation of a program demands for an examination of the program objectives, which are determined by the policy goals. While policies are broad and encompass societal goals, program objectives are more specific, as they represent the means under which policy goals may be achieved.

For example, the Austrian and Canadian integration policies are directed towards the incorporation of immigrants into the political system. As will be discussed later on, integration as an outcome of acculturation claims that economic mobility of immigrants increases with more successful incorporation processes. Hence, the increase of economic mobility will represent the policy objective. Canada exemplifies a country with a multicultural integration policy. The difference between multiculturalism, assimilation and integration will be clarified in the following chapter. However, as incorporation theories aim at the integration of immigrants, economic mobility of immigrants will be compared in both cases.

An educational program, which is derived from the objectives of integration policy, is directed towards increasing the education of immigrants to ensure better chances of employment. Hence, a program deals with a specific problem within a range of problems to achieve a certain policy goal. The main purpose of a policy evaluation is to verify whether the program fulfilled its policy objective or failed. Subsequently, it is necessary to identify indicators, which allow for verification of the outcome. As this analysis focuses on economic mobility, labor market integration and education are the main indicators. They will be measured before and subsequent to the implementation of a given educational program using secondary sources like statistics (cf. Dunn, 2008, p.353; cf. Fischer, 1995, p.27 ff). Due to a lack of quantitative research on the socio-economic situation of immigrant and second-generation youth, we will rely on a small amount of samples to evaluate integration by measuring economic mobility in both countries. The sources in both countries are mainly based on the "Programme for International Student Assessment" (PISA) and the censuses of population carried out by Statistics Austria and Canada.

In order to analyze the intergenerational mobility in Austria, an independent sample conducted by the Institute of Empirical Social Research located in Vienna in 2004 and 2005 was included in the empirical evaluation. The

sample deals with the education and labor market integration of the second-generation youth in Austria. The findings are based on a thousand face-to-face interviews with second-generation youth between the age of sixteen and twenty-six (cf. Weiss, 2007b, p.26 f).

With regards to Canada, the National Longitude Survey of Children and Youth provides important information on the educational outcomes of immigrant and non-immigrant students (cf. Worswick, 2001, p.1).

In summary, the information for this analysis will rely on case studies and secondary data analysis.

With regards to the next stage of this analysis, the selected target group, which are the citizens with an ethnic origin other than Austrian or Canadian will be compared to non-citizens and subsequently with citizens whose mother tongue is only the national language. The last group is considered as the "control group", whereas the group of citizens with a different ethnic background than the dominant culture will provide the "experimental group". Members of the experimental group are the receivers of the benefits from the incorporation program. The evaluation of the statistical material will indicate whether the program succeeded in the realization of its policy goal. If the analysis proves a correlation between economic mobility and integration, the program can be considered as effective (cf. Dunn, 2008, p.353; cf. Fischer, 1995, p.29 f). In this context, it is important to mention that the data from the Institute of Empirical Social Research in Vienna indicates a significant difference between the educational attainments according to the ethnic origin of the parental generation in Austria. Austrian school statistics underscore the empirical findings of this sample. Ethnic background of the parental generation has a strong influence on second-generation education (cf. Unterwurzacher, 2007, p.71). Although this may represent another explanation for lower educational attainments, we will only marginally differentiate between the diverse ethnic communities in both countries as it goes beyond the scope of this research.

Why is it important to compare policies?

The analysis of policies in different political systems[5] helps us to understand structures and processes in our own polity. Moreover, it puts us in the position to explore other approaches, which may ameliorate the situation of, for example, immigrants, in our own political system. By indicating policy alternatives, it is possible to consider other approaches, test theories, analyze differences and draw conclusions about outcomes and possible improvements (cf. Almond, Powell, Mundt, 1996, p.26).

Comparative policy may consider synchronic or diachronic periods of a political process and may be conducted at different levels. Since this thesis will consider the Austrian and Canadian integration policies in terms of education, the analysis will be accomplished on a transnational level in diachronic periods. The main goal of the analysis is to describe differences and similarities of the relevant policies and their consequences for the economic mobility of immigrants. The selection of the two countries and their integration policies is based on a "most different systems design". The common factors of both countries represent their multiculturality[6] and similar educational programs with the goal of incorporating immigrants in the society (cf. Behrens, 2003, p.210 ff).

1.4 STATUS OF CURRENT RESEARCH

With regards to the literature on integration theories and models, we notice a certain lack of empirical and analytical discussion of immigrant integration. The role of the state particular during the process has remained largely unobserved in the European context. Recently, the focus has shifted from a consideration of the immigrant's obligation to the active role of the government. However, considerable gaps in understanding still remain (cf. Baringhorst, Hunger, Schönwälder, 2006, p.9 f).

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[5] "The political system is a set of institutions concerned with formulating and implementing the collective goals of a society or of groups within it" (Almond, Powell, Mundt, 1996, p.28 f).

[6] Multiculturality is only a descriptive term and does not imply a multicultural approach to societal integration (cf. Tiryakian, 2003, p.23). The difference between the two terms will be explained in the chapter about multiculturalism.

Due to Austrian policy makers' orientation on a restrictive immigration and integration policy during the 1960s and 1970s, the educational situation of students with an immigrant origin was neglected in empirical research. There was no consistent evaluation of educational achievements of students with an immigrant background until the 1990s.

Another problem refers to the fact that it is almost impossible to filter out educational and occupational performances of the second generation, as they are statistically categorized as Austrian students. For example, census data on the educational success of Austrians with other mother tongues than German was first collected in the year 2001 (cf. Simonitsch, Biffl, 2008, p.4).

Moreover, the first report on migration and integration in Austria was published in 2003 (cf. Fassmann, Stacher, Strasser, 2003, p.9). Analytical emphasis was put on asylum, citizenship and immigration policy (cf. Baringhorst, Hunger, Schönwälder, 2006, p.10 f).

In contrast to Austria, the Canadian census of population, which is conducted every five years, collects data on the individual's mother tongue since 1901. While the home language[7] and place of birth are consistently examined since 1981, the place of birth of the individual's parents was first introduced into the census questionnaire in the year 2001. This category enables the identification of the second generation of immigrants (cf. Statistics Canada, 2002, n. p.[8]). Although the evaluation of the occupational and educational situation of the second generation was also possible prior to 2001, the focus of Canadian researchers was mainly placed on the differing incomes of earlier and recent immigrant groups and on the comparison of educational outcomes and earnings of the Canadian-born and immigrant populations. Most research focused on the question as to whether low income is a persistent situation for immigrants or a short-term phenomenon during the first years after immigration.

With regards to education, the researchers were mainly concerned with comparing educational outcomes among immigrant and Canadian-born students. The intergenerational mobility of immigrants (first and second

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[7] Language spoken at home

[8] No page found

generation) was only recently brought into the focus of academia and public (cf. Worswick, 2001, p.1 f; cf. Aydemir, Chen, Corak, 2005, p.5 ff).

2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

2.1 CONCEPTS OF INCORPORATION

A concept comprises definitions and ideas linked to theoretical considerations (cf. Schubert, Bandelow, 2003, p.8 f).

In the following chapter, concepts of incorporation will be discussed to facilitate the understanding of the policy field, its normative orientation and objectives. Before discussing the different modes of incorporation, it is important to presuppose that all approaches are aimed at the incorporation of newcomers into the mainstream culture and the political system. However, the means and tools to achieve this incorporation differ greatly and cause various constraints for the immigrant (cf. Kymlicka, Norman, 2000, p.14).

2.1.1 Acculturation

Acculturation as an incorporation concept was developed in the middle of the 1930s and deals with changes in a person's cultural behavior. In order to cope with the complexity of integration, scholars developed different stages of assimilation where a group or individual adapts to the culture of a larger social group, which is usually characterized as the larger or dominant society (cf. Gordon, 1964, p.61 ff).

"Definitions of acculturation typically orient to a process of prolonged intergroup contact between two or more cultural groups and the changes that this purportedly brings in both the parties" (Bowskill, Lyons, Coyle, 2007, p.794). Hence, acculturation also entails a change in the national identity due to contact with other cultures (cf. Schmidtke, 2006, p.355).

The first step to acculturation is cognitive assimilation, which calls for the individual's acquisition of social and cultural skills in order to live in and

communicate with the dominant society. The person becomes accustomed to the institutional structure and builds relationships within the society by incorporation into its labor and housing markets. The individual negotiates his social, economic and political position through the institutional structure while, at the same time, becoming incorporated through it. Moreover, the individual's position within the institutional structure whether it deals with the labor or housing market has implications for his or her social integration (cf. Fassmann, 2006, p.230).

Structural assimilation, which is the next step to acculturation, deals with the geographic and economic mobility of an immigrant. Lower socio-economic living conditions are supposed to stand in a certain correlation with the formal discriminatory treatment of non-citizens. Successful institutional integration of an individual is linked to a certain increase in his or her economic mobility (cf. Han, 2000, p.189 f).

According to Gordon, social status, economic and political power are the three main variables which determine stratification in society (cf. Gordon, 1985, p.238 ff). Immigrants are usually affected by poor working conditions, a high level of competition and low living standards (cf. Bauböck, 1993, p.17; cf. Feliciano, 2005, p.5).

Privileged environments, which reproduce the national identity in society, exacerbate the stratification of persons who are situated at the lower end of the societal hierarchy (cf. Gordon, 1958, p.240). Yet, ethnicity does not always correlate with a lower social status as will exemplify the comparison of unranked and ranked groups in society. In the case of unranked groups, ethnicity and class do not coincide. Competition occurs according to the socio-economic situation of an individual. Lower class members of the dominant society compete with immigrants who dwell in the same socio-economic circumstances (cf. Bauböck, 1993, p.8).

With regards to stratification in ranked groups, ethnicity contributes to a lower social status compared to members of the larger society. Economic mobility is limited by ethnic group membership (cf. Horowitz, 1985, p.22 f).

Cognitive and structural assimilation are considered as stages of external acculturation. Although immigrants may already have adapted to the

institutional structure of society, they are still able to live in their own cultural networks.

The following two steps deal with the internal acculturation, which comprises the immigrant's adaption to the dominant cultural and social norms and values (cf. Han, 2000, p.189 f).

Social assimilation entails the development of relationships with members of the society, which in turn enhances participation (cf. Schmidtke, 2006, p.355). The individual builds networks and interacts with the larger society. The types of relationships may be interethnic or intraethnic. Social assimilation correlates with social integration (cf. Fassmann, 2006, p.230).

Identificational assimilation is the last stage and postulates that the individual gives greater loyalty to the national identity of the dominant society than to his other identities, which may be based on ethnicity, religion or gender.

Acculturation presupposes that each level has to be embraced by the individual to ensure his or her full incorporation. Identificational assimilation is supposed to occur automatically as the individual is already included in the society to a certain degree. He or she has negotiated his or her position through the institutional and social structure of society and accumulated knowledge of the national culture.

In general, acculturation generates four different outcomes, namely assimilation, integration, segregation or marginalization of an immigrant. A state's integration policy may compose regulations and programs to achieve two or more different outcomes at the same time (cf. Han, 2000, p.199 f).

2.1.1.1 Assimilation

In general, assimilation is based on a negative assumption of diversity. Gordon and other scholars of assimilationist approaches suppose that a sort of "core society" or "core culture" exists, which is homogeneous and embedded in the larger society (cf. ibid, p.52).

Ernest W. Burgess and Robert E. Park describe assimilation as a procedure of fusion or interpenetration where elements of the national identity are integrated in the common culture. From the viewpoint of the numerically

smaller group, assimilation substitutes one identity for another. Cultural heritage is not eradicated from the individual's identity, but is limited in a way that it does not interfere with the value system of the national culture. Assimilation's primary goal embodies the building of a culturally homogeneous entity (cf. Gordon, 1964, p.62 ff).

Horowitz refers to assimilation as a process to simplify an individual's identity because it entails a reduction of the identificational complexity (cf. Horowitz, 1985, p.68). Moreover, assimilationist approaches assume that people with different cultural norms and values represent sub-societies, which jeopardize the social equilibrium of a society. In order to resolve this potential conflict, the newcomer has to absorb the mainstream culture and adapt to the social values of the national identity. This is regarded as the final stage of the integration process and is irreversible (cf. Zolberg, 1996, p.59). Assimilation seeks to minimize the impact of new elements on the national identity. The eradication of difference should maintain the internal cohesion.

Incorporation is oriented on the individual rather than on minority groups. A malfunction of assimilation may result in a stigmatization or segregation of an individual or minority group. Hence, it forces newcomers and immigrants to assimilate in order to prevent alienation from the political system and society (cf. Bauböck, 1996, p.114). Another reason for assimilation may include the immigrants' expectation that their adaption will lead to a potential increase in their economic mobility. Being part of the dominant culture may enable the individual to redefine his or her social status in society, as it should put an end to discriminatory practices based on group membership, namely nationality. However, in most cases discrimination remains as an obstacle to full equality (cf. Cook, 2003, p.91).

 "The numerical weight of the members of the dominant society, the frequency and intensity of the contacts and the passage of time were all considered assimilation-accelerating factors" (Carmon, 1996, p.23).

More precisely, assimilation is most likely when the individual is not affected by residential segregation, which presupposes that the concentration of immigrants with the same ethnic background is considerably low. Another incentive for assimilation is a similar physical appearance, which allows the individual to move "invisibly" in society. Career opportunities usually enhance

the individual's will to adapt as it ameliorates his socioeconomic circumstances. Finally yet importantly, the duration of the immigrant situation has strong effects on assimilative tendencies. In most cases, the second or third generation is more willing to abandon its cultural heritage and adapt to the dominant culture than newcomers.

Although some circumstances seem more important than others do, it is the interrelation of various factors which swing an individual's decision (cf. Cook, 2003, p.100).

From the viewpoint of assimilation, a person, who does not adapt to the dominant culture accepts discrimination and stigmatization since assimilation is considered as the prerequisite to equal treatment, unity and access to citizenship (cf. Parekh, 2000, p.197).

2.1.1.2 Segregation

Segregation, which encompasses the externalization of difference, is caused by the individual's withdrawal from the acculturation process (cf. Han, 2000, p.201).

A segregated society is divided by subgroups, which are rarely connected with each other. The individual's link to his or her cultural identity of his native country remains strong (cf. Fassmann, 2006, p.228). It is a form of separation[9] from other communities while simultaneously maintaining homogeneity within the ethnic community (cf. Marko, 2000, p.11).

Segregation does not occur automatically in most cases, but is caused by discrimination and problems relative to the acculturation process. The corresponding problems may be caused by political, social or economic exclusion. For example, minimal social interaction with members of the larger society is an important factor for the social exclusion of an immigrant.

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[9] Separation differs from segregation in terms of the cause of exclusion. While separation is based on the individual's will to withdrawal from the incorporation process, segregation is achieved through discriminatory and exclusionary actions of the institutional structure (cf. Han, 2000, p.201).

Moreover, temporary workers may have arranged housing in a certain residential area through their employer. For example, settlement policy sometimes offers public funded housing areas to accommodate newcomers and temporary workers (cf. Han, 2000, p.230).

Yet, the circumstances for the creation of segregated ethnic communities presuppose a certain quantity of immigrants with the same cultural background who face similar societal obstacles to participation (cf. Esser, 1986, p.106 ff). Segregation becomes a problem at the point where economic mobility of ethnic communities is limited. They should have equal access to education and employment as members of the dominant society (cf. Lieberson, 1961, p.56; cf. Weiner, 1996, p.53).

The limitation of social interactions to members of the same ethnic community decreases the contact with the larger society. The exclusionary character of an ethnic community may correlate with societal exclusion (cf. Esser, 1986, p.113).

In this context, we may distinguish between two possible outcomes of segregation. On the one hand, segregation may lead to a total exclusion from participation in the political system. No substantial interaction remains between the members of a community and a given political system, which causes the individual's alienation from the political community (cf. Han, 2000, p.201). Scholars conceive that "within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group" (Gordon, 1964, p.34).

On the other hand, segregation can be conceived as a precondition for successful integration. Chain migration describes the individual's incentive to live in an area where family members, acquaintances or members of the same ethnic community dwell. The decision to live in the same neighborhood is usually based on the assumption that members with the same cultural background may prove helpful for the transition into the new social environment (cf. Han, 2000, p.225). The community may function as a provider of information about the receiving state and its cultural norms and values (cf. Fassmann, 2002, p.22). Yet, a high migration return flow and an

easy access to the country of origin may constrain the process of integration (cf. Weiner, 1996, p.54).

The second outcome of segregation implies a consistent interaction with the larger society to a certain degree. While the individual stays within its cultural community, it participates in negotiations with the political system through its community and pressure groups. Hence, it does not imply full residential segregation.

Segregation has implications for future generations as they also remain excluded within their ethnic communities. Liberal democracies are increasingly challenged by ethnic segregation as it mainly produces disenfranchised communities outside the political system (cf. Bauböck, 1996, p.113 ff).

2.1.1.3 Integration

With regards to etymology, the word integration is based on the incorporation of something or someone into a larger entity. Yet, the term is confusing as it can describe cohesion as well as insertion (cf. Fassmann, 2006, p.225 f).

Integration as an incorporation approach supposes that two communities or groups affiliate into a new group (cf. Marko, 2000, p.12). It assumes that at least two groups with different cultural and social norms coexist within a society or political system. One of these groups, usually the larger one, is the bearer of the country's national identity and practices its values and norms through the exercise of law and social interaction. This indicates that integration characterizes an asymmetric process. Yet, the other group is only partly influenced by the national culture as a different cultural understanding underlies its interactions.

On the one hand, the incorporation of a group into the larger society calls for the acceptance of the institutional and social structure of the larger society. On the other hand, the group or individual will be included into the society and influence its structure through his participation, which may lead to the incorporation of new elements into the national identity. More precisely, although the individual or group has to adapt to a certain degree to the norms

and values of the larger society in order to avoid exclusion, the resulting incorporation offers the possibility to influence and change the national culture (cf. Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, 1986, p.16 f). "Integration into civil society is in this sense reflexive. It feeds back into the processes which determine the conditions of integration with regard to the core institutions of modern society" (Bauböck, 1996, p.117).

In the concept of integration, differences are accepted so long as they do not diminish the social cohesion of society nor interfere with central ideas of the national culture (cf. Gordon, 1964, p.68). Societal cohesion is a sensitive issue as it describes the maintenance of equilibrium in society. Society as a system itself is not neutral in the sense that norms and practices of the dominant culture are woven into its structures. Hence, the capacity to include new elements into the dominant culture is limited because they may interfere with the current value system. Equality, as a goal of democratic societies, is almost impossible to achieve in order to avoid widespread resentment of the larger society as the system is not able to process all demands of cultural groups (cf. Parekh, 1998, p.410 f). Since democratic societies are complex systems of interaction between different members, the building of one universal entity is almost impossible.

In summary, "integration is viewed as the incorporation of immigrants into the civic society, like the political and educational system and the labor market, without demands that they give up their culture(s)" (Hjerm, 2000, p.268). It is conceived as successful when immigrants, their children and members of the larger society participate equally in society (cf. Sauer, 2007, p.58).

The concept of integration is vague with regards to the actual outcome of the incorporation process and is not limited to the incorporation of newcomers, but deals with all groups in society whether they are defined by ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation or religion (cf. Fassmann, 2006, p.225).

2.1.1.4 Marginalization

Marginalization is a complete withdrawal from the societal and community structures. The individual has no group affiliations neither with the larger society nor within an ethnic community. He or she exists outside the political system (cf. Han, 2000, p.201). The individual's alienation caused by an experienced loss of identity may result from the confrontation with two different cultures. The individual is not able to identify with both cultures and develops a negative attitude towards both cultural communities (cf. Weiss, 2007b, p.22).

Park describes marginalization by referring to "the marginal man". He or she takes an inclined position between two or more cultures. Usually, marginalization is a problem of the second or third generation of immigrants. Contact with the dominant culture without full assimilation leads to an alienation from the culture of origin even though the individual still identifies himself or herself with it. Marginalization has different outcomes. The marginal man may draw back to his or her ethnic community and segregate from the larger society or form a sub-society with other marginal men who experience the same marginalization (cf. Gordon, 1964, p.57).

In ranked societies, a change in social status comprises a transformation of the individual's ethnic affiliation, which in turn creates marginalization until he or she has rearranged his or her position in the new sub-society (cf. Gordon, 1958, p.255).

2.1.2 Multiculturalism

2.1.2.1 Multiculturalism as a Concept

The term "multicultural" is descriptive. It labels the existence of more than one cultural community within a nation state but does not define political programs and strategies to address this issue (cf. Tiryakian, 2003, p.23). Multiculturality does not describe a new phenomenon but gave ground to the development of a new normative concept, namely multiculturalism, to deal with cultural and ethnic diversity.

In general, the concept of multiculturalism was a response to the increasing ethnic plurality of democratic societies in the 1980s. As ethnic identities of immigrants have increased in importance, assimilation as the incorporation mode in place in most countries in the Western hemisphere has failed to maintain stability within the political systems (cf. Kymlicka, Norman, 2000, p.16). From the viewpoint of multiculturalism, acculturation and other types of incorporation concepts do not respect the individual's identity as they try to diminish the influence of the original culture, which is part of a person's identity. Cultural identity is necessary for a person's self-realization (cf. Gagnon, Iacovino, 2004, p.370 f).

Multiculturalism extends equality rights from the civil, economic and political sphere to the cultural sphere (cf. Parekh, 2000, p.211).

Ethnicity, gender or religion, just to name a few, should not diminish a person's ability to exercise constitutional, political and social rights. Therefore, multiculturalism aims at providing equal opportunities to every person living on a certain territory no matter what nationality the person belongs to (cf. Westin, 1998, p.56 f). "Multiculturalism in the broadest sense is the utopia of equal life chances for all communities in a direct sense, and eventually also for individuals in an indirect sense" (Heller, 1996, p.28).

Kymlicka and Norman (2000) assert that "multicultural integration does not have the intent or expectation of eliminating cultural differences between subgroups in the state" (p. 14). Moreover, this mode of incorporation supposes that different cultural and social values can be accommodated within a political system (cf. Bauböck, 1993, p.42).

Multiculturalism assumes that society is decentralized and fragmented rather than homogeneous (cf. Freeman, 2007, p.124).

Language symbolizes a unifying variable for integration and facilitates the understanding of the common cultural structures and institutions (cf. Metropolis Secretariat, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006, p.21). While language skills in the official national language are important to communicate with other members of society, the acquisition of the mother tongue enables the individual to maintain his or her other cultural identity. Bilingualism is the key element to sustain cultural identities, as language promotes cultural norms and values (cf. Bauböck, 1993, p.42).

Cultural diversity in society may result in conflicts between minority groups. These conflicts are supposed to be solved in a continuing dialog, which is regarded as a chance to enhance the understanding of other cultural identities rather than a danger to the social equilibrium.

Although multiculturalism puts a strong emphasis on the meaning of culture, it also takes other dimensions of unequal treatment into account. Thus, it discusses the societal, socio-economic and formal obstacles of minority groups within a political system (cf. Schulte, 1992, p.97 f).

2.1.2.2 Three modes of multicultural political integration

Political integration in multicultural societies is mainly achieved through three modes of integration.

The procedural approach focuses on stability and peace in society. Since it presupposes basic cultural incompatibility between the different communities, the state has to be neutral. Its only task is to outline the formal procedures for living in a peaceful environment. Citizens are able to pursue their own goals in life while respecting basic rules of conduct. While maintaining cultural diversity within society, it establishes political unity.

However, it opens up possibilities for discrimination, as it is not clear whether the mentioned code of conduct is based on religious affiliations or secularity. Since our understanding of the human nature and organizations are linked to our cultural identity, a common understanding of the character of political

authority is hard to achieve. Political authority is not able to set out rules of conduct without losing its neutrality. Each law and regulation is based on a moral assumption. For example, whether to allow or legalize coerced marriage involves a moral decision on the nature of free will. As the state is responsible for the moral well-being of society, it has to deal with important issues such as rights and obligations, allocation of resources and taxation. Each state maintains cultural and moral biases of the dominant culture by exercising coercion. Yet, the degree of the bias varies among societies.

The civic assimilatonist approach aims at the creation of a shared political culture. The main difference to assimilationist incorporation modes is that it is not directed to change the individual's cultural origin. When all citizens share the same political culture, which includes political ideals, values, modes of communication, institutions, practices and so on, differences may be resolved for the common good. In this context, the civic assimilatonist mode assumes unity in the public sphere, while allowing for diversity in the private sphere, which represents civil society and family (cf. Parekh, 2000, p.199 ff). This separation is inconsistent, as institutions like religion or education comprise both spheres. In the case of religion, the wearing of religious clothes at work may cause problems for the employer whereas it belongs to the individual's religious practice.

Although a multicultural policy intends to incorporate new elements into the national identity, it is important to identify power structures incorporated in the dominant culture. The dialog between cultural or ethnic communities is not based on an equal standing, but on a social hegemonic organization of society where the dominant culture takes precedence (cf. Levine-Rasky, 2006, p.4). Political power is mainly linked to the public sphere where political authority is negotiated. Hence, the standing and influence of the political culture of the dominant society is more significant than that of other cultures, as it dominates the public sphere. The political culture of the larger society may oppress other communities. For example, patriarchal biases of the dominant culture in terms of family are increasingly challenged.

Finally, the Millet model assumes a union of cultural communities within society. Every community pursues its own goals but interacts with other communities to negotiate social, political and economic issues. The state's

primary purpose is to maintain the structures of the communities and ensure their autonomy. This approach does not maintain cohesion and unity as it grants autonomy to cultural communities. In a social and political sense, there are no bonds and rather insignificant interactions between the communities (cf. Parekh, 2000, p.203 ff).

2.1.2.3 Multicultural Policy

Multicultural policy is the response to the multiculturality of society in the sense that it allows for the maintenance of cultural identities.

It mainly focuses on three objectives, namely social justice, civic participation and identity. More precisely, it aims at equal, respectful and fair treatment of all members of a political system regardless of their ethnic origins. Hence, society should encourage and provide the means for all its members to participate in the future development of the country through the communities in which they live. Considering the meaning of identity, multicultural countries are responsible to ensure respect, recognition and reflection of their cultural diversity in order to allow all members to feel attached to their country (cf. Canadian Heritage, 1998, p.2). The goals of a multicultural policy are achieved through various types of programs and regulations. In his discussion of multicultural citizenship, Kymlicka exemplifies political programs to build and maintain a multicultural society. Among these examples are affirmative action, ethno-cultural and anti-racist education in school, the incorporation of religious holidays into the general holidays, non-discriminatory dress code, instruction on formal actions against assaults and discrimination, services provided in the individual's native tongue and bilingual education in the child's mother tongue (cf. Kymlicka, 1999, p.62 f). Although affirmative action comprises differential treatment of individuals or cultural groups whose cultural identity is not based on the dominant culture, it is legitimate because of its equalizing character cultural groups that were discriminated against in the past should be enabled to participate in societal structures in order to compensate for past inequity (cf. Parekh, 1998, p.409).

Bilingual education in the individual's native tongue is another controversial subject of multicultural policies. Scholars do not deny the need for language skills in the national language as it is evident that the importance of communication is crucial for the individual's incorporation into society. While language skills are usually low at the beginning, information about the political system and cultural norms and values of the host society may be communicated to the newcomer in his or her mother tongue. It increases the understanding and knowledge of the new culture. In this context, language is important as it functions as a provider of communicating norms and values. Although language is essential, it is not a guarantor for integration.

In this sense, the institutional incorporation of the individual into the larger society does not have any implications for the individual's identification with the political community. However, institutional incorporation is considered as a step towards psychological identification.

Besides the necessary arrangements for cultural reproduction, multicultural policy mainly aims at the incorporation of newcomers and not at the development of autonomous communities. The individual has to decide whether to integrate into the larger society or to accept his or her social, economic and political marginalization. Multicultural policy provides the individual with the means to participate in the political system by redefining the terms of integration and accepting their uniqueness (cf. Kymlicka, 1999, p.71 f). Multiculturalism does not consider assimilation as a necessary outcome of integration policy in the long term (cf. Han, 2000, p.313).

Furthermore, it is important to mention that the process of recognition of diverse cultural backgrounds occurs within the existing institutional framework of a political system and not outside of its structures (cf. Weiner, 1996, p.55).

2.1.2.4 Criticism of Multicultural Policy

Criticisms of multiculturalism usually take a negative stance on the incorporation of new elements into the national culture as it challenges the national identity of a society.

In the following, we will look at four limitations or criticism of multiculturalism brought forward by Pelinka and Kymlicka.

Pelinka's criticism refers to the relationship between race and culture. While race is not an eligible dimension of difference, culture is used as a synonym to make this very difference based on ethnicity. Pelinka points out that a multicultural approach needs difference to overcome it. This antagonism is very peculiar, as an example will emphasize. When the focus lies on culture based on ethnicity, multicultural policies have to put emphasis on culture to show the difference between the minority group and the larger society. This may result in an enhancement rather than removal of differences based on ethnicity. In this sense, culture or ethnicity is used as an instrument of inclusion and exclusion.

Multicultural policy represents an instrument to achieve integration and should not be characterized as a desired outcome itself. When equity is achieved, there is no need for multiculturalism.

Another problem refers to the issue that multicultural policies consider minority groups as homogeneous. For example, persons with an Asian cultural background are seen as one group with the same aims and targets. Yet, religious belief, gender and sexual orientation may differ greatly within such groups (cf. Pelinka, 2001, p.154 ff).

In his book "Multiculturalism and Democracy", Kymlicka points out that multicultural policy may result in an ethic problem for the host country. By putting culture in a strong position to explain differences, practices like female genital mutilation or honor killings provide serious problems for human rights regimes. Therefore, a multicultural policy is limited in the sense that it has to guarantee equality among and freedom within the different communities composing a society. Members of a community or group are not allowed to repress or discriminate against its members or associates of other communities. For example, female genital mutilation is considered as an act

of violence against female members of the black, Muslim community (cf. Kymlicka, 1999, p.63).

Another major criticism of multiculturalism usually refers to the danger that giving minority rights to one group may result in an overwhelming demand of rights by others. This would subsequently jeopardize the stability of the political system (cf. Kymlicka, Norman, 2000, p.16). In this context, Kymlicka points out that cultural separatism is hard to maintain as certain prerequisites are necessary. In his discussion, he considers the special case of the Canadian province of Quebec. The province of Quebec had to gain rights to control education and immigration policy in its territory and develop francophone institutions in order to reproduce and conserve a francophone national identity. Language is an important factor to maintaining a national culture, as it is the mean of communication. Hence, it is crucial to minority groups and immigrants to be integrated in the institutional framework to ensure the recognition of a certain identity. As the state is the most important employer in Western democracies, only the language of communication allows for full and equal participation of an individual (cf. Kymlicka, 1999, p.54 ff).

2.2 INTEGRATION POLICY

Integration policy deals with the political, social, formal, cultural and economic incorporation of immigrants (cf. Schmidkte, 2006, p.351; cf. Hetfleisch, 2006, p.67). It is a cross-sectional policy as it influences other policy fields such as education and economy. Its main purpose is the development of societal structures, which enables the immigrant's social, cultural, political, formal and economic participation.

With regards to the different dimensions of integration, political integration is directed at the development and maintenance of structures, which allow for the equal political participation of immigrants in the political system. Formal and economic integration, on the other hand, are linked to the institution of citizenship and the labor market (cf. Federal Ministry of Interior (BM.I), & International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2005, p.20 ff).

Considering the personal sphere of the individual, social integration comprises the immigrant's motives and orientations on integration and relationships to the larger society (cf. Fassmann, 2006, p.226 f). Finally, cultural integration is linked to the degree of the immigrant's acculturation (cf. Federal Ministry of Interior (BM.I), & International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2005, p.21).

The programs, which are deduced from integration policy, are characterized as either redistributive or regulative. Redistributive programs entail a reallocation of resources whereas regulative ones aim at changing the rules of conduct. The instruments to implement programs are mainly sanctions, incentives or persuasive strategies. Anti-discrimination legislation or mandatory language lessons belong to sanctions, as they characterize coercive measures. Incentives to increase the cultural understanding and integration, may comprehend financial and administrative support for interethnic organizations. Persuasive strategies are usually applied through anti-racist campaigns for more tolerance (cf. Baringhorst, Hunger, Schönwälder, 2006, p.20 f).

Incorporation concepts are particularly relevant for integration policy as they outline policy goals. They work as referential frameworks to evaluate programs and regulations through a vindication of the relationship between policy goal and a given program. Hence, it is possible to compare policies and develop proposals for further agendas and policy alternatives (cf. Schulte, 2006, p.29).

The type of incorporation mode, which is applied in a country, usually depends on culture, institutions, demographical composition and political orientation (cf. Freeman, 2007, p.122 ff). "Any policies to promote the integration of immigrants must inevitably be inserted into and interact with these pre-existing contexts" (Carens, 2005, p.42).

Conceptions considering the acquisition of citizenship play an important part in the organization of integration policy (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.36).

Since there are a variety of variables that influence integration policy, most governments apply a mixture of approaches. This combination makes it hard

to classify certain integration models since they are inconsistent (cf. Freeman, 2007, p.123).

2.2.1   Types of immigration and integration policies

The categorization of integration policies is important as models outline available regulative or redistributive instruments.

The following consideration of the three models of integration policy deals with idealizations, which cannot be applied exactly to the integration policy of a country. In most countries, more than one model finds recognition in the policy considerations. Policy debates and changes in the public opinion and socio-economic circumstances influence integration policy. Developments in the field of integration may be multidimensional and in some cases contradictory.

2.2.1.1 Exclusionary Model

This type of integration model defines membership according to a person's ancestry. Language, culture and community belonging decide over the inclusion or exclusion of a person in a society. The legal principles for access to membership rest upon the rules for the acquisition of citizenship. Countries, which apply an exclusionary model of integration, usually base membership on ius sanguinis[10]. Citizenship can only be permitted to children of citizens; children born to immigrants that do not have citizenship from the host country are considered as foreigners. Moreover, access to membership is discretionary and mainly achieved through naturalization. Countries complying with the exclusionary integration model are usually characterized by an insecure residence status for immigrants, a guest worker system and formal obstacles to family reunification (cf. Castles, 1994, p.21 ff). The guest worker system is based on the rotation of foreign laborers according to the needs of a given economy (cf. Bauböck, 2001, p.13). "Guest workers may be

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[10] Citizenship is based on a person's descent.

treated well, given accommodation, provided employment, and offered access to many of the benefits of the welfare system, but they will be regarded as outsiders in the cultural, social and political sense as long as they are seen as temporary sojourners" (Weiner, 1996, p.49).

Moreover, these countries follow the ideology that they are not immigrant countries although their population may be ethnically diverse. Immigrants are considered as part of the civil society while denied access to full and equal membership in the formal dimension (cf. Castles, 1994, p.21). The society is considered as culturally and linguistically homogeneous. The acquisition of citizenship takes a long time and characterizes the end point of the integration process (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.37 f).

The Austrian government exercises, to some extent, an exclusionary model of integration policy, as will be shown in the following discussion.

2.2.1.2 Assimilationist Inclusionary Model

The assimilationist inclusionary integration policy is based on the republican and imperial model of citizenship.

With regards to the republican model, some extent of cultural assimilation is necessary for access to membership. This model mainly concentrates on the political inclusion of a person and leaves social integration to the private sphere.

The latter model was developed in the time of colonialism. People with different origins were considered as equal subjects to the French State. Yet, this equality was not extended to the social, economic and political dimension. Although citizenship was comparatively easy to attain due to ius soli regulations[11], rights were unequally distributed among colonial subjects and French citizens. The time of entry in the colonialist motherland and the country of origin were important factors for a person's formal inclusion or

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[11] Ius soli regulations define membership by the place of birth regardless of the parents' citizenship (cf. Castles, 1994, p.21 f).

exclusion. Moreover, a colonial subject did not enjoy the same rights as people from the motherland.

Considering the assimilationist inclusionary model, integration is focused on the political inclusion of the individual, while informal or structural discrimination are not considered as obstacles during the integration process. To sum up, political integration and access to citizenship are open to immigrants when they accept cultural assimilation (cf. Castles, 1994, p.21 f). This model follows the understanding that cultural difference jeopardizes the social equilibrium of a society. Culture is strictly separated from the political organization. The individual has to adapt to the linguistic and cultural norms of the host society (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.37).

2.2.1.3 Pluralist Inclusionary Model

The pluralist inclusionary or multicultural model of integration policy supports cultural difference among its members and tends to facilitate access to citizenship. Immigration is considered as part of the nation building process. However, limitations exist to the extent that the individuals have to respect political core values and the rule of law of the receiving country (cf. Castles, 1994, p.22 f). Particular emphasis is put on anti-discrimination legislation like affirmative action to advance and maintain equality in society. Ethnic communities receive government aid through policies to enhance acceptance and participation. Some may obtain privileges to maintain their cultural identities. The pluralist inclusionary model is also able to accommodate minority rights within a political system (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.36).

This model applies to the integration policy of the United States, Canada and Australia, although they have a different understanding of the state's role in the integration process.

The government of the United States shows a relatively low activity in the cultural and social integration, which is based on the belief that these types of

integration belong to the responsibility of the individual. Political integration in the public sphere is defined by formal regulations.

A high degree of state intervention to foster cultural pluralism can be found in the case of Canada and Australia. The immigrant's membership in the nation state and civil society are considered as important assets of society.

2.2.1.4 Outlook

Even though integration policies vary among democratic societies, we notice a certain trend towards intensified attempts to incorporate immigrants into the nation state and civil society. A reason for this development may embody the presence of disenfranchised ethnic communities, which contradicts the democratic principle of participation (cf. Castles, 1994, p.23). Assimilation of the first and second generation of immigrants was conceived as the only way of incorporation into the nation state until the late 1960s in Austria and Canada (cf. Bauböck, 1993, p.40). After the 1960s, development in both countries began to differ as Austria continued the exercise of an exclusionary integration model while Canada applied a pluralist inclusionary one.

2.2.2 Austrian Integration Policy

The Austrian integration policy is oriented on an exclusionary model (cf. Betz, 1996, n. p.). It mainly focuses on the formal restriction of first immigration, the regulation of residence status of third country nationals and the access to citizenship, which is based on ius sanguinis. Although legislation like the Alien Act[12] was modified in 1997 and 2005, the quota system remains in place, which implies the continuity of the Austrian guest worker system. Recent changes in the regulations concerning family reunification became more restrictive as will be discussed in the following (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.164).

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[12] "Fremdenrecht"

2.2.2.1 From the Past to the Present

Austrian policy makers did not develop any strategies to integrate immigrants and citizens with another mother tongue than German until the 1990s.

The Austrian government implemented a so-called guest worker system[13] in the 1960s in order to bring cheap labor to the flourishing Austrian labor market. The recruitment of guest workers continued until the beginning of the oil crisis in the 1970s. The aim of this system was to increase the supply of cheap labor, but not to integrate foreign laborers into the Austrian society (cf. Weiss, 2007a, p.9 f). In order to get better control of immigration, which continued due to family reunification throughout the 1980s and 1990s, a quota system for foreign and seasonal workers was implemented. Additionally, a federal maximum on the number of immigrants per year[14] was fixed, which replaced the quota agreement for occupational groups. Restrictive regulations for immigrants in terms of family reunification[15] and the labor market decelerated immigration to Austria to a certain extent (cf. Hetfleisch, 2006, p.62). Immigrants, who have the citizenship of a European Union member state, do not have to comply with these regulations[16].

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[13] Recruitment agreements based on the Raab-Olah-agreement were signed with Spain (1962), Turkey (1964), Former Yugoslavia (1966) and Tunisia (1970). Labor recruitment rested upon a quota for certain occupational groups (1968: 70 occupational groups) (cf. Viehböck, Bratic, 1994, p.23). The agreements permitted work and residence to 8 000 immigrants per year between 2002 and 2004 (cf. König, Perchinig, 2005, p.1).

[14] The percentage of immigrants employed in the Austrian labor market shall not exceed ten percent of the total Austrian workforce (cf. Viehböck, Bratic, 1994, p.23).

[15] Family reunification has to comply with the quota system and is limited based on the age of the family member (cf. Hetfleisch, 2006, p.62). In 2005, the quota permitted access to 5 460 persons. The new Residence and Settlement Act allows for family reunification linked with access to the labor market for family members until the age of twenty-one. Yet, the Austrian citizen who applies for family reunification has to be eligible to free movement within the European Union. If movement is restricted, quota-free family reunification combined with a work permit is only possible for family members who are not older than eighteen years (cf. König, Perchinig, 2005, p.6).

[16] The European Union is based on the freedom of movement of capital, people, goods and services among its member states.

Vienna represents the city with the highest proportion of immigrants in larger Austria. Almost eighteen percent of the Viennese population were non-Austrian citizens in the year 1993 compared to seven percent a decade earlier. About one fifth of the Viennese residents were of non-Austrian origin in the year 2001, which did not change to the present circumstances. Reasons for the stagnation are mainly entrance and labor market restrictions imposed by the Austrian government after the ban of labor recruitment (cf. Kohlbacher, Reeger, 2002, p.181 ff). Estimations considering the percentage of people with immigrant background (second and third generation) lay at twenty-four percent. Sixty percent of the foreign resident population is from Turkey or former Yugoslavia (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.168).

In larger Austria, about 253 000 people, who were born in Austria, had an immigrant background according to the census conducted in the year 2001. Estimations indicate that about nineteen percent of the Austrian population will be conceived as persons with an immigrant background in the year 2007 (cf. Simonitsch, Biffl, 2008, p.4).

Educational achievements, the occupational situation and social integration of second-generation of immigrants started to receive the attention of Austrian policy makers during the 1980s (cf. Gensluckner, 2001, p.176). However, political programs to cope with the integration of an increasingly heterogeneous population were not in place and did not appear on the political agenda until the beginning of the 1990s.

2.2.2.2 The missing Austrian integration concept

The lack of an Austrian integration concept is evident in the legislative body of integration programs and regulations derived on the different levels of government (federal, provincial and community level) (cf. Weiss, 2007a, p.9 f).

In his article, Hjerm states that integration programs at the federal level show no linkages to a multicultural model (cf. Hjerm, 2000, p.368). Although the 1990s showed a trend towards a multicultural approach to integration,

multiculturalism was not applied in the Austrian integration policy. The main goal of multicultural policy, namely the formal equality of immigrants, is missing in federal integration programs. With regards to the official statement on integration, it does not encompass equal treatment or opportunities for immigrants in the labor market and in terms of political participation.

In applying an intercultural approach, the government takes an inclined position between exclusionary integration, assimilation and multiculturalism. While formal equality is not declared as a policy target, cultural plurality is promoted. Respect for cultural heterogeneity should replace the society's ethnocentric viewpoint on immigration. Hence, the emphasis was put on the promotion of cultural diversity rather than on the removal of structural discrimination (cf. Gensluckner, 2001, p.176 f).

There is no regulation of political competence between the provincial and the federal government in the field of integration. Some provinces apply a more "multicultural" approach to integration than others. Yet, the federal government takes the precedence when the adaption and execution of integration programs correspond to the federal and the provincial level of government. Agendas which do not fall under the responsibility of a federal department are left to the provincial governments. With regards to integration programs which fall under the jurisdiction of private law, there is again no regulation of political competence between different levels of government. Each level may adapt programs within the confines of the private law. The decision whether to adapt regulations or programs under the jurisdiction of the public or the private law is based on political considerations.

Consequently, the responsibility of the adaption and execution of integration programs and regulations are spread over the different levels of government and among a diverse institutional body of provincial and federal departments and private organizations. The complexity and necessity for coordination increases with the number of institutions involved in the process (cf. Thienel, 2007, p.86 ff).

2.2.2.3 Federal integration programs

The following consideration will overview federal regulations on the subject of immigrant integration.

Integration on the federal level is cross-sectional and organized by the different federal departments. The Settlement and Residence Act[17], the Aliens Police Act[18] and the Asylum Act[19], which encompass the main regulations for the status of immigrants and their incorporation into the Austrian society, fall under the responsibility and competency of the Department of Interior. Key provisions of the Settlement and Residence Act are, for example, the facilitation of continuing residence[20], the "integration agreement"[21], the combination of work and residence permit and compulsory schooling for immigrant children regardless of the parent's residence status. Other provisions of the Settlement and Residence Act deal with the formal status of immigrants, which determine societal and economic integration as

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[17] "Niederlassungs- und Aufenthaltsgesetz" *(NAG)* encompasses provisions of the residence permit's duration when the immigrant intends to stay in Austria for more than six months.

[18] "Fremdenpolizeigesetz" (FPG); The Alien Police Act regulates the immigration of newcomers through granting of residence permits.

[19] The Asylum Act comprises provisions which deal with the conditions of asylum and the official status of people who are eligible for asylum. Although asylum legislation and the integration of refugees is an important aspect concerning the integration of immigrants, it will not find any further consideration in this thesis. For further information on the federal refugee policy, contact the Austrian Fund for Integration ("Österreichischer Integrationsfonds").

[20] The individual's economic situation does not have to comply with the assignations of first immigration. Restrictions are eased to facilitate a further stay of the immigrant (cf. Federal Ministry of Interior (BM.I), International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2005, p.41).

[21] The so-called "Integrationsvereinbarung" was incorporated into the Settlement and Residence Act in 2005. The law comprises the obligation to learn German (Language ability according to A2 basic level). Children who are under nine years old at the time of immigration are also subject to the agreement. They may fulfill the requirements by attending compulsory schooling for five years with positive grades in German. Another possibility is a proof of German language command according to the ninth school grade or the attendance of conventional German language courses (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.14 f).

Language ability is conceived as the key qualification for further integration into society. If the individual violates the provisions of the *"integration agreement"*, the extension of residency rights is jeopardized.

they outline the immigrant's rights and obligations (cf. Federal Ministry of Interior (BM.I), International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2005, p.36 ff).

Besides its legislative function[22], the department of Interior supervises and provides information and education on migration-related matters for the institutions, agencies and departments of the Austrian government.

With regards to other departments, the department of Employment, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection is another important policy maker for immigrant integration as it is responsible for labor market regulations. In this context, it is important to mention the Aliens' Employment Act[23] and some parts of the aforementioned Settlement and Residence Act[24] (cf. ibid, p.63). The Public Employment Service Austria administers the enforcement of labor market policy[25]. It is responsible for the execution of the Aliens Employment Act and the Unemployment Insurance Act[26]. Moreover, the development of economic furtherance in terms of labor-market policy falls under its responsibility (cf. Thienel, 2007, p.97). The working principle of the department is characterized by the slogan "integration instead of immigration".

The department of Education, Science and Culture promotes integration of immigrants and second-generation immigrants through three educational programs, namely German as a second language, education in a person's heritage language and intercultural learning. A further consideration of these programs will follow in the next chapter (cf. Federal Ministry of Interior (BM.I), International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2005, p.63).

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[22] The department is the federal authority of appeal on matters concerning migration and integration and assists in the development of national and European Union migration regulations.

[23] "Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz" (AuslBG) regulates the acquisition of work permits for immigrants. The administration of the Aliens' Employment Act was transferred from the department of Economic Affairs and Employment to the department of Employment, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection after the election in the year 2008.

[24] The Settlement and Residence Act encompasses a quota system for the employment of foreign workers (cf. Federal Ministry of Interior (BM.I), International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2005, p.63).

[25] "Arbeitsmarktservice" (AMS)

[26] "Arbeitslosenversicherungsgesetz"

2.2.3 Canadian Integration Policy

Canada is, traditionally, an immigration-based country, although it has exercised an integration policy based on assimilation until the 1960s. The switch to a multicultural policy marks the beginning of a new integration policy based on a pluralistic inclusionary model (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.201). With the introduction of multiculturalism, labor market regulations for foreign nationals became less restrictive and ethnic communities started to be conceived as equal members of Canadian society. This change opened up further possibilities for immigrant socio-economic integration. Other factors which are indicative of a pluralistic inclusionary model include the possibility of naturalization after a legal residency of three years, dual citizenship and ius soli regulations for the acquisition of citizenship. Moreover, the Canadian government applies an extensive equity and anti-discrimination policy (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.175).

2.2.3.1 From the 1990s to the Present

The federal government selected immigrants based on ethnicity and individual characteristics such as health, social behavior and state of mind until the middle of the 1960s (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.206). Since the system was based on racial discrimination, which was emphasized by Prime Minister Macdonald's statement on immigration policy in 1885[27], admission was mainly permitted to white Europeans. Yet, distinctions were also made between groups of European immigrants. Settlers from the eastern or southern Europe were pressured to assimilate into the anglophone culture after admission to Canada (cf. Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p.80 f).

Canadian migration policy was oriented on exclusionary, restrictive and selective practices (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.201).

At the end of the 1960s, Canadian policy makers, scientists and the public no longer conceived racial discrimination as acceptable in the context of modern democratic societies. In consequence, the government was obliged to

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[27] Mcdonald defined Asian and African people as inferior compared to the "white race".

reassess its approach to immigration policy and declared an end to the discriminatory treatment of immigration applicants (cf. Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p.80 f). It was about time for this change, as Canada received more and more immigrants, often on terms of political asylum, from countries all over the world. In the aftermath of the Second World War, immigrants came from more diverse ethnic backgrounds. Although Europeans still accounted for most of the immigrants, China, Vietnam, Korea and the United States became important immigrant-sending countries (cf. Chambers, 1998, p.264).

The Canadian government implemented a "points system" based on the qualification and education of the applicant[28] in the year 1967. Additionally, immigration offices were established in regions other than the United States and Europe (cf. Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p.80).

The new system provided access to immigrants from more diverse countries than prior to 1967. Criteria of the points system were the existence of Canadian relatives (0, 3 or 5 points), education (0-20 points), age (0-10 points), the command of either official language (0-10 points), occupational skills (1-10 points), personal characteristics[29] (0-15 points), area of residency in Canada (0-5 points), carrier aspiration (0-15 points) and potential employment opportunities (0 or 10 points) in Canada (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.221). Admission was granted when the applicant received more than fifty points. The approved applicant was able to nominate relatives who he was obliged to substitute in case of immigration (cf. Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p.82).

In addition to the new immigration system, special programs were adopted to deal with problems related to immigration. In order to reflect the situation of immigrants in Canada and Canada's interest in further immigration, policy makers prepared the so-called Green Paper. It encompassed information about programs, socio-economic development of immigrants and population development in Canada.

The new Immigration Act, which was passed in the year 1976 and is still in force, focuses on the promotion of family reunification, support for economic growth and stability, humanitarian aid and demographic goals. Moreover, it

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[28] The points system was outlined in the "White Paper on Immigration Policy" (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.217).

[29] i.e. motiviation

has introduced the principle of consultation between the different levels of government, parliament and the public with regards to management and planning of immigration. Another part of the Act has established four classes of immigrants, namely family, humanitarian, independent and discretionary[30] classes.

The family class refers to immigrants who are family members of Canadian citizens, while the humanitarian class encompasses refugee applicants. The independent class is applied to people who are subject to the conventional points system (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.223 ff). More than half of new immigrants have received permission to enter Canada based on the points system in the year 2000. One third came to Canada under the provisions of family reunification and thirteen percent accounted for refugees (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.173). In consequence, the proportion of European and US-American immigrants decreased while immigration from Asian countries exploded.

European immigration changed significantly between 1950 and 1998. While ninety-five percent of immigrants came from Europe in 1955, only twenty percent still emigrated from a European country in 1998. In contrast, the proportion of Asian immigrants increased to seventy-nine percent of total immigrants until 1994 (cf. Schmidtke, 2001, p.230).

After arrival in Canada, the federal government supports immigrants in three areas, namely settlement, adaption and integration. The first phase, settlement, is oriented to the specific needs of newcomers after their arrival. The next phase, which is called adaption, overlaps with the settlement phase, as the immigrant should receive further support in order to adapt to the new cultural environment. The final goal and third phase of the immigration process represents integration into the Canadian society.

The government provides different facilities for immigrants during the three stages. Besides the "Language Instructions for Newcomers in Canada" program in order to enhance the immigrant's communication skills in either official language, the "Immigrant Settlement and Adaption Program" subsidizes organizations which support immigrants through the distribution of

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[30] This immigration class enables the legislator to permit entrance to immigrants, who do not comply with the provisions of the other three categories.

information, job search services, vocational and job skill training, workshops and translation. The "Host Program" is aimed to increase integration through further assistance and counseling (cf. Hörner, Werler, 2007, p.127).

The new immigration legislation has transformed Canada into one of the most ethnically-diverse countries. For example, forty-four percent of Toronto's population was born in a country other than Canada in the year 2001 (cf. Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p.82). The new multicultural approach pays respect to the cultural heritage of immigrants in Canada and opens up possibilities to sustain cultural identities other than Canadian (cf. Kymlicka, 1999, p.71).

2.2.3.2 Canadian Multiculturalism

Canadian society is defined as a mosaic consistent of the different cultural identities of Canadian citizens. Besides its ethnic diversity, the Canadian nation was always divided into an English and French part due to British and French colonialism and settlement. The relationship between the "Two Solitudes" was on an unequal standing in terms of power and political influence as the English-speaking part had maintained political, economic and cultural dominion since the time of confederation. This asymmetric relationship resulted in a social and political crisis during the 1960s.

In order to resolve the conflict, the federal government installed a Royal Commission in the year 1963 to inquire, report and make recommendations upon the bilingual situation in Canada.

The recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism[31] enabled the introduction of a multicultural policy in Canada. Based on the recommendations, political programs were implemented to improve the situation of the Franco-Canadians, who were politically underrepresented and socio-economically disadvantaged compared to English-Canadians (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.248 ff). "Access to bilingual education was to be guaranteed, and a Commissioner of Official Languages was to supervise the implementation of a federal Official Languages Act" (Day,

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[31] The Laurendeau-Dunton Commission

2000, p.182). The act established French and English as the two official languages in all federal departments in 1969. Moreover, language training in French was improved and subsidized in all provinces and New Brunswick became a bilingual province. Yet, the situation of ethnic groups other than French or British/Anglophone was marginalized in the report. One out of six books[32], namely the fourth, dealt with the contribution of cultures other than French and British to the Canadian national identity. In consequence, ethnic groups started to fear that an official bilingualism and biculturalism would deprive their equal participation in society.

In reaction to the events after the implementation of the Official Languages Act, Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau announced and introduced "a policy of official multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" on October 8th 1971 (Gagnon, Iacovino, 2007, p.103). The federal government had different reasons for this political move. Besides the growing US-American influence in Canada, the government tried to fight against further sovereignty claims of the Quebec province and the discontents among the ethnic groups within Canada. The acceptance and promotion of bilingualism and biculturalism should enhance Quebec's identification with the Canadian nation (cf. Schmidtke, 2001, p.226). Moreover, the dissatisfaction of ethnic groups other than the two founding nations about their marginalized position in Canadian history should be targeted through the adaption of a policy of multiculturalism (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.248 ff).

The policy objectives encompassed the preservation and recognition of cultural diversity in Canadian society and the maintenance of social equilibrium through assistance to and integration of ethnic groups (cf. Gagnon, Iacovino, 2007, p.103). The multicultural policy was mainly adopted in response to the recommendations of the Laurendeau-Dunton's commission's fourth book (cf. Noels, Clément, 1998, p.104).

As previously mentioned, Canadian multiculturalism is based on the idea of a Canadian ethnic mosaic. Each ethnicity equally shapes the Canadian national identity and stays distinct within. Assimilation is not conceived as a prerequisite for being part of the Canadian culture.

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[32] The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism produced six books, which contain its report and recommendations.

Commissions were implemented throughout the 1970s to develop multicultural programs like Ethnic Histories, Canadian Ethnic Studies, Multicultural Grants, Cultural Development Programs, Programs of the Federal Cultural Agency and Teaching Official Languages (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.250 f).

Multiculturalism was also entrenched in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the year 1982, which put it on a statutory level (cf. Gagnon, Iacovino, 2007, p.104 f). "Section 27 of the Charter specifically supports the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (Gamlin, Berndorff, Mitsopulos, Demetriou, 1994, p.460).

In order to enhance ethnic equity, another act of legislation was passed in the year 1988. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act officially implemented equal access to employment, which should reduce discriminatory treatment based on ethnicity and enhance carrier opportunities for people with a migratory background. Moreover, the act promoted ethnic diversity through linguistic and political programs (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.253 f).

Another important legislation in the context of multiculturalism represents the Employment Equity Act, which introduced "affirmative action" as an equity program in the Canadian labor market in the year 1986. Furthermore, the principle of multiculturalism was also implemented in the educational curricula (cf. Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p.83).

The federal government also established the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship in the year 1991. It was responsible for the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity and integration of ethnic communities.

Technical and financial assistance to multicultural programs and support for multiculturalism started to decline in the 1990s due to financial cutbacks. In consequence, the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship was transformed into the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. The subject of multiculturalism was integrated into the new Department of Canadian Heritage in 1993 (cf. Harzig, 2004, p.255).

2.2.3.3 Federal integration programs

The federal migration and integration policy mainly falls under the responsibility of the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (cf. Migration Policy Group, 2006, p.32). The latter one defines the criteria for access to citizenship and sets flexible quotas for immigration, which may be exceeded or not met (cf. Schmidtke, 2001, p.219). The quotas are based on an immigration plan, which is set every five years. Immigration is permitted according to four categories which were already outlined in the historical overview of the Canadian immigration policy (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.172).

Canadian Heritage funds and develops programs dealing with racism, human rights and cultural diversity under the provisions of the Multiculturalism Act (cf. Migration Policy Group, 2006, p.32). The main integration program, which falls under its responsibility, represents the Multiculturalism Program since it encompasses the federal budget for financial and technical assistance to immigrants in Canada. The budget is mainly used for programs in the field of "capacity building" and "community empowerment". A large number of programs are carried out by non-governmental organizations which receive federal funding.

Another task of the Multiculturalism Program is the implementation of the Multiculturalism Act, which implies the adoption of strategies such as "contract compliance", "affirmative action" and "intercultural mainstreaming". In this sense, the Multicultural Program is cross-sectional (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.176 f).

2.2.3.4 Political competence in the field of immigration and education of immigrants

The Canadian political system is organized according to the federal principle. The federal government delegates substantial political power to the provincial governments, which enables them to take decisions in certain policy fields. In some provinces, the autonomy of the provincial government is bigger than in others. For example, the Quebec government has far-reaching powers in the field of immigration policy (cf. Schmidtke, 2001, p.219 ff).

The most important sources for Canadian constitutional order represent the British North America Act (BNA) of the year 1867 and the Constitution Act[33], which was signed in the year 1982. The BNA mainly defines the political competence and responsibilities of the federal and the provincial governments (cf. Avenarius, Brauckmann, Kopp, 2007, p.69).

The federal government received autonomy over immigration policy after the Second World War in order to facilitate the expansion of the nation-state, although federal and provincial governments had the same constitutional rights to amend legislation. The national interest was conceived to be best served when the responsibility of immigration is fully transferred to the federal government. It should establish a national infrastructure and a Canadian national identity.

Another incentive to transfer political competence to the federal level was the different economic development in the provinces. Immigration should balance out and increase the socio-economic living standards in the provinces to set up a common living standard for all Canadians. The reallocation of resources through the incorporation of human capital should equal economic prosperity in Canada. The neutrality of the federal government was conceived as the prerequisite to fulfill this task.

First attempts to question the federal authority in the field of immigration were made during the 1960s. Quebec especially took several actions to regain its constitutional rights to administer provincial immigration and integration policy. Hence, the Quebec government passed provincial regulations in

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[33] The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

terms of selection, settlement and incorporation of immigrants in Quebec. It also established its own Department for Culture and Immigration.

Other provinces started to conceive immigration policy as an important way to shape provincial industrial policy in the 1980s. Policy makers expected a correlation between the immigration of investors and business immigrants and economic development.

Due to increasing pressure of the provinces, the federal government signed accords with the provincial governments which gave them more organizational powers in terms of immigration.

Moreover, the Immigration Act of the year 1976 gave co-determination rights to the provinces with regards to the selection of immigrants according to the immigration plan.

In the special case of Quebec, it is important to mention the Canada-Quebec Accord of the year 1978, which was revised in the year 1991. According to the act, Quebec should received funding for language training and settlement programs and a proportion of twenty-five percent of the total immigrants to Canada. Additionally, the Quebec government obtained substantial rights in the selection of immigrants, as it was able to refuse to accommodate an immigrant that was already accepted by the federal bureaucracy based on the provincial criteria for immigrants.

Special agreements with the other provinces were signed in the end of the 1990s. However, the amount of resources and substantial rights transferred to the provincial governments differ in each case.

The federal government still has the power to implement guidelines for the provinces and determines the amount of immigrants per year (cf. Schmidtke, 2001, p.222 ff).

According to the provisions of the British North America Act (Section 93), the provincial governments hold the political competence in the field of education (cf. Avenarius, Brauckmann, Kopp, 2007, p.69; cf. Migration Policy Group, 2006, p.31). Together with the district school boards, they are responsible for the development of educational programs in the school system (cf. Avenarius, Brauckmann, Kopp, 2007, p.73).

The few federal programs that are in place focus mainly on bilingualism and the education of indigenous people, soldiers and prisoners (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.176).

The federal government influences the provincial educational policies mainly through cooperation and funding. For example, the Council of Ministers of Education Canada was established in 1967 in order to discuss issues of mutual interest. It works as a forum for consultation and cooperation and introduced the working principle of consensus. Since its establishment the provinces tend to adopt more centralized educational programs. The provincial interest of consensus and cooperation is mainly based on the inter-provincial and international competition in the field of educational standards (cf. Avenarius, Brauckmann, Kopp, 2007, p.73 f).

In conclusion, we see that the Canadian provinces are the main policy makers in the field of education. Hence, in the following discussion of educational programs directed at immigrant incorporation, we have to identify provincial programs that are similar and aim at the integration of newcomers.

3 IMMIGRANT INCORPORATION AND EDUCATION POLICY

The state is responsible for the provision of education, as it has to meet the social, cultural and economic demands of society. The social and cultural demands are linked to the national identity. An education system should inform and build a common understanding of the national identity to ensure the stability of social equilibrium in society. The economic demands, on the contrary, are linked to the structure of the employment market. The economy's need of skilled and professional workers should be satisfied by the provision of an educated workforce. The individual himself may see education as an opportunity to climb the social ladder (cf. Kalekin-Fishman, Verma, Pitkänen, 2002, p.180 f).

Immigrants face different social, cultural and formal obstacles in their new environment. In order to facilitate the transition, the state has to take

measures to enhance the integration of the immigrant population (cf. Bauböck, 2001, p.13 ff).

Language is a prerequisite for the political and social participation in a society and facilitates the communication between ethnic groups and the dominant society (cf. Volf, 2001, p.187). The command of the official language opens up the possibility to get in touch with the new cultural environment (cf. de Cillia, 1998, p.231 f).

Most children with an immigrant background first become incorporated into society through the education system and subsequently through the labor market (cf. Bock-Schappelwein, Huemer, Pöschl, 2006, p.10).

In order to facilitate the organization, the curriculum of educational institutions defines a common language of instruction, which does not account for the linguistic heterogeneity of the student body (cf. Esser, 2006, p.288 f). "Language serves as a unifying factor in the face of societal diversity" (Metropolis Secretariat, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006, p.20). This regulation may limit the educational success of immigrant students. For example, children with mother tongues other than the official language(s) face additional obstacles to educational achievements, as they have to acquire a good knowledge of the language of instruction (cf. Esser, 2006, p.288 f). Language acquisition is conceived as a more important determinant over success in the schooling system (cf. Unterwurzacher, 2007, p.74).

The linguistic socialization of children with other mother tongues than the official language depends on different factors such as the age at the time of immigration and first school enrollment, assimilative tendencies of the parents, the family's socio-economic situation and the command of his or her mother tongue. The acquisition of two languages may result in a semilingualism, which means that the individual does not build a good knowledge of either language. The communication disability limits access to higher education and the professional employment market (cf. de Cillia, 1998, p.231 f).

In general, current educational policies directed towards better integration of ethnic minorities in democratic societies should encompass three educational programs, namely remedial courses in the official language, language

training in the child's mother tongue and intercultural learning (cf. de Cillia, 2003, p.135).

In this analysis, we will only consider educational programs directed at immigrant incorporation in the school.

3.1 AUSTRIA'S EDUCATIONAL APPROACH TO IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

Religion, gender, ethnicity and social position have no influence on the admission to public schools in Austria. Immigrant children have the same access to educational institutions as Austrian children. Every child that is permanently staying in Austria is subject to compulsory school attendance starting at the age of six and ending after nine years. Citizenship and residence status do not have any influence on compulsory school attendance. School attendance of temporary resident students is optional. Students who have already started school in a foreign country and want to or are obliged to continue their education in Austria have to pass an entrance examination. The teacher may dispense the examination when he or she thinks that the student is able to follow the school instructions according to his or her age. The formal recognition of foreign education certificates falls under the responsibility of the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.7 ff).

The first school programs to deal with the incorporation of immigrant children into the education system were adapted on the provincial level at the beginning of the 1970s (cf. Binder, 2002, p.427). Immigrant students were barely enrolled in Austrian schooling programs until the 1970s. Only fifty to seventy percent of immigrant children, whose parents were recruited as guest workers, went to school during the indicated period (cf. de Cillia, 1998, p.229 f). In the school year 2000/01, about fourteen percent of the students enrolled in Austrian compulsory school programs spoke a first language other than German, compared to one and a half percent during the 1970s (cf. de Cillia, 2003, p.135 ff).

The programs of the early 1970s were mainly based on an assimilative approach. German remedial language courses were to guarantee quick assimilation into Austrian society (cf. Binder, 2002, p.427).

The next set of initiatives by the provincial governments focused on two potential outcomes. Besides the aforementioned assimilative strategy, actions were taken under the premise of remigration of immigrants to their countries of origin (cf. de Cillia, 1998, p.229 f).

Remedial teaching in German and heritage language education of students with mother tongues other than German were adapted by provincial school boards in the middle of the 1970s (cf. Jaksche, 1998, p.28). Both initiatives were introduced as so-called pilot projects. Heritage language education was limited to children with a former Yugoslavian or Turkish origin and based on bilateral agreements on the administration and content between the aforementioned countries and Austria. Since guest workers were officially conceived as temporary immigrants, children should be given the possibility to develop sufficient language skills in their mother tongue in order to be able to return to their country of origin. The primary goal of the agreements was to facilitate the student's reintegration into the country of origin after their return. Moreover, native language training should also enhance the student's integration into the Austrian schooling system.

Bilateral educational cooperation was terminated in the beginning of the 1990s, as Austrian policy makers realized that most participants of the remedial teaching courses were already born in Austria. Hence, there was no country to return to (cf. Cinar, Davy, 1998, p.24 ff).

Other influences on the adaption of federal educational policies and programs directed at the integration of immigrant youth in school were the increasing immigration of Eastern Europeans to Austria after the end of the Cold War, the economy's need for more foreign laborers and the Viennese election campaign of the political party "FPÖ"[34]. The campaign was aimed at increasing racist sentiments among the Viennese population. It entailed a broad public discussion in the media and forced the federal government to take immediate actions (cf. Jaksche, 1998, p.42 f).

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[34] "Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs"

The Austrian government passed an educational policy which encompassed three educational programs in the early 1990s, namely German as a Second Language, heritage language education and intercultural learning (cf. de Cillia, 2003, p.135 f). The existing pilot projects directed towards these aims were implemented in the conventional school curricula. The policy was first addressed to students with a first language other than German, subject to compulsory school attendance and eligible to permanent residence in Austria. The programs were extended to the upper secondary school levels a decade later.

Additionally, immigrant students may receive a special status[35] for twelve months in order to facilitate the student's transition to the Austrian education system. According to the provisions of the status, the student's evaluation is accomplished under consideration of his language skills. Grades are only transmitted when the student receives a positive grading. This status can be extended to another year with regards to the student's learning progress. After the student's incorporation into the conventional school program, there is no option to regain the special status again.

"School legislation at the federal level (save universities) may only be amended by a two-thirds majority of the National Council with at least half of the members present. Laws and decrees regulating school life and school education are drawn up in co-operation with the social partners" (Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2009, n. p.).

The official position of the Austrian government has changed significantly within the last three decades from assimilation and remigration to integration and intercultural education (cf. Hofstätter, Roithinger, Salhi, 1994, p.89).

In the following consideration, we will not look at educational programs concerning autochthonic minorities in Austria, such as the Carinthian Slovenians, but on educational programs for "new minorities".

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[35] "Außerordentlicher Schüler"

3.1.1 German as a Second Language/ Deutsch als Zweitsprache (DaZ)

Language ability in the official language is a prerequisite for the integration of a student with a first language other than German in the schooling system. It is a significant factor determining educational success, access to higher educational institutions, and access to the skilled and professional labor market.

Education in a second language is often preceeded by the adaption of remedial language training for immigrant students. The aim of the training is to ensure a speedy integration into the conventional school program. The basic language ability should provide the student with the necessary assets to follow the instructions and ameliorate linguistic integration.

The federal program "German as a Second Language" was implemented in the compulsory schooling curriculum in the school year 1992/93 (cf. de Cillia, 2003, p.135 f). More than a decade later, it was also introduced as an optional provisional training into the curriculum of the upper Secondary Academic School, Commerce School and Economics Academy[36] (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.17; cf. de Cillia, 2007, p.253).

The differing period of the program's adaption in the Austrian school levels has caused differences in the details and length of the program's description. The programs adapted for Secondary Academic Schools, Commercial Schools and Economics Academies are more conceived as guidelines than a detailed design of the program's application for the school's instruction (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007b, p.3).

The program focuses on the development or improvement of the student's speaking, writing, reading and listening comprehension skills in the German language (cf. ibid, p.8).

German as a Second language courses are not differentiated according to the students' educational levels but depend on the individual's command of German. Moreover, it is developed as a learning concept for immigrant students with a maximum duration of six years. After a child's participation in

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[36] Optional remedial language courses are called "Unterstützendes Sprachtraining Deutsch (USD)" (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.27).

an Austrian school program for more than six years, policy makers assume that the student is fluent in German.

Since the program is characterized as a curricula-supplementary, the remedial language courses may be carried out simultaneously to the conventional school instruction, as additional courses or integrative in so-called team teachings (cf. de Cillia, 2003, p.137). German as a Second language instruction should support the learning objectives of the conventional language education in German (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007b, p.7). Cooperation between teachers of remedial German courses and native language courses is volitional by the policy makers and supposed to enhance the student's success in the language training. The discussion of a topic in both languages may improve the student's understanding and learning as the mother tongue provides the foundation for the further acquisition of second and third languages (cf. ibid, p.14 f).

Students with an aforementioned special status are eligible to twelve secessions (one secession/one hour) of German remedial courses per week. Children who are enrolled in conventional compulsory schooling may attend five weekly secessions in primary schooling[37] and Special Schools[38]. With regards to the Regular Secondary School[39] and the pre-vocational year[40], the immigrant student may participate in six secessions per week. In special cases, the maximum can be augmented to eighteen hours for Regular Secondary School and upper grade Special School attendants (cf. de Cillia, 2003, p.137). Yet, the additional language training should not overburden the student. For example, the amount of semester hours of compulsory subjects in Regular Secondary Schools may be reduced by a fraction of three hours per week when the student has to take more than two semester hours of remedial courses per week while being enrolled in a conventional school program (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.19). In the case of students who have a special status,

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[37] "Volksschule"

[38] "Sonderschule"

[39] "Hauptschule"

[40] "Politechnischer Lehrgang"

additional remedial courses may not exceed more than five additional hours to the conventional curriculum (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007b, p.7).

Remedial language courses for the pre-schooling and the primary school level are available for groups of eight and more students since the year 2006. They are limited for one year and contain eleven secessions per week (cf. de Cillia, 2007, p.253).

The amount of semester hours in terms of remedial education during compulsory schooling has been estimated with the *"Lehrerwerteinheiten"* until the school year 2000/01. Each student with a special status has been calculated with 0.8 secessions per week and the students enrolled in conventional school programs with 0.3.

The evaluation was handed over to the responsibility of the provincial school boards after the school year 2000/01. Hence, the amount of secessions available to immigrant students in compulsory schooling differs among the provinces (cf. de Cillia, 2003, p.137).

3.1.2 The principle of intercultural learning

A first attempt to introduce an intercultural approach into the curriculum of compulsory schooling was made in the school year 1986. Policy makers emphasized the role of intercultural communication and learning in the Primary School curriculum (cf. Cinar, Davy, 1998, p.43).

The federal government introduced the principle of intercultural learning into the canon of general educational goals within the curriculum of Primary Schools and Regular Secondary Schools in the year 1991/92. The principle was extended to the Special School and pre-vocational year in the following year. In the case of Secondary Academic Schools, intercultural learning was adapted not until the school year 1993/94 (cf. de Cillia, 2003, p.139).

In general, the educational principle of intercultural learning emphasizes the multiethnic character of modern societies since cultural identities should be reflected and discussed within the classrooms. The principle is applicable to all subjects of a given school program. It is supposed to work against racism and discrimination by increasing or implanting a positive attitude towards

cultural diversity. Since the program is directed to students with an immigrant background as well as to non-immigrants, the amount of immigrant students in a classroom does not matter for the implementation.

Intercultural learning represents one of the first educational steps to cope with an increasing multicultural society. The goal is to reduce ethnocentric and lingual-centric viewpoints in Austrian society.

The implementation takes place in various dimensions of the educational institutions. For example, the principle applies to a school's position on ethnic and linguistic diversity, the proportion of immigrants and non-immigrants in school classes, the availability of linguistic remedial courses, the attitude of the teaching staff towards students with an immigrant origin, and other integrative actions (cf. Binder, 2002, p.424 ff). Yet, the program is not specific on the actual application of the principle in the school curricula (cf. Volf, 2001, p.192).

3.1.3 Heritage language education

The Austrian policy makers' viewpoint on heritage language education has changed significantly between the 1970s and the 1990s. Education in the student's mother tongue started to be conceived as an important factor to enhance a student's linguistic and intellectual development and knowledge about his social environment in the beginning of the 1990s. Moreover, a good command of the first language enhances linguistic skills in the second and third languages.

The federal program concerning heritage language education for compulsory schooling institutions was passed in the school year 1992/93. Yet, native language training in lower Secondary Academic Schools was first implemented in the year 2000. With regards to upper Secondary Academic Schools, heritage language education was incorporated into the curriculum four years later (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.21 f).

The inclusion of native language courses in lower and upper Secondary Academic Schools indicates that policy makers became aware of immigrant

students' increasing enrollment in Secondary Academic Schools (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007b, p.3).

The program's aim is to foster the student's bilingualism, biculturalism and knowledge of his country of origin. More precisely, it focuses on the linguistic development and preservation of the student's knowledge of his mother tongue in writing, reading and speaking. The student should be encouraged to develop a positive attitude towards his cultural identity and mother tongue. The native language should be on a par with the official national language and facilitate the individual's social integration into the society. Since the statutes of the program are flexible, the program is applicable to every international language (cf. de Cillia, 2003, p.138).

Heritage language education is an optional provisional training during compulsory schooling with two to six weekly secessions. A student who participates in a pre-vocational year is eligible to three secessions per week. With regards to lower grade Secondary Academic Schools, the student may attend eight to twenty-one semester hours within four years. Secondary Academic Schools do offer optional heritage language education to the extent of two to eight semester hours within four school years. In part-time compulsory vocational schools, heritage language education is not available.

The program's objectives may be applied integrated through team teaching, simultaneously or in addition to the conventional school lessons (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.21 f). The formation of remedial courses is bound to the number of registrations. The amount of necessary registrations is based on provincial legislation (cf. Cinar, Davy, 1998, p.46 f).

Heritage language education in the student's first language has been available for Albanian, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian, Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, Persian, Pashto, Chinese, French, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Chechen, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Slovakian, Slovenian, Polish, Romanes and Romanian in the school year 2007/08 (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.23). About one quarter of the students with a first language other than German have participated in this program during the last few years.

Recent changes in the school curricula introduced new languages into the canon of foreign languages. Hence, students are able to take their mother tongue as the first foreign language (cf. de Cillia, 2003, p.138 f).

Another possibility is an interchanging of first and second languages: students can take their mother tongue as the first language and German as a second language. When the native tongue belongs to the canon of foreign languages in a given school program, the change occurs within the conventional curriculum. The prerequisite is the availability of the native tongue as a compulsory or optional subject in the foreign language curriculum. The decision whether the change is possible falls under the responsibility of the headmaster. In the case when the language is not included in the curriculum, external examinations[41] have to be taken. Yet, final examinations such as the high school diploma have to be passed in German (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.12 f).

3.2 CANADA'S EDUCATIONAL APPROACH TO IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

Canada does not have a federal department of education. The three territories and ten provinces supervise, regulate and maintain their own elementary, secondary and post-secondary education system based on a provincial Education or School Act. Yet, there are similarities between the school systems.

Each province offers tuition-free education to all children between the age of six and eighteen years that are Canadian citizens or entitled to permanent residency[42]. For example, in the province of Nova Scotia, parents have to show proof of residency and the child's birth certificate to register for a school program. The access provisions of other provincial jurisdictions are similar.

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[41] "Externistenprüfung"

[42] Children, whose parents are only entitled to temporary residency, may have to pay tuition fee for schooling programs according to the provincial legislation.

In general, the Canadian school system is divided into compulsory schooling (K-12), which includes primary and secondary schooling, and postsecondary education. Compulsory school attendance starts at the age of six and ends after the sixteenth birthday. Each province offers a tuition-free pre-schooling year, which is called kindergarten or junior kindergarten and attended by approximately ninety percent of Canadian children.

While primary education takes six to eight years, depending on the provincial jurisdiction, secondary schooling programs take four to six years. Primary school attendants are always promoted to the next grade, although they may not receive positive grading. The student is eligible, however, to five hours of remedial teaching when he fails a class.

Special needs students are integrated into the conventional school programs, where they may receive remedial teaching. Students with mother tongues other than English or French may attain remedial education through the teaching of English or French as a Second Language or heritage language courses. Both programs will be discussed in the following chapters.

Secondary school programs, which take four to six years, may provide a student with the necessary skills to continue at a post-secondary educational institution or occupational training.

The syllabus of the first two to three years of secondary schooling (middle school or junior high school) is composed of compulsory subjects whereas the curriculum of the last two to three years (high school) is organized according to the student's electives. The compulsory school attendance ends after the first two years of secondary schooling.

In order to obtain a high school diploma, the student has to continue at a high school to complete the last two to three years of secondary schooling (cf. Avenarius, Braukmann, Döbert, Kopp, 2007, p.57 ff; cf. Alberta Education, 2008, p.33 ff). The student has to choose all his electives from tracks. In general, there are three different tracks, namely a general, academic or vocational track.

The student that chooses the academic track may continue at a post-secondary educational institution like a college or university after graduation. The vocational track provides the students with the skills to enter the labor

market after graduation, while the general track is available to students who want to keep both options open.

Further divisions into public or private, French or English and confession or secularity characterize the Canadian compulsory school system. There are further subdivisions like French immersion schools, which will be explained later on.

Most parts of the Canadian school system, which includes primary and secondary schooling, are subsidized and administered by the provincial and federal government. As previously mentioned, public education until high school is tuition free. About ninety-three percent of all Canadian students attend tax-supported school programs. The requirement for schools to receive public funding depends on two factors. The school institution has to organize the curricula according to the provincial mandated curriculum and employ teachers who are verified by the provincial ministry of education. For example, a school that may belong to the private schooling sector receives public funding when it fulfils the provincial requirements (cf. Avenarius, Braukmann, Döbert, Kopp, 2007, p.58 ff). The recognition process of foreign educational credentials is based on thirteen different provincial legislations. The assessment of regulated occupations is usually carried out through examinations and interviews. In the case of unregulated occupations, each employer may assess the foreign credentials himself. There are evaluation services in place which help both the individual and employer during the process of evaluating foreign educational and occupational credentials (cf. Council of Ministers of Education, Canadian Commission for UNESO, 2007, p.19).

As already mentioned, the federal government has no authority over education, as it falls under the political competence of the Canadian provinces (cf. Cummins, 1998, p.295). Each province has its own ministry that provides "educational, administrative, financial management and the school support functions" (Wilson, Lam, 2004, p.19).

The provincial government regulates about eighty percent of the school curriculum, which is defined as the core curriculum. The rest is left to the school boards in individual districts. School boards have many responsibilities, including the application of the curriculum and the

administration and supervision of schooling institutions and personnel in a provincial district. Regulations of school boards have the force of law. Among other things, school boards determine the provision or non-provision of extra-curricular programs like non-official language minority education. The district residents elect the members of each school board for a period of three years. Due to financial cutbacks, the number of school boards has been reduced in Ontario, New Brunswick, Alberta, Yukon Territory and Quebec. A decrease in the number of school boards correlates with a more centralized provincial education system and curriculum (cf. Avenarius, Brauckmann, Kopp, 2007, p.75).

Hence, direct federal support to heritage language education in the school system is not possible. Yet, we will discuss programs which are directed at immigrant integration in all provinces, namely English and French as a Second Language and heritage language education (cf. Cummins, 1998, p.295).

3.2.1 Multicultural education (ME)

"The continuous inflow of immigrants into Canada, particularly in metropolitan cities like Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal where most immigrants tend to settle, has changed, and continues to change the social, cultural and educational realities of schooling" (James, 2004, p.43). Immigration to Canada in the past thirty years has added to the ethnic and cultural diversity of an already ethnically and cultural diverse country. The trend towards greater linguistic diversity challenged and still challenges the Canadian education system, as ways have to be developed in order to provide sufficient education to the special needs of immigrant children and youth. Canadians with an ethnic background other than British/Anglophone, Aboriginal or French represent one third of the general population. In cities with a large proportion of immigrants like Toronto, about half of the student body belongs to a non-official language minority (cf. Cummins, 1998, p.294). The primary goal of schools until the 1960s was to ensure that immigrant students assimilate to Anglo- Canadian cultural values and norms.

In response to a policy of multiculturalism, however, ethnic communities started to put pressure on policy-makers to implement programs that would respect the linguistic, cultural, religious and academic interests of children with a first language other than English or French in the 1970s. For example, one demand was to include heritage language education into the curricula of public schools. Beginning in the 1980s, immigrant parents demanded the introduction of an anti-discrimination and anti-racist approach in school curricula (cf. James, 2004, p.43).

"The federal government's position on the importance of language education for maintaining a harmonious, culturally diverse society can be extracted from the Official Languages and Multiculturalism Act" (Noels, Clément, 1998, p.103). Both Acts emphasize the importance of integration and cultural maintenance. The Official Languages Act focused on the education of official language minorities in the provinces. For example, a French-speaking minority group in Manitoba should be eligible to public education in French, as they belong to one of the two official languages group. The Multiculturalism Act, on the other hand, stressed the necessity for acknowledging cultural identities other than Canadian and preventing discrimination towards such identities. The preservation of cultural identities correlates with support for heritage language education in the schooling system. The government believes in the important position of language in terms of cultural diversity and integration (cf. ibid, p.103).

"Multi-cultural education is commonly understood to include programmes, courses or events that enhance understanding of the cultures of various and identifiable groups in the community in an educational context" (Wilson, Lam, 2004, p.15).

The first attempts to include multiculturalism into the school curriculum mainly centered on lifestyle "song and dance" activities in the beginning of the 1970s. The next period, which started in the late 1970s, was dominated by the emphasis on official and minority language proficiency. English or French as a Second Language and heritage language programs were developed in order to preserve a student's cultural identity and enhance his integration into the Canadian society. The additional language courses were added as curricular supplements.

The third and the fourth phase, which has continued until recently, started in the 1980s. While activities in the third stage were focusing on equity of opportunities and outcomes, the latter one centered on race relations (cf. Gamlin, Berndorff, Mitsopulos, Demetriou, 1994, p.467).

"Given the variety of approaches to multicultural policy and program initiatives, it is little wonder that the field of ME lacks cohesion" (ibid, p.467).

In the following, our focus remains largely on linguistic programs such as English and French as a Second language and heritage language education, as they are available in most schooling institutions throughout Canada.

3.2.2 English/ French as a Second Language

"Over 60 percent of immigrants under the age of 18 speak neither of the two official languages" (Wilson, Lam, 2004, p.15).

The report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism recommended that students with a deprived knowledge of either official language should receive tax-supported special instruction in school. While the federal government was willing to subsidize heritage language education, it refused to financially support remedial language courses in the official languages for immigrant children.

This move entailed a debate over responsibilities in terms of official language training. Some provincial governments argued that due to the political authority of the federal government with regards to immigration policy, it is also accountable for special language instruction for immigrants. Yet, the federal government is only funding French immersion schools (cf. Ashworth, 2001, p.97).

"The Nova Scotia *Guidelines for English as a Second Language (ESL) Programming and Services*, issued in April 2003, described the reality for many provinces" (Council of Ministers of Education, Canadian Commission for UNESO, 2007, p.42)[43].

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[43] The following guidelines may also be applied to French as a Second language service and programming.

The guidelines are developed in order to give school boards, which are responsible for extra curricular education, a framework for the provision of English as a Second language services and programs (cf. Nova Scotia Department of Education, 2003, p.1).

ESL teaching has to provide the student with the assets to acquire a good command of English and knowledge about his new cultural environment in Canada. The student should achieve an academic and communicative competence through participation in ESL courses. Hence, the ESL services and programs have to address the individual needs of students with mother tongues other than English (French).

In the beginning, the new student is supposed to receive information about English as a Second language courses and orientation in order to familiarize himself with the school system and his educational opportunities. This process should include both the student and his parents. In this phase, the new student should register and participate in the "Language Survey" and "ESL Student Profile" for ESL placement. Both tests are necessary to determine the level of English proficiency. The ESL placement defines the intensity and type of ESL services best suited for the student's learning process. There are five proficiency levels, namely pre-beginners, beginners, intermediate, advanced and independent. Further assessments in the ongoing schooling process are conducted through interviews, reading, writing and speaking samples.

The ESL program should not be limited by time but instead be based on the student's needs for achieving English language competence. When the student is not able to meet the curriculum outcomes although he is participating in ESL programming, he may receive "individual program planning". This provides special training in terms of a subject, course or grade. "Individual program planning" is only available on a short-term basis. After the special training, the student should be able to meet the curriculum's outcome.

Hence, the new student should receive orientation and reception services for beginners, intensive language training for the time of transition and further support after integration into the mainstream classroom. Moreover, the new student's cultural identity should find recognition in the educational

programming to respect his cultural identity. English as a second language programming may also be extended to other students.

The document also outlines the responsibilities of the educational institutions, as they are made responsible for the appropriation of time, materials and personnel and the supply of "professional growth" of curriculum personnel, teachers and administrators.

Furthermore, it acknowledges the role of school boards in the regulation of the English as a Second language program. Each school board has to count in local factors in order to decide which type of ESL program it is going to implement. The amount of immigrants in a district affects the optional delivery of English as a Second language services and programs.

With regards to the ESL models, the application of the "inclusive programming approach" implies that ESL teaching is pursued part-time or full-time in subject area or grade-level classrooms. "Transitional programming" encompasses transitional courses in English as a Second language in order to provide the student with the necessary language skills to meet the curriculum's expectations (cf. ibid, p.5 ff).

Three different types of English as a Second language programs were applied in Canada from the 1950s to the 1970s, namely total immersion, reception classes and pullout programs for small groups and single persons (cf. Ashworth, 2001, p.97). For example, in Nova Scotia an immigrant student becomes integrated into the conventional school program after attending intensive language courses which carry on to the point where the student has attained an appropriate level of language ability (cf. Council of Ministers of Education, Canadian Commission for UNESO, 2007, p.42).

English and French as a Second language courses are not differentiated according to the age of the student, but in conjunction with his command of either one official language (cf. Schofield, 2008, p.27). Students are eligible for two to five years of special ESL or FSL courses at school (cf. Schleifer, 2005, p.30). In most cases, new students require approximately three years to acquire social fluency and five years for academic proficiency (cf. Nova Scotia Department of Education, 2003, p.11).

English and French as a Second language courses are conceived as transitional in most provinces in order to guarantee the student's

incorporation into the schooling system. The primary goal is to ensure that the student acquires a good command of either official language in order to attain the expected curricular learning outcomes and educational credentials (cf. Toohey, Derwing, 2008, p.188).

3.2.3 Heritage language education until the end of the 1990s

The adaption of a multicultural policy in Canada made the situation of many ethnic groups within the Canadian mosaic unclear. Quebec feared becoming downgraded to one culture among others, which would entail a loss of power of French-Canadians within greater Canada. Aboriginal groups were uncertain about the impacts of multiculturalism on their cultural and linguistic situation while ethnic groups other than Native Canadians and the two official language majorities claimed financial and institutional assistance for non-official language promotion (cf. Cummins, 1998, p.293).

Heritage language programs in public schools faced strong opposition among educators, the public and policy makers throughout the 1970s and 1980s. "Many people of diverse background fear balkanization of school communities, loss of time for core curriculum subjects, undue pressure on children, disruption in school programming and staffing, inadequate preparation for eventual employment, and indeed, a dramatic shift of direction in Canadian society" (ibid, p.302). Yet, the main argument of the opposition referred to the public funding of the program.

Heritage language teaching already existed prior to the introduction of multiculturalism but was provided and subsidized by ethnic communities themselves.

In response to the claims of ethno-cultural communities, the federal government adopted the Cultural Enrichment Program in the year 1977. The program included financial assistance to ethnic communities to teach heritage languages, with the government agreeing to pay for ten percent of the running expenses. Yet, the financial assistance was canceled in the year 1990. The federal government settled on taking measures that are more indirect in the following two decades through the funding of projects, institutions and innovative language education. Since educational policy falls

under the responsibility of the provincial governments, the federal government may not take direct actions to influence the provincial school systems (cf. Cummins, 1994, p.436).

"International-languages programmes implemented across the country are not remedial or compensatory in nature, unlike most bilingual programmes for minority-language students in the United States and some European countries. Their major goal is to promote proficiency in the international language" (Cummins, 1998, p.297).

In comparison with the other provinces, Ontario provides the most extensive heritage language education. The program, which has been redefined as the "International Language Program", was adapted in the year 1977. The student is eligible to two and half weekly hours of heritage language teaching. The language courses may take place on weekends, after school or integrated into the conventional school day. The integration of heritage language teaching into the school day may extend it by half an hour. Yet, twenty-five or more students have to register for the same heritage language course to make the formation of a language course possible in the first place.

The Quebec provincial government passed a less extensive heritage language program in the same year, which is called "Programme d'Enseignment des Langues d'Origine". Some private schools offer trilingual education in the non-official and official languages, which receive financial assistance to an extent of about eighty percent of the running expenses.

The provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan implemented similar, trans-provincial heritage language programs. All three provinces are ethnically very heterogeneous and the provincial populations show generally strong support for heritage language education. A student that is enrolled in a bilingual program receives about half of the school instructions in the heritage language. Yet the number of students who participate in bilingual programs is considerably small. A number of heritage languages are also incorporated as subjects in the conventional school curricula. Some communities may provide heritage language teaching outside the conventional schooling system, which is also subsidized by the provincial governments.

In the case of British Columbia, there is no specific regulation of financial assistance to heritage or international language education. However, the

province did not place any restrictions on the heritage language education in schools. Students may earn credits for the participation in international languages courses (cf. ibid, p.295 f). "While policy-makers in the province for many years resisted the pressure from ethnocultural communities to support heritage language teaching, the government has (…) developed a policy framework that would support implementation of heritage language teaching should school districts choose to become involved in the area" (Cummins, 1994, p.438). Certain languages, especially Asian languages, are included as conventional subjects in the school curriculum.

New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador did not offer any financial support for heritage language teaching until the examined period. Moreover, no courses have been offered in the school system. Yet, the federal government is funding some private schools that provide additional language courses in certain international languages (cf. Cummins, 1998, p.295 f).

Another possibility for heritage language education represents the enrollment in heritage language immersion schools. The first immersion schools in Canada were established in Quebec in 1965 in order to enhance French language ability of English-speaking Quebecois. The main objection of the initiators was that a lack of French language ability decreased their children's economic success in the province.

The practice of French immersion schools spread to the other Canadian provinces, as policy makers, educators and the public became aware of the political, economic and social value of the program (cf. Swain, 1996, p.90). The number of immersion schools increased from about two hundred-thirty to more than two thousand between 1977 and the year 1994.

Immersions schools are differentiated according to the period, namely early[44], late[45] and delayed[46] immersion, and the language used for instruction. Some schools may offer instruction only in the language of immersion or partial heritage language instruction. Since immersion education was expended to other languages of non-official languages

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[44] Starting from kindergarten

[45] Late immersion usually starts at the age of twelve (secondary school)

[46] Immersion starts at Grade four

minorities, it is not limited to the French language. The inclusion of heritage and indigenous language into the immersion education program is based on Canada's multicultural policy.

Most students enrolled in heritage language immersion schools are native English speakers (cf. Genesee, 1998, p.311).

4 SOCIAL MOBILITY

Bertaux and Thompson (1997) found the following:

> At any given moment the range of possibilities for a given social group, or family, or individual, are limited: shaped negatively by restrictions such as lack of economic or cultural resources but also by group prejudice and privilege, positively by the opportunities provided by the local and national economy, access to education, means of travel and social imagination. (p. 2)

Social mobility describes the process where an individual changes his or her social or class position in a given society (cf. Gans, 2007, p.154).

A change in status may occur on a vertical or horizontal level. Horizontal mobility implies that the individual modifies his or her social position by moving from the current social group to another but still remains at the same socio-economic level. Hence, the social and economic situation of the individual remains the same. In the case of vertical social mobility, the individual changes his or her social position within a stratified society. This process occurs in both ways as the individual may ascend or descend from its current social stratum (cf. Sorokin, 1998, p.133 f). Social mobility presupposes the existence of stratification in society as it lays out the boundaries of a social stratum (cf. Groß, 2008, p.117).

Vertical social mobility comprises three different forms of mobility, namely political, economic and occupational mobility. Ascending socially may imply the transition to a higher social stratum or the creation of a new, higher

stratum. At the individual level, descending takes place due to a social sinking of a person from a higher to a lower social stratum. With regards to the collective level, a downward movement may occur as a consequence of the disintegration or degradation of a social group. Vertical social mobility on the individual level is more or less a common occurrence whether it has positive or negative implications for the individual. Compared to the individual level, the degradation of a group is less frequent (cf. Sorokin, 1998, p.133 f).

Besides the direction of social mobility, the intensiveness of vertical mobility is important in order to evaluate its impact on the individual and society. "*Relative generality of the vertical mobility*" illustrates the situation of a proportion of the experimental social unit and allows for the comparison of social mobility in different societies.

Democratic societies are characterized as mobile or open, which implies a greater vertical mobility for individuals than in closed societies (cf. ibid, p.136 ff).

Closed organizations may constrain a person's economic opportunities as access is based on an organization's policy. In contrast, open organizations disclose a number of opportunities for upward mobility as access is provided according to qualification (cf. Gans, 2007, p.152 ff).

A lack of social mobility enables the identification of social inequalities in societal structures. Education, labor market, social networks, family, ethnicity and gender determine a person's socio-economic situation in a society (cf. Savage, 1997, p.290).

Research on social mobility has limitations in terms of the analyzed social groups. Since it only examines the socio-economic circumstances of the employed population, women, retired people, unemployed and self-employed individuals are neglected. Moreover, the analysis of social mobility centers on lifetime carriers, which implies further discrimination against women since they are more likely to interrupt their career due to childcare responsibilities. First generation immigrants also face this analytical problem, as they may not be able to consistently keep a job. In this case, it is important to look at the person's age at the time of immigration (cf. Bertaux, Thompson, 1997, p.8).

4.1 INDICATORS OF ECONOMIC MOBILITY

Economic mobility, which encompasses a person's education, income or wealth, living standard and employment status, represents one type of social mobility (cf. Gans, 2007, p.154 ff).

In order to conduct research on economic mobility of groups within a society, it is necessary to define a referential framework.

Although other factors such as power, occupation and property describe social mobility, the referential framework in this analysis is based on the interrelation of education and labor market positioning.

Power and prestige characterize subjective values which demand a closer consideration of the interrelated concepts. Labor market integration and education are easier to measure, as they are defined by school level certificates and a person's occupational position (cf. Kirchberger, 1975, p.134 f). Moreover, we assume that inclusion into the labor market, which in turn is linked and determined by an individual's educational attainments, is a primary criterion for the successful integration of an immigrant (cf. Weiss, Strodl, 2007, p.102 f). The chosen social indicators disclose the limits of further integration opportunities. Vertical economic mobility, in turn, feeds back into the integration process, as it is closely linked to the successful integration of an individual into other societal dimensions (cf. Weiss, 2007b, p.16 f). Social, political and economic power is linked to a person's economic position within the labor market.

According to Weiss and Strodl the concept of social indicators is limited since it lacks a theoretical foundation and describes societal realities without any explanation of interrelations. The relevance of a chosen social indicator is contestable. However, social indicators deal with statistical information and enable the evaluation of policy programs. Policy objectives may be verified through the combination of normative assumptions and empirical information. The main goal of the analysis on economic mobility and its indicators is to identify the level of integration. The examination of the statistical material is necessary to analyze current circumstances of social groups and discover discriminatory structures where improvements are crucial for their equal participation in society (cf. Weiss, Strodl, 2007, p.170 ff).

The analysis of atypical groups such as immigrants and citizens with a mother tongue other than the official language may pose problems due to a lack of statistical significance. Compared to other social groups people with an immigrant background who live in the same political system represent on average about fifteen percent of a given population. Hence, the consideration of atypical groups correlates with a small amount of cases. However, researchers developed methods to deal with this analytical problem (cf. Savage, 1997, p.307).

4.1.1 Education

Since education is considered as human capital, it characterizes an important factor for societal stratification (cf. Diefenbacher, Nauck, 2000, p.41). "The institutions for training and education, whatever their concrete forms may be, have always been channels of vertical circulation" (Sorokin, 1998, p.169). The school system may function as a social elevator, as it is supposed to offer equal treatment to all students. Yet, in situations where the school system is divided in private and public schools, equal representation of societal groups within the system decreases. A divided system may restrict equal opportunities of all social groups in a society.

Since the schooling system evaluates the student's learning ability, it works as a promoter to higher education. Additionally, it provides opportunities to develop or enhance cognitive, linguistic and social skills. Family background is significant for the willingness to obtain higher educational achievements as it lays out the resources available for education. In order to obtain jobs with a higher income and greater responsibility, higher qualifications, which are attained through education, are necessary (cf. Soucek, 1999, p.226; cf. Weiss, 2007c, p.33). "The comparative easiness of social climbing through the school channel is understood now by a great many people" (Sorokin, 1998, p.171).

4.1.2 Labor market integration

Labor market incorporation is an important determinant of economic mobility as it is linked to a person's labor market position, which is mainly based upon a person's educational attainments and income (cf. Weiss, 2007c, p.33).

The socio-economic context of the parental generation is a primary determinant for the child's educational capacities (cf. Soucek, 1999, p.226; cf. Weiss, 2007c, p.33). Poor educational attainments correspond with a higher susceptibility to enter unskilled and low-paid jobs. Additionally, poor qualifications increase the risk of unemployment throughout a person's employment history (cf. Fassmann, Reeger, 2007, p.191).

4.2 THE CORRELATION BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF IMMIGRANTS

As discussed in a previous chapter, acculturation scholars deduce a correlation between assimilation, acculturation and upward economic mobility. This assumption is based on earlier research on the social mobility of European immigrants in the United States. Since almost all immigrants were escaping from deprived socio-economic living standards in their country of origin, upward vertical mobility was likely. The only other option was stagnation in the current situation. Downward mobility of immigrants was first considered as an outcome of acculturation and assimilation at the beginning of the economic recession in the 1980s (cf. Gans, 2007, p.152 f). An increase in educational attainments was closely linked with social climbing prior to the 1980s (cf. Feliciano, 2005, p.6).

The concepts of social mobility and acculturation work independently, although acculturation may encompass certain side effects which increase economic mobility. The removal of discriminatory practices through access to citizenship is supposed to open up the same socio-economic opportunities for persons with an immigrant background as for non-immigrants. Since immigrants are usually represented in the lower and higher segments of the labor market, upward economic mobility is likely in the first case.

Economic mobility increases assimilative tendencies of immigrants (cf. Gans, 2007, p.152 ff). Dominant cultural practices become increasingly important to communicate with people who live in the same socio-economic circumstances. Hence, people with an immigrant background usually adapt to the social status, which is linked to their economic mobility (cf. Feliciano, 2005, p.5).

According to classic acculturation scholars, we assume that the upward vertical economic mobility of long-term immigrants who have access to citizenship, and the second generation of immigrants increases compared to short-term immigrants, who do not have access to citizenship.

4.3 ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRIA

4.3.1 Education

Due to the bipolar structure of the Austrian education system, students mostly decide over their future education at the age of fifteen. Although it is not certain that the student continues school until the high school diploma[47] or his or her apprenticeship training[48], the decision whether the individual continues his education or starts apprenticeship training outlines his or her future socio-economic possibilities.

Educational achievements during secondary school[49], therefore, determine access to higher education and better job opportunities.

Due to a lack of statistical information on the situation of immigrant and second-generation youth, we will compare different statistical material to control outcomes and identify trends (cf. Weiss, 2007c, p.35).

The main body of the statistical information is retrieved from the findings of the first and second Austrian report on migration and integration and Herzog-Punzenberger's research on the situation of the second generation of immigrants in Austria, which are based on the official Austrian census of the

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[47] "Matura"

[48] "Lehre"

[49] "Gymnasium"

year 2001. Another statistical source for this analysis was conducted in 2004 and 2005 by the Institute of Empirical Social Research in Vienna and published in the anthology "Leben in zwei Welten" edited by Hilde Weiss[50].

4.3.1.1 First generation[51] of immigrants

About 4.5% of the students had an immigrant parent with a mother tongue other than German in the school year 1989/90. Almost a decade later, the proportion increased to twelve percent according to Austrian school registration statistics. Seventy-one percent of these children were enrolled in compulsory school programs[52] and twenty-eight in higher educational institutions. Most of the students were from former Yugoslavia and Turkey (about seventy-three percent) (cf. Volf, 2001, p.179).

Educational attainments of immigrant children changed significantly in the period lasting until the 1990s. More and more children have continued their education and obtained higher educational credentials. Reasons for this change are, among others, higher educational achievements of the parents and a more diverse group of immigrant sending countries (cf. Biffl, Bock-Schappelwein, 2003, p.122). Gächter found that educational achievements of immigrants who were educated in their country of origin differ significantly between 1985 and the 1990s. Immigrants who came to Austria before 1985 had relatively low educational attainments. Forty-seven percent dropped out of school after compulsory schooling compared to thirty percent of the immigrants who came a decade later. The same percent of the later immigrants obtained a high school diploma in their country of origin compared to twenty-five percent prior to 1985. This percentage increased to forty percent with regards to immigrants, who settled in Austria after 1998. Hence, the data indicates that immigrants tend to obtain higher

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[50] For more information see chapter 1.3 Status of current research

[51] A person belongs to the first generation of immigrants when he or she was born in a foreign country, is eligible to permanent residency and immigrated to Austria after his or her eighteen's birthday (cf. Herzog- Punzenberger, 2003, p.7).

[52] "Pflichtschulprogramm"

educational credentials before immigrating to Austria than in the past (cf. Gächter, 2007, p.246).

The socio-economic status of an immigrant differs according to his country of origin. Some countries tend to send more unskilled workers while others send professional laborers (cf. Biffl, Bock-Schappelwein, 2003, p.123 f). Immigrants from countries in the European Union, Africa and Asia were overrepresented in the category of higher educational achievements in the year 2001. About forty percent held a high school diploma. This percentage even increases with regards to educational credentials of people from North America (cf. Simonitisch, Biffl, 2008, p.8). Parents from traditional sending countries (Turkey and former Yugoslavia) tend to be less educated.

The first Austrian report on migration and integration was published in the year 2003. It examines the educational attainments of immigrants until compulsory schooling and compares the available statistics to identify the direction of immigrant economic mobility.

With regards to higher education, the researchers of this report did not find any significant outcome for immigrants, as their participation rate was too low. Additionally, the situation of the second or third generation cannot be evaluated due to a lack of available statistics. Hence, the report focuses on a comparison of educational achievements of immigrant and non-immigrant[53] students. The statistics are still limited in the sense that children who are enrolled in Austrian school programs for more than six years are considered as German native speakers.

The report shows that the bipolar structure of educational achievements of first immigrants proceeds on to the second generation. Non-Austrian students are mainly represented in the lowest and highest educational levels. Significant differences between immigrant and non-immigrant children can especially be found in the so-called Special School[54] participation rate. With regards to Special School registration in the school year 1998/99, immigrant children were overrepresented. Twenty-three percent of the enrolled children

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[53] The category "non-immigrant" also comprises students, who have an immigrant origin. Since they have already obtained citizenship, they are counted as Austrians.

[54] Special schools ("Sonderschule") accommodate mentally and physically handicapped children and students with learning disabilities.

were non-citizens with a high rate of children from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey. Almost five percent of all Turkish pupils are enrolled in Special School programs compared to one percent of the Austrian children.

Although the percentage of immigrant children in all schooling levels increased from the 1980s to the 1990s, more immigrant children are represented in the compulsory schooling level than in higher educational institutions. Yet, the increase of immigrant children enrolled in Special School programs increased from six to twenty-three percent from the 1980s to the 1990s (cf. Biffl, Bock-Schappelwein, 2003, p.121 ff). The downgrading of students to a Special School constrains the access to higher education. The student graduates with a Special School certificate which offers no employment prospects for alumni in the labor market (cf. Volf, 2001, p.184).

With regards to higher education after compulsory schooling, only sixty percent of immigrant children continue their educational career compared to ninety percent of Austrian students.

In general, seventeen percent of the students enrolled in Secondary School institutions do not hold an Austrian passport. Consequently, about forty percent of immigrant youth enter the labor market as unskilled workers with a school-leaving certificate[55] (cf. Biffl, Bock-Schappelwein, 2003, p.124 ff).

The second Austrian report on migration and integration, which was published in the year 2007, is also limited to a comparison of the educational credentials of immigrants and non-immigrants. The report emphasizes the findings of the first report.

Immigrants have lower educational achievements on average than Austrians. Half of the immigrants stop their education after compulsory schooling. The percentage increases to a proportion of two-third with regards to third country nationals[56]. Moreover, Turkish immigrants have relatively low educational attainments since seventy-seven percent of the men and almost ninety percent of the women only obtain a school-leaving certificate in their occupational carrier. This lack of qualification is one reason for their position at the lower end of the society. Other immigrant groups show a more

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[55] "Hauptschulabschluss"

[56] The term third country national is used for people, who were born in a country outside the EU/EWR zone.

"conventional" distribution of educational credentials among their members compared to the Austrian average (cf. Fassmann, Reeger, 2007, p.191 f).

In the school year 2005/06, 9.6% of students were non-Austrian citizens. The comparison of available data for the year 2002/03 and a decade earlier indicates an amelioration of educational achievements among immigrant children.

The high registration rate of immigrant children in Special Schools has decreased to some extent and the representation of non-Austrian children in higher educational institutions increased. Yet, the overrepresentation of Turkish children in Special Schools is still evident, though decreased to some extent. A significant trend towards higher educational credentials of immigrant children is noticeable in all immigrant groups, although they are still underrepresented in higher educational institutions. With regards to gender, female students were able to achieve better educational credentials than their male counterparts. Four out of ten students enrolled in the Special School program are girls. Yet the participation rate of female Turkish students after compulsory schooling is lower than that of Turkish male students (cf. Herzog- Punzenberger, 2003, p.227 ff).

Parents from traditional sending countries (Turkey and the former Yugoslavia) show a tendency to put more emphasis on their children's continuing education than compared to the situation in the 1980s. This may result from improved socioeconomic circumstances for the first generation of immigrants. Scholars assume that immigrant children are less compelled to contribute to the family income than a decade earlier.

4.3.1.2 Second generation[57] of immigrants

Based on the sample, which was conducted in 2004 and 2005 by the Institute of Empirical Social Research in Vienna, we can identify a higher propensity of youth with a non-Austrian parent to have a lower educational attainment compared to pupils who do not have an immigrant father or mother. A large part of the second generation leaves school after obtaining the school-leaving certificate or continues with a pre-vocational year[58] in order to start vocational training. With regards to data for the second generation older than twenty years, we find significant differences between the control group[59] and the experimental group[60]. While fifteen percent of the control group drops out of the schooling system after obtaining the school-leaving certificate or continues at a vocational school[61], the percentage for second-generation youth lies at thirty percent. Twice as many students with an immigrant background leave school after obtaining the school leaving certificate or the completion of a pre-vocational year than Austrians with a non-immigrant background.

Furthermore, thirty-five percent of the control group graduated from a part-time compulsory vocational school, which is linked to vocational training, compared to only twenty-six percent of the experimental group.

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[57] Persons who belong to the second generation of immigrants either immigrated to Austria before the age of six or were already born in Austria. The citizenship status does not matter for this categorization. Persons who immigrated to Austria during their compulsory schooling and stayed in the schooling system for more than six years are also included in this category (cf. Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003, p.7).

According to the census conducted in the year 2001, nineteen percent of children under the age of five years or between twenty-five and thirty years had an immigrant background. Compared to this only fourteen percent of children between the age of fifteen and nineteen had immigrant parents (cf. Simonitsch, Biffl, 2008, p.5).

[58] The prevocational year is optional as the pupil can stay in the regular schooling system for five years and start vocational training right away.

[59] Austrian students without an immigrant parent

[60] Austrian students (second or third generation) with an immigrant parent

[61] "Berufsschule"; the prerequisite for enrolment in a part-time compulsory vocational school is the conclusion of the articles of vocational training. In the case of non-citizens, the vocational training position has to comply with the regulations of the Aliens' Employment Act (cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.8).

Compared to Austrian youth with a non-immigrant background, the drop-out rate of second-generation youth after reaching the secondary school level is higher, while the percentage of part-time compulsory vocational school enrollment is significantly lower.

With regards to the situation at the elementary school level, immigrant and second-generation children are overrepresented in the so-called Special School program while underrepresented in higher educational institutions (cf. Unterwurzacher, 2007, p.71).

Second-generation immigrant students are more likely to continue their education at a Regular Secondary School[62] compared to Austrians with a non-immigrant background. Seventy-seven percent of immigrant children go to a Regular Secondary School compared to sixty-six percent of non-immigrant children. With regards to upper Secondary Academic Schools[63] enrolments, only twenty-three percent of the experimental group registers for this school type versus thirty-four percent of the control group (cf. ibid, p.80 f). Considering higher education, thirty-three percent of Austrian youth graduated with a high school diploma, while only twenty-four percent of second-generation immigrant youth obtained the same educational level. In the case of university registration, which also includes universities of applied studies[64], twice as many test persons in the control group graduated (cf. Weiss, 2007c, p.35 ff).

With regards to school performance, the PISA Survey, which was conducted in the year 2000, measured reading skills of students between the age of fifteen and sixteen. Half of the survey's probands were taken from school classes mainly in the last year of compulsory schooling and one year after, which means that the larger part of youth with immigrant background was not included in the data. The aforementioned high drop-out rate after compulsory schooling decreases their participation rate. Only seven percent indicated that they speak a language other than German at home. This percentage was estimated at ten percent before the completion of the survey.

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[62] " Hauptschule"

[63] "Gymnasium (5.-8. Klasse)"

[64] " Fachhochschule (FH)"

The data indicates that children with an immigrant background have lower reading skills than Austrians (501 points) with a non-immigrant background (cf. Herzog- Punzenberger, 2003, p.29 f). The second generation (428 points) slightly ameliorated its reading competency compared to the first generation (425 points) (cf. Pro Austria- Centre for Migration Policy, 2008, p.12).

Given the influence of citizenship, non-Austrian students are more likely to have lower educational achievements than immigrants who obtained citizenship before compulsory schooling. The percentage of school leaving certificate holders decreases to approximately seventeen percent in the case of immigrants from former Yugoslavia. Twice as many citizens with a former Yugoslavian origin graduate from secondary schools compared to non-citizens. The difference between Turkish immigrants and Austrian citizens with a Turkish origin constitutes for ten percent (cf. Herzog- Punzenberger, 2007, p.244).

Herzog- Punzenberger put special emphasis on the situation of the second generation of Turkish immigrants. The experimental group encompasses about 57 000 persons according to the Labor Force Survey in the year 2001. She found out that the high percentage of people with only a school-leaving certificate did not change significantly over a generation. Sixty-two percent of second-generation Turkish immigrants finish their education after compulsory schooling. In most cases, persons with an immigrant background from traditional immigration countries enter the labor market as unskilled laborers. The number of professional workers is very low.

Second-generation Turkish girls are quite likely to quit the education system after compulsory schooling. Only fifteen percent complete vocational training linked with vocational schooling (cf. Herzog- Punzenberger, 2003, p.32 ff).

Weiss and Unterwurzacher discovered that, due to a missing differentiation of educational attainments of second- and third-generation immigrants and non-immigrant youth in official statistics, educational achievements of the second and third generation are underestimated (cf. Weiss, Unterwurzacher, 2007, p.232).

4.3.2 Labor market integration

Due to a persisting lack of data on the labor market integration of immigrants and Austrians of immigrant heritage, we will not be able to discuss them separately. The following consideration will, however, show the influence of an immigrant background on a person's socio-economic status.

Immigrants and second-generation youth[65] are mainly represented in the unskilled and professional labor market according to the bipolar structure of their educational achievements (cf. Biffl, Bock-Schappelwein, 2003, p.125).

In general, immigrants are likely to find less qualified employment during their first years after immigration.

Two percent of the women and four percent of the men who have an Austrian school-leaving certificate are employed in unskilled occupations. Immigrant women with a foreign school-leaving certificate represent nineteen percent of unskilled sector. In the case of male workers, the percentage increases to thirty-one percent. Dequalification of skilled or professional laborers may continue throughout their employment history as job experience decreases. This high dequalification rate of immigrants in the Austrian labor market increases with higher educational achievements (cf. Gächter, 2007, p.248 ff). The recognition of educational credentials of immigrants by Austrian officials is a long process and in most cases unsuccessful. The lack of recognition of foreign education limits prospects for economic mobility (cf. Latcheva, Obermann, 2006, p.92).

With regards to unemployment rates, immigrants educated in their country of origin experience a two to three times higher likelihood of unemployment compared to Austrians. The risk does not decrease with higher educational achievements (cf. Gächter, 2007, p.248).

According to the census conducted in the year 2001, 600 000 persons of the Austrian workforce were non-Austrian citizens or born in a foreign country. In relation to the Austrian population, this group accounts for fifteen percent. The highest unemployment rate was found among non-citizens who were born in Austria (13.8%) followed by non-citizens who were born in a foreign country (11.4%). With regards to Austrian citizens, seven percent of people

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[65] Persons between the age of fifteen and twenty-five.

with a non-immigrant background were unemployed compared to about eleven percent of people with an immigrant background. The data shows a higher susceptibility for people who have an immigrant background than for non-immigrants (cf. Biffl, 2007, p.265).

Moreover, the income of an immigrant family was fifty-two percent of the average Austrian family income in 1989. A decade later, the situation improved slightly as the percentage increased to fifty-eight percent (cf. Volf, 2001, p.50). A low income may enhance the individual's incentive to start unreported employment. Since job earnings are not reported to officials, they are not included in social insurance contribution. Low contributions, in turn, correspond to lower retirement pay and a higher risk of poverty (cf. Latcheva, Obermann, 2006, p.100 f).

Furthermore, most immigrants are employed in small- and medium-size businesses that do not offer career opportunities. The small size of the business implies only a limited number of higher positions within the business (cf. Wächter, Blum, Scheibelhofer, 2007, p.38).

The overall high employment rate of non-Austrians may be explained by the fact that the duration of residence is linked to employment. The immigrant's compulsion to be employed in order to stay in Austria has negative effects on their vertical economic mobility, as immigrants are more likely to accept dequalified positions to avoid expulsion. The basis of negotiation in the labor market, meanwhile, is limited. This is one reason for the high employment rate of immigrants in occupations with low pay and high flexibility in working schedules and availability. Another factor represents the basic principle of the labor market, which is the precedence given to non-immigrant workers in terms of job vacancies (cf. Volf, 2001, p.56 f).

Immigrants tend to be employed in sectors[66] with comparatively low wages and poor working conditions. These employment sectors mainly depend on an unskilled, flexible supply of cheap labor. In this context, it is important to mention that most immigrants who were able to improve their socio-economic

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[66] For example, tourism is a classic example of a seasonal employment sector while commerce and health care offer variable working schedules and low wages (cf. Fassmann, Reeger, 2007, p.191 ff).

situation in society, obtained Austrian citizenship and thus do not appear in these statistics (cf. Fassmann, Reeger, 2007, p.191 ff).

With regards to entry positions in the labor market, second-generation immigrant youth is represented in the group of unskilled workers to an extent of twenty-five percent compared to ten percent in the case of the Austrian youth with a non-immigrant background. Fifty-six percent of the experimental and seventy-six percent of the control group belong to the group of skilled workers. The propensity of second-generation youth to obtain lower educational attainments correlates with unskilled employment. Unskilled workers face a number of obstacles in their labor market integration throughout their job history (cf. Weiss, 2007c, p.38 f).

The labor force participation rate of immigrant youth decreased from fifty to forty-five percent in the period between 1995 and 2002. This indicates that increasing numbers of children with an immigrant background are continuing their education after compulsory schooling over the given period. However, this trend is only applicable to the situation of male immigrant youth (cf. Wächter, Blum, Scheibelhofer, 2007, p.40).

4.3.3 The gender perspective

Immigrant and second-generation women were able to improve their educational achievements during the 1990s. There are, however, significant differences between different ethnic groups. Women with a Turkish immigrant background especially have lower school participation rates (forty-seven percent) after compulsory schooling than women with a former Yugoslavian ethnic background (fifty-seven percent) and Austrian women with a non-immigrant background (ninety-three percent). Three quarters of the female youth with a Turkish origin only obtained a school-leaving certificate. Many women with an immigrant origin enter the labor market as unskilled workers or start a family after compulsory schooling.

Moreover, young female immigrants tend to interrupt their occupational career more frequent than Austrian women; this may be due to childcare responsibilities. Maternity leave among women between the age of fifteen

and twenty-four with a Turkish immigrant background increased from 17.5% to 32.7% between the year 1995 and 2002 (cf. ibid, p.35).

4.3.4 Intergenerational economic mobility

Intergenerational mobility deals with vertical economic mobility as the socio-economic situation of one generation is compared to the situation of consecutive generations. It indicates whether the second or third generation is able to ascend to the next higher social stratum, remain at the same level, or even descend to a lower social stratum (cf. Groß, 2008, p.118).

Hilde Weiss analyzed the intergenerational economic mobility of immigrants and the second generation of immigrants in Austria according to the aforementioned sample deducted by the Institute of Empirical Social Research.

With regards to this sample, fifty-eight percent of immigrant fathers attended a Primary School or a Regular Secondary School compared to only sixteen percent of the Austrian fathers. The most common educational attainment of Austrian fathers (sixty percent) is a vocational training linked with part-time compulsory vocational school attendance. Nineteen percent of immigrant mothers obtained no educational achievement and half of them dropped out of school after the primary school level.

In the following, Weiss made a comparison of the educational attainments of the first and the second generation. The findings indicate that one third of second-generation youth were not able to obtain higher educational achievements and attained a school-leaving certificate like their parents. However, the other two thirds were capable of either improving or impairing their educational attainments. On the level of part-time compulsory vocational schooling, almost half of the test persons obtained a status equal to that of their parents while thirty-six could improve it. Downward economic mobility was experienced by sixteen percent of second-generation youth. The collected data dealing with higher education is not significant as the size of the sample was too small.

With regards to the first generation, seventy-two percent are occupied in the same field as in their country of origin. Better job positioning was obtained by

fourteen percent with an almost equal number of cases where downward mobility was experienced. Hence, we can conclude that there is a lack of mobility both in the periods before and after immigration to Austria. Fifty-seven percent of immigrant fathers work as unskilled workers compared to thirty-four percent of second-generation youth. Sixty-six percent improved their job positioning in the labor market.

Thirty percent of the immigrant fathers found employment as skilled laborers. Seventy-three percent of the experimental group[67] works in the same position, while sixteen percent obtained a higher position and twelve percent obtained a lower one. Conclusions about jobs, which require a higher qualification, are not possible to make according to this sample, as again their representation is too small (cf. Weiss, 2007c, p.40 ff).

The correlation between education and labor market integration is significant according to the sample. Lower educational achievements lead to unskilled, low-income employment. This outcome is applicable to both the first and second generation. Moreover, the data indicates that second-generation immigrant youth and non-immigrant youth have the same opportunities in the labor market according to their qualifications. The sample did not indicate any significant difference between female and male test persons in the second generation. Hence, this research does not support earlier findings, which indicated lower economic mobility for second-generation women (cf. Weiss, 2007c, p.44). In this context, it is important to mention that forty-nine percent of women with a Turkish immigrant background between the age of fifteen and thirty-five are not in the labor force according to the micro-census of the year 2001. Hence, they are not included in the sample (cf. Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003, p.40).

The Labor Force Survey in the year 2000[68] found similar results. About half of the second-generation youth obtained the same qualification level as their parents. Twenty-six percent of the children were able to improve their educational attainments compared to their parents, while twenty-two percent had lower educational credentials.

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[67] Second generation

[68] "Sonderauswertung der Arbeitskräfteerhebung 2000"

4.3.5 Discussion of the empirical findings

The Austrian educational system proceeds the socio-economic status of the parents in most cases. This is especially problematic for immigrant families with low educational credentials as workers who were recruited in the period between the 1960s and the 1980s as unskilled workers. Intergenerational economic mobility mainly occurs in the low-paid, unskilled segments of the labor market (cf. Biffl, 2007, p.269). Social position, gender, citizenship, command of German and residential area represent other factors that influence the scope of upward vertical mobility (cf. Ditton, 1992, p.57). Herzog-Punzenberger identified a certain "citizenship-bonus" for immigrants who obtained Austrian nationality. The positive correlation between citizenship and labor market integration mainly results from restrictive immigration and labor market regulations (cf. Herzog-Punzenberger, 2007, p.244). The rewards for resisting acculturation do not offer better economic opportunities in most cases (cf. Feliciano, 2005, p.5).

Sorokin's observations of immigrant vertical economic mobility belong to a time where the labor market and the administration in most Western democracies were expanding. Educational credentials enabled access to professional jobs due to an increasing need of a more skilled workforce in most employment sectors. The economic problems occurring in the 1970s decreased the demand for a highly skilled workforce. In consequence, fewer jobs were available in professional sectors (cf. Soucek, 1999, p.227). The interrelation between downward mobility and acculturation or assimilation may be explained by the changing labor market conditions and racial discrimination of visible minorities.

The large number of cheap laborers increases competition among immigrants employed in the lower segments of the labor market, as the supply of cheap labor exceeds demand. Consequently, socio-economic opportunities are limited.

Moreover, visible minorities face more constraints in their daily life compared to, for example, "white" immigrants due to discrimination based on ethnicity (cf. Feliciano, 2005, p.5).

The high segmentation of the Austrian labor market in the 1990s is still evident with regards to present circumstances.

Immigrants are concentrated on specific economic branches like the construction and textile industry. Structurally weak economic branches are highly dependent on foreign laborers as they offer low payment and flexible working schedules (cf. Volf, 2001, p.49). Another important factor for labor market integration is whether the individual was educated in the sending or receiving country. Higher education does not always correlate with upward vertical economic mobility. Immigrants who were educated in another country than the host country may only find employment in labor market segments where they are overqualified (cf. Fassmann, Reeger, 2007, p.191). A dequalified entry position in the labor market has important implications for future occupational opportunities: a good starting position correlates with higher income and a higher chance of upward economic mobility (cf. Kytir, Münz, 1994, p.31).

The closed character of the Austrian education system and labor market does not offer many possibilities for immigrants and their children to improve their socio-economic situation. According to the findings of the PISA Survey conducted in the year 2000 and 2003, the gender, occupation and education of the parents have strong influences on the child's educational achievements and labor market integration (cf. Simonitisch, Biffl, 2008, p.19). The Ludwig Boltzmann Institute considering the period between 2000 and 2005 carried out another empirical study on the influence of certain factors on the success of students in the Austrian schooling system. The researchers found the same parameters for educational success as the PISA survey (cf. Khan-Svik, 2007, p.257): children are more likely to complete higher education when the parents have themselves already graduated from higher education institutions (cf. Bock-Schappelwein, Huemer, Pöschl, 2006, p.5).

Bacher recommends the adaption of programs to improve language abilities of children with an immigrant background to enhance their chances in terms of higher education and better positioning in the labor market. Yet, the influence of the parents' social position in the society is more significant than ethnic background. Hence, job positioning of first-generation immigrants is important and needs to become the focus of policy makers in order to ameliorate the socio-economic situation of further generations (cf. Bacher, 2005, p.56 ff).

4.4 ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

The following consideration will compare the educational and occupational situation of the Canadian-born[69] and immigrant[70] populations in Canada in order to discuss the economic mobility of immigrants.

Sources for the analysis are mainly retrieved from Statistics Canada.

4.4.1 Education

Shaienks, Eils-Culkin and Bussière examined the average educational achievements of Canadian students. Their findings are based on the Youth in Transition Survey, which analyzed the career paths of youth aged between eighteen and twenty from the year 1999 to 2003. Moreover, the survey's findings comply with the statistics of the Labor Force Survey for the same period.

Around ninety percent of youth graduated from high school with a high school diploma while about ten percent dropped out of secondary school in the year 2003. Male students are more susceptible to leaving school before high school graduation than female students.

The data indicates that a high school diploma is currently more or less the minimum standard for education in Canada; people without a high school diploma face many obstacles to their future integration into the labor market. Yet, the second chance education system provides the opportunity to continue education after dropping out of school (cf. Shaienks, Eils-Culkin, Bussière, 2006, p.7 ff).

Corbeil has analyzed the changing educational achievements of French and English Canadians and Allophones[71] over the past thirty years according to the Censuses of Population.

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[69] People in this category may have an immigrant background, as they belong to the second generation of immigrants.

[70] The category "immigrant" is used for members of the visible and non-visible minority (immigrant) population, which was born outside of Canada.

[71] A student is defined as Allophone when neither English or French is his mother tongue.

With regards to the Anglophone youth[72], who dropped out of school before grade nine, the percentage declined from twenty-three to five percent between 1971 and 2001. In the case of Francophone Canadians, the percentage dropped from forty-four to fifteen percent in the same period. The most significant difference was found for the educational achievements of Allophone youth. About half of Allophone students did not continue school after grade nine in the year 1971 compared to only seventeen percent in the year 2001. Yet, the group of Allophones is very diverse, as the reasons for immigration and educational achievements prior to immigration vary widely.

About seventeen percent of the Allophone students quit school without a high school diploma compared to sixteen percent of the Anglophone population and thirteen percent of the French-Canadians. Moreover, Allophones show the highest enrollment rate in second chance educational institutions. About one quarter of the Allophone students, who dropped out of school eventually register for a second chance program. The percentage decreases to nineteen and eighteen percent in the case of Francophones and Anglophones. Furthermore, women are more likely to enroll in second chance educational institutions than men.

While English-Canadians were more likely to hold a university degree in 1971 than the other language groups, the proportion of Allophones increased significantly. Twenty percent of the Allophone population in Canada graduated from a post-secondary institution compared to fifteen and thirteen percent of the Anglophone and Francophone population by the year 2001 (cf. Corbeil, 2003, p.8 f).

Another interesting finding of Corbeil is that the Allophone population between the age of twenty-five and thirty-four had the highest proportion of the most- and least-educated persons in the year 2001. For example, people with a Portuguese background were represented in the group of university degree holders to an extent of fifteen percent compared to fifty-nine percent of people with a Romanian origin.

With regards to gender, Allophone males (twelve percent) were more likely to hold a university degree in the year 1971 than Allophone females (six percent). Thirty years later, women surpassed men. While about three

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[72] Fifteen years and older

percent of all the individuals in the three language groups had post-graduate education, Allophones were able to increase their proportion to eight percent over the past three decades. The percentages for the other groups remained more or less the same (cf. ibid, p.10 ff).

Based on the findings of the National Survey of Children and Youth between the years 1994 and 1999, Worswick found out that the school performance of immigrant children almost equals the performance of Canadian-born students. Immigrant children with parents whose mother tongue is either one of the official languages in Canada tend to be more successful. The writing, composition and reading skills of immigrant children that belong to a non-official language minority tend to be worse. Yet, it is important to mention that immigrant students' success depends on the amount of years of Canadian school enrollment. By the age of thirteen, immigrant and Canadian-born children are expected to have the same educational performance (cf. Worswick, 2001, p.13 f).

According to the "Programme for International Student Assessment" (PISA), immigrant children enrolled in Canadian school programs for more than five years are able to improve their reading skills by sixty percent.

With regards to Canadian-born youth and students with a migratory background, girls tend to reach higher reading scores than boys.

In comparison, immigrant students born outside Canada and students with a migratory background obtained slightly lower reading scores than students with Canadian-born parents. A significant influence on the performance in reading has the duration of residency and the spoken language at home (cf. Gluszynski, Dhawan-Biswal, 2008, p.23 f).

According to the findings of the PISA survey in 2006, students with Canadian-born parents have higher scores than students with a migratory background, which represent about twenty percent of the test group. There is no significant difference between the first and second generation of immigrants. Yet, the disparity in performance between students with a migratory background and students with non-immigrant origins is the least significant compared to the test results in other countries that participated in the PISA survey (cf. Bussière, Knighton, Pennock, 2007, p.39 f).

4.4.2 Labor Market

Immigrants represent an important source of economic growth for the Canadian labor market (cf. Warman, 2005, p.5).

In order to bring highly qualified labor to Canada, the Canadian immigration policy makers implemented, as previously mentioned, a points system in the year 1967. By measuring the years of education[73], the system considers the applicant's educational credentials. Yet, the duration of education does not always correlate with the quality of education. Researchers found out that there is a certain correlation between low earnings of immigrant groups and the given foreign educational system by comparing the data from three censuses conducted in the years 1986, 1991 and 1996. Yet, not all sending countries are included into the research[74].

The annual earning difference between recent immigrants and individuals who were born in Canada was relatively high in the case of male workers in the year 2000. Canadian-born males between the age of thirty and fifty-four earned on average $ 12.300 more than immigrant men. In comparison, female immigrants earned $ 8.600 less than Canadian-born women.

The earning disparity has intensified over the last three decades although educational achievements of immigrants have increased. The gap has increased by thirty-three percent (cf. Sweetman, 2004, p.5).

The points system was modified in 1993 in order to emphasize applicants with higher educational credentials, namely skilled laborers and professional. This goal was achieved by the year 2004, as their proportion has significantly increased to fifty-six percent of total permitted applicants. Additionally, about forty-five percent of applicants held a university degree (cf. Picot, Hou, Coulombe, 2007, p.5 f).

Compared to Canadian-born parents, immigrant parents tend to have higher educational credentials. The chances are thirty-five percent that either one parent holds a university degree. Contrarily, only twenty-one percent of the Canadian-born parents acquired post-secondary certificates (cf. Taylor, Krahn, 2005, p.10).

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[73] The other three categories do not put a strong emphasis on education.

[74] Eighty-seven sending countries are included in the research.

Although the educational credentials of immigrant families are high compared to Canadian-born families, the fraction of low-income immigrant families during the first period of residency increased significantly until 2002. The fraction of families with a low-income[75] is three times higher among immigrant than Canadian-born families in the year 2004.

Around forty percent of the low-income households were able to find better-paid jobs after their first years of immigration. The probability of persistent low income is estimated at ten percent.

Around sixty-five percent of immigrants experience poor performance on the labor market at "some time during the first ten years in Canada" (Picot, Hou, Coulombe, 2007, p.7). Families that do not experience low income during the first year of immigration are also more likely to escape it in the following years.

Refugees are the most likely group to experience chronic low income compared to business and family class immigrants.

Moreover, age, country of origin and education have a significant influence on low income. While higher education decreases the probability of poor labor market performance, age and a non-traditional country of origin are responsible for chronic low income.

Persistent low income was experienced by eight percent of the immigrants from Europe and the Unites States compared to around twenty percent of immigrants from Asia and Africa (cf. ibid, p.31 ff). "For example, between 1995 and 1999, the expected increase in earnings resulting from a university degree obtained in a traditional source region was 47.8%, compared with 36.2% if the degree was obtained in a non-traditional source region" (The Daily, 2004, n. p.).

Furthermore, immigrants are more susceptible to enter dequalified occupations. Educational or occupational skills obtained in the source country are, in most cases, not transferred adequately to the Canadian labor market after immigration. Women are the most affected group in terms of dequalification.

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[75] "Low income is defined as family income below 50% of median income of the total population, adjusted for family size" (Picot, Hou, Coulombe, 2007, p.5).

Individuals without any educational achievements do not experience significant earning differences according to their country of origin (cf. Schmidtke, Kovacev, Marry, 2006, p.4).

The adjustment to the labor market situation does not have any strong implications on an increase in salary. Immigrants' lower earnings more often persist throughout their career.

Another important finding shows that recent immigrants find inferior labor market conditions compared to earlier immigrants. In times of recession, earnings assimilation is less likely than during times of economic prosperity. The researchers indicate, however, that the low labor market performance of recent immigrants may only be temporary (cf. Worswick, 2001, p.1 f).

Economic assimilation of immigrants is important, as it is linked to a family's wealth. Wealth determines future options of other family members since higher education and better jobs are linked to more extensive training and education. Parents have to sponsor their children for a longer period, which may not be possible due to the family's financial situation.

With regards to wealth allocation in the upper segment of Canadian society, married and single immigrant families tend to be wealthier than those whose members were born in Canada. "Various decomposition practices indicate that the age of the major income recipient, which captures the effect of a family's life cycle, as well as factors related to permanent income, such as education and gender can explain a significant portion of the wealth gap" (Zhang, 2003, p.22).

For example, recent immigrants tend to be better educated than the Canadian average.

In turn, the situation in the lower segment is the opposite. Immigrant families are socio-economically more deprived than families with a non-migratory background in the same lower-wealth segment (cf. ibid, p.22).

Immigrants were more susceptible to poverty in the year 2000 (thirty-five percent) than in the year 1980 (twenty-three percent) due to comparatively high unemployment rates and lower earnings (cf. Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p.89).

The unemployment rate for the Canadian-born population was estimated at 7.4% compared to 30% for short-term immigrants[76] and 12.7% for long-term immigrants[77] in the year 2001 (cf. Ackeren, Klemm, 2007, p.177). "Employment rates for newly arrived immigrant men have also declined, from 86.3 per cent in 1980 (as compared to 91 per cent for native-born Canadian men), to 68.3 per cent in 1996" (Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p.88).

With regards to the second generation, studies indicate that the susceptibility to low income rates is in most cases not passed on to consecutive generations (cf. Picot, Hou, Coulombe, 2007, p.35). The increase in earnings of the second generation lays at six and fourteen percent for traditional and non-tradition source country origin compared to the population with Canadian-born parents (cf. Aydemir, Chen, Corak, 2005, p.12).

Immigrant children and teenagers primarily educated in Canada are not affected by the school quality of their country of origin. Only individuals with mixed Canadian and source country education or exclusively foreign education are affected by the education of their country of origin (cf. Sweetman, 2004, p.35).

In general, children with an immigrant background are more likely to live in lower-income households than children of Canadian-born parents.

4.4.3 Intergenerational Mobility

In the following consideration, we will only refer to the research of Aydemir, Chen and Corak, which analyzed the generational mobility of immigrants in Canada according to the data of the census conducted in the year 2001.

According to the findings, a parental earnings situation is passed on to consecutive generations, to an extent of fifteen to twenty percent. This indicates that Canada stands for a mobile society. In immobile societies like the United Kingdom, the parents' socio-economic circumstances are inherited by about half of the next generation.

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[76] Residency of less than five months

[77] Residency for more than five years

In Aydemir, Chen and Corak's analysis, the first generation is defined as the group that immigrated to Canada. The second generation accounts for Canadian citizens[78], whose parents were born outside Canada.

The comparative data for the paternal generation was taken from the census of the year 1981 under the limitation that only immigrant families with children aged between five and seventeen in the year 1981 were included in the examination. The sample, which encompasses the socio-economic situation of the second generation, comprises individuals born to immigrant parents and between twenty-five and thirty-seven years old in the year 2001.

In total, seventy immigrant source countries were included in the survey and adjustments were taken in order to make conclusions about the findings.

Moreover, the group of immigrants is divided into two age groups. One group comprises individuals younger than twelve years old at the time of immigration to Canada and the other comprises those older than twelve. This specific differentiation should indicate whether language acquisition has a strong influence on economic mobility and integration. The group of the second generation was also subcategorized into whether both or only one parent has an immigrant background. According to the census of the year 2001, twenty percent accounted for immigrants and fifteen percent for the second-generation group.

When both parents are of immigrant origin, eighty percent of the children speaks one official language at home compared to ninety-eight percent of households with only one immigrant parent (cf. Aydemir, Chen, Corak, 2005, p.7 ff).

The labor market participation rate of the second generation (experimental unit) is similar to the one of individuals with Canadian-born parents (native Canadians). Second-generation women are more likely to be employed in the labor market than native Canadians. An average second-generation immigrant, meanwhile, is more likely to have a high-income when both parents have an immigrant background than when only one parent is of immigrant origin. The group that encompasses those that immigrated to

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[78] Due to ius soli regulations, individuals acquire citizenship by the place of birth. Hence, immigrant children, who are born in Canada, have access to Canadian citizenship

Canada under the age of twelve have similar labor market outcomes compared to the second generation.

In general, the second generation of immigrants and immigrants under twelve at the time of arrival in Canada have similar or even higher education and labor market performance than native Canadians.

Second-generation immigrant women experience higher outcomes in education and the labor market regardless of their ethnic origin.

With regards to intergenerational mobility, the second generation has a higher income than their immigrant parents at a similar time during their occupational careers and higher educational credentials. An exception to these findings is represented by the group of second-generation members with an Eastern or Southern European origin, as they fall below the educational achievements of their immigrant fathers.

The data indicates that intergenerational income mobility is similar for the population with a migratory background as well as for people with a non-migratory background. An important influence on economic mobility is social capital: communities with better-educated members are more likely to provide the assets for economic mobility to future generations than lower educated communities.

Hence, there is a great elasticity or potential for economic mobility among second-generation immigrants in Canada (cf. ibid, p.11 ff).

4.4.4 Discussion of the empirical findings

The analysis of the empirical sources indicates that the Canadian society is mobile and there is a great elasticity in the income of the first and second generation of immigrants.

Considering the situation of the first generation of immigrants, they experience a lower labor market participation and outcome than earlier immigrants in the 1980s, despite their higher educational attainments.

Aydemir and Skuterud found out that there are three main reasons that led to low income and employment rates among recent immigrants. The first reason is caused by the new immigration policy of 1967, as immigrant source countries have changed and most of the immigrants do not speak either one of the two official languages (cf. Aydemir, Skuterud, 2004, p.17). The lack of

language ability may represent an obstacle to full labor market integration (cf. ibid, p.11). Additionally, economic mobility of Allophone immigrants is more likely when they acquire English as the official language of communication rather than French (cf. Ackeren, Klemm, 2007, p.178).

Another problem represents the recognition process of foreign occupational experience from non-traditional sending countries (Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia). Many immigrants are not able to transfer their work experience to the Canadian labor market (cf. Aydemir, Skuterud, 2004, p.17). Immigrants from traditional and non-traditional sending countries do not experience the same dequalification rates. "An important part of the explanation for the disparity in entry earnings between immigrants from Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe and the more traditional countries is the fact that the labor market return to foreign experience and schooling from Canada's traditional source countries has always been higher" (The Daily, 2004, n. p.). Canadian employers undervalue foreign occupational experiences of members from non-traditional sending countries.

The main problem is that there are no universal guidelines in place for the recognition process. This opens up the possibility for hidden ethnic discrimination (cf. Schmidtke, Kovacev, Marry, 2006, p.4).

Immigrants who came to Canada under the age of twelve or even younger remain almost unaffected by their foreign experiences. Yet, the influence of foreign education on the labor market performance increases with the age at the time of immigration. Foreign educational attainments are more influential for immigrants over twenty-five than for the group under the indicated age. This finding is mainly applicable for immigrants from non-traditional sending countries (cf. Aydemir, Skuterud, 2004, p.9 ff).

The last cause of the deterioration of economic mobility of immigrants refers to macro-economic developments in the Canadian labor market. Both the immigrant and Canadian-born populations have experienced an overall decline in entry-level incomes on the employment market.

In conclusion, although the first generation of immigrants faces obstacles in their labor market integration according to their country of origin, the second generation has similar labor market performances and outcomes as compared to the population with Canadian-born parents (cf. ibid, p.15 ff).

Downward economic mobility is experienced by sixty-five percent in the first years after arrival in Canada, but remains persistent for only ten percent of cases. Upward economic mobility of immigrants after ten years of residency and among the second generation is likely (cf. Picot, Hou, Coulombe, 2007, p.35). Yet, immigrants of non-traditional source countries may face more obstacles to upward economic mobility than Europeans and Americans. Hence, Sorokin's observations are mainly applicable to the situation of immigrants from traditional sending countries. It is likely that hidden discrimination hinders the economic mobility of immigrants from Africa and Eastern Asia and Europe (cf. Schmidtke, Kovacev, Marry, 2006, p.7). Yet, the research on the generational mobility shows that the second generation of non-traditional source countries increases their income to a higher extent than the second generation with European or American origin (cf. Aydemir, Chen, Corak, 2005, p.12).

With regards to education, Allophones students were able to improve their educational situation and account for the language group with the greatest share of professional workers (cf. Corbeil, 2003, p.8 f).

"Overall, children of immigrants generally do on average at least as well as the children of the Canadian-born along each dimension of school performance" (Worswick, 2001, p.13). Children with mother tongues other than French or English perform slightly worse than immigrant children with an official language as their mother tongue. Yet, they are able to reach the average Canadian educational outcomes after a certain duration of schooling in Canadian school programs (cf. ibid, p.13 f).

The positive situation of the second generation still demands intensive support for language training. Since we are only able to look at the average performance of students with a migratory background, performances in some provinces are worse than in others. Hence, it is important that policy makers concentrate on the implementation of a minimum standard of educational support for students of immigrant origin in all provinces to ensure their economic mobility.

5 COMPARISON AND CONCLUSION

In the following comparison, we will differentiate between the theoretical and empirical findings of this analysis.

Moreover, we will verify the hypothesis of the thesis ("Multicultural integration policy is better at enhancing the integration of immigrants than an exclusionary integration policy") through the evaluation of the case studies.

5.1 INTEGRATION CONCEPTS AND POLICIES AND THE ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF IMMIGRANTS

5.1.1 The theoretical approach

In this analysis, we compared three different models of integration policy. The exclusionary model is based on ius sanguinis regulations for the access to membership. Additionally, it is linked to a restrictive immigration policy, which tightens the rules for family reunification and secure residence status. For example, the quota system restricts employment opportunities of foreign and seasonal workers, as they are only conceived as temporary workers. Access to citizenship is mainly permitted through naturalization, which implies that the model is more or less directed to an assimilation of immigrants (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.36 ff; cf. Castles, 1994, p.21 ff).

With regards to the integration concept of assimilation, it is conceived that the individual passes through four stages of acculturation with the end result being the individual's assimilation to the national identity. The process is based on the cognitive, structural, social and identificational adaption of the individual to institutions, values and norms of the dominant culture. Assimilation takes a negative stance on cultural diversity since the host society is conceived as a homogeneous entity (cf. Zolberg, 1996, p.59). Integration policies, which are based on an exclusionary model, conceive themselves as non-immigration countries.

Besides assimilation, the acculturation process may result in segregation, marginalization or integration of the individual. The first two outcomes are

caused by a withdrawal from any stage of the acculturation process. In both cases, the individual exists outside the political system. Marginalization even implies the withdrawal from any relationships with the dominant society and ethnic community while segregation only limits the immigrant's interaction to his own ethnic community. Segregation may be facilitated by the policy makers through economic or political exclusion of immigrants or unintended due to social exclusion by the dominant society. In any case, segregation and marginalization are caused by discrimination (cf. Han, 2000, p.199 ff).

Integration, in contrast to assimilation, allows for the incorporation of new cultural elements into the national identity. Yet, the integration process is still asymmetric as the dominant culture represents the absorbing culture and defines which new elements are going to be incorporated into the national identity (cf. Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, 1986, p.16 f). It is important to mention all four outcomes of the acculturation process, as Austria does not strictly follow either integration concept. Integration programs may be based upon different integration concepts, as an exclusionary integration policy does not strictly rely on one integration concept.

In contrast to the exclusionary integration model, the pluralist inclusionary one provides easier access to citizenship after a short duration of residency (three to five years) and a secure residency status for immigrants after arrival in the receiving country (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.36 ff; cf. Castles, 1994, p.21 ff).

The model is based on multiculturalism. As an integration concept with a pluralistic view of society, it promotes the persistence of cultural identities among its immigrants. From this viewpoint, society is conceived as fragmented rather than culturally homogeneous. Social equilibrium in society is based on core values and norms, which are accepted by all individuals in order to communicate with each other and peacefully live in a political system. An official language and common political culture are important for providing a common ground for interaction within a diverse society. Multicultural policies fight racism, discrimination and support immigrants, and their offspring through anti-discrimination legislation and affirmative action (cf. Parekh, 2000, p.199 f; cf. Kymlicka, 1999, p.71 f).

Finally, the assimilationist inclusionary model provides political inclusion if the immigrant is willing to assimilate to the cultural norms and values of the national identity. Social integration is not regarded as a prerequisite for political inclusion (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.36 ff; cf. Castles, 1994, p.21 ff). As the third model is not important for the following discussion, it will not find any further consideration.

Educational policy overlaps with integration, since immigrant children and the second generation of immigrants receive education in the host country.

The successful incorporation of immigrants and the second generation can be measured by their upward economic mobility in the host countries. Upward vertical economic mobility[79] implies that the individual is able to change his status position within society to a higher stratum. In a mobile society with equal opportunities for all its members, upward economic mobility depends on the person's educational and occupational qualification. In the case where economic mobility is restricted to certain members of society, societies are immobile and discriminate against its members based on, for example, ethnicity, age or gender.

Researchers assume that successful acculturation with assimilation or integration[80] as an outcome correlates with upward economic mobility. The immigrant is fully incorporated into society and, therefore, is no longer subject to the restrictions of a foreign nationality. He or she represents a full and equal member of society after the acquisition of citizenship, which is the final stage of the incorporation process (cf. Sorokin, 1998, p.133 ff; cf. Feliciano, 2005, p.5 f; cf. Gans, 2007, p.152 ff). Although there is no specific theory about the relationship between upward economic mobility and multiculturalism, we can assume that since a multicultural policy aims at providing equal treatment and opportunities to immigrants, social climbing is implied in the concept as a sign of successful integration in society.

In the following chapter, we will compare the findings of the case studies and show that upward economic mobility of immigrants and their offspring is more

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[79] The definition of economic mobility is provided in the chapter 4.1 (pp. 71-73).

[80] The other two outcomes, namely segregation and marginalization, are caused by a withdrawal, which implies an unsuccessful integration process.

likely in a country which applies an inclusionary pluralist integration policy (Canada) than an exclusionary (Austria).

5.1.2 The case studies

The Austrian immigration and integration policy is based on an exclusionary integration model, as immigration used to be regulated through a guest worker system that was implemented in the 1960s. Austrian policy makers modified the immigration policy in 2005 through the implementation of a quota system, which mirrors the restrictive practices of the "guest worker system". The quota for immigrant workers is fixed at a proportion of ten percent of the Austrian labor force. Additionally, family reunification was also included in the quota system.

Moreover, ius sanguinis regulations decide over access to citizenship of third country nationals (cf. Viehböck, Bratic, 1994, p.23; cf. Weiss 2007a, p.9 f).

Contrarily, the Canadian immigration and integration policy is based on an inclusionary pluralist approach. The restrictive and assimilative orientation on immigration and integration was replaced in the year 1967. Access to citizenship rests upon ius soli regulations and allows for its acquisition after a residency of three years. Moreover, Canada provides the opportunity of dual citizenship, which emphasizes its pluralistic approach to immigrant incorporation.

With regards to immigration policy, the Canadian federal government has implemented a points system in 1967[81] in order to permit entrance to immigrants based on their qualifications. The new Immigration Act of the year 1976 put stronger emphasis on the support for family reunification and humanitarian aid. It also established four classes (family, independent, discretionary and humanitarian) of immigrants and significantly increased the immigration of members of non-traditional immigration countries. The five-year immigration plan that contains the number of immigrants to Canada is flexible and can be exceeded if necessary.

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[81] For more information on the points system see chapter 2.2.3.1 (pp. 39- 42).

Hence, while Austria is oriented on the exclusion and restriction of immigration, Canada aims at the recruitment of immigrants based on their skills and qualification as a nation-building strategy on a larger scale. Access to Canadian citizenship is comparatively easier to obtain, which enhances immigrant's participation in societal institutions and structures (cf. Antalovsky, Bauböck, Perchinig, Wolffhardt, 2002, p.175; cf. Harzig, 2004, p.223 f; cf. Triadafilopoulos, 2006, p.80 f).

With regards to the integration concepts underlying the integration and immigration policies, Austria is hard to classify. The integration programs differ in their conceptual orientation. While citizenship is oriented on assimilation, educational programs are more directed to a multicultural approach. The Austrian integration concept is far from being consistent and differs in the different policy fields, which deal with integration. The federal programs aimed at the incorporation of immigrants are positioned between the extremes of assimilation and multiculturalism. Moreover, integration programs in some provinces may put greater emphasis on support for cultural diversity than others (cf. Gensluckner, 2001, p.176 f; cf. Weiss, 2007a, p.9 f).

The definition of the integration concept in the Canadian context is easier, as the Canadian Prime Minister announced from the beginning "a policy of official multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" in the year 1971 (Gagnon, Iacovino, 2007, p.103).

In contrast to assimilation, Canadian multiculturalism promotes ethnic diversity within the country through the implementation of multicultural programs for immigrants to support their incorporation and enhance equity in the Canadian society. Legislation like the Canadian Multiculturalism Act and the Employment Equity Act were passed to fight discriminatory treatment of people with an immigrant background.

Furthermore, the principle of multiculturalism was also included in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982. Hence, all Canadian provinces must have a multicultural policy[82] (cf. ibid, p.104 f; cf. Harzig, 2004, p.253 f).

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[82] Quebec has a slightly different approach to immigration and integration, which is defined as „interculturalism". For more information on this issue see Gagnon, Iacovino, 2007.

However limited the classification may be, both countries implemented the same educational programs to facilitate the integration of students with another mother tongue than the official language(s) in the schooling system.

School attendance regulations for immigrant students are similar in both countries. Austria and Canada integrate immigrant students into the conventional school programs after a certain period of transition. While the maximum duration of this transitional period is fixed at two years in Austria[83], it is shorter in the Canadian school program, but the support during the transition is more intensive in Canada[84] than in Austria.

The main difference between the two countries rests upon political competence in the field of education.

Whilst the federal government in Austria was responsible for the implementation of the previously discussed educational programs to deal with immigrant student's incorporation, the case is different in Canada.

There exists no Canadian federal department of education since the Canadian provinces are in charge of the educational policy. Moreover, the implementation of extra-curricular programs such as the ones dealing with immigrant student incorporation is more decentralized. School boards are responsible for the provision of special extra-curricular educational programs.

Yet, heritage language education and German (or English and French in the case of Canada) as second language courses are offered in both countries or more precisely in all provinces to some extent.

The regulations in Canada differ according to provincial legislation since each school board in Canada decides the extent of these programs.

Although the provision of German as a second language courses and heritage language education is mandatory and regulated through federal law in each Austrian province since the early 1990s, there are still differences according to the school program. Each school program provides remedial language training to a different extent.

In both countries, the remedial official language courses are oriented towards the linguistic competence of the student rather than age. The maximum

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[83] For further information on the regulations of the transition period in Austria see chapter 3.1

[84] Some schools provide extra classes for the fast transition of immigrant students to the Canadian schooling system.

duration of German as a second language courses is fixed at six years. In contrast to this, English and French as a second language courses in the Canadian provinces are provided depending on the school board regulations to an extent of two to five years. Remedial official language education in both countries may be carried out in addition to, integrated with or simultaneously to the conventional school instruction.

English and French as a second language (ESL/FSL) courses in the Canadian provinces are more flexible to the students' needs, cultural background and the amount of students in a certain provincial area. Hence, in districts where immigrants tend to settle less frequently, ESL/FSL courses and heritage language courses may not be offered by the educational institutions. At the same time, districts with a larger proportion of immigrant students may offer more exhaustive English or French as a second language courses.

The provision of heritage language education in Austria is mandatory during compulsory schooling and should facilitate the student's integration and language ability in his first and second language. It is an optional subject, which is taught simultaneously, additionally or integrated to the mainstream school instruction. The student is able to interchange his first and second language in the school curriculum but final examinations (e.g. high school diploma) have to be passed in the official language.

Heritage language education is also an optional subject in the school curricula of most Canadian provinces. Additionally, Canada provides the possibility of French and minority language immersion schools. In the case of immersion schools, the student may receive education in the individual's mother tongue.

Both countries have also implemented programs and regulations to introduce cultural diversity to the school curriculum.

The Austrian government has established the principle of intercultural learning in the different school programs in the period between 1991 and 1994. The principle should be applied to all subjects and reflect the multiculturality of Austrian society.

Since Canada officially applies a multicultural policy, multiculturalism informs the school curricula in the Canadian provinces through the emphasis on

language training and equity (cf. Cummins, 1998, p.293 ff; cf. Genesee, 1998, p.311; cf. de Cillia 2003, p.135 ff; cf. Nova Scotia Department of Education, 2003, p.5 ff; cf. Avenarius, Brauckmann, Kopp, 2007, p.57 ff; cf. Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2007a, p.7 ff).

With regards to the economic mobility of immigrants in both countries, the intergenerational mobility of immigrants is higher in Canada than in Austria.

In the case of Austria, upward intergenerational mobility is mainly limited to the lower segment of the labor market. Education, residential area, language ability in German, gender, socio–economic position and citizenship have a strong influence on the economic mobility of immigrants in Austria. Immigrant and second-generation youth are underrepresented in secondary school programs and achieve lower test scores than Austrian students with a non-migratory background in the PISA survey. Both groups are mainly represented in the lowest and highest segments of the labor market. This bipolar structure also applies for their educational achievements.

New immigrants often experience a dequalification after their arrival and a high susceptibility to unemployment, although educational achievements of recent immigrants have increased.

Moreover, the findings indicate that the socio-economic situation of the first generation is in most cases passed on to the next generation. This is especially problematic for the second generation of parents from traditional source countries, as their educational credentials are very low. Most of the members of traditional sending countries like the former Yugoslavia and Turkey belong to the unskilled labor force. Students with a migratory background are more likely to obtain higher education when the parents already belong to the skilled or professional labor force.

Concerning the situation in Canada, the second generation has more or less the same educational outcomes in the Canadian schooling system compared to students of Canadian-born parents. The first generation of immigrants tends to be more educated than prior immigrant cohorts, but still experiences dequalification to a certain extent. Economic mobility for members of non-traditional source countries is lower compared to the one of immigrants coming from traditional sending countries.

The findings show that already the first immigrant generation is able to improve their socio-economic position after ten years after arrival. Additionally, the earning elasticity between the first and the second generation is bigger than in Austria, which classifies Canada as a more mobile society. Additionally, members of the second generation are able to achieve higher educational outcomes and climb the social ladder according to their qualifications (cf. Volf, 2001, p.49; cf. Aydemir, Skuterud, 2004, p.15 ff; cf. Bock-Schappelwein, Huemer, Pöschl, 2006, p.5; cf. Schmidtke, Kovacev, Marry, 2006, p.7; cf. Biffl, 2007, p.269; cf. Herzog- Punzenberger, 2007, p.244)

5.2 FINAL CONCLUSION

The comparison of the case studies shows that integration of immigrants is more successful in Canada than in Austria as measured by economic mobility. Although both countries apply a similar approach to the educational incorporation of minority language students, educational outcomes of students with an immigrant origin are higher in Canada than in Austria. It is significant that Canadian students with a migratory background reached the highest test scores among all immigrant students participating in the PISA survey. Although English/French and German as a second language courses in the two countries vary, they are still similar in their intensity and duration. Heritage language education, on the contrary, may be more extensive in Canada because of the existence of minority language immersion schools. Except for Canadian immersion schools, the programs, which are included in the conventional school curriculum in both countries, are again similar in their application.

We may conclude that the more flexible character of the English and French as a second language courses to provincial immigration patterns enhances student linguistic development. Language programs in immigrant-intensive areas may be more exhaustive than in other regions that do not receive as many immigrants. This flexibility has positive as well as negative implications, as educational incorporation of immigrants differs in the provinces and

produces areas which are more open to immigrants than others. However, there are other reasons for the lack of intergenerational economic mobility of immigrants in Austria. We may argue that the early selection process in terms of Austrian school programs diminishes the chances of higher educational achievements. Once a student registers for a Regular Secondary School, it is likely that the student will not continue at a Secondary Academic School to obtain a high school diploma. Although researchers state that the ethnic segregation in certain school programs does not influence the integration process of a student with an immigrant origin, we would still consider it as a cause for lower educational achievements. Ethnic segregation may feed back into the incorporation process as a whole and limit educational aspirations.

Moreover, pre-schooling education may reduce linguistic difficulties of children with a migratory background.

It is significant for Austrian society that the socio-economic status of the first generation is often inherited by the second generation. It is possible that higher education is not an option to the second generation based on a lack of financial assistance from their parents.

Furthermore, the restrictive regulations of Austrian integration policy lead to a persistent low income, as the acquisition of Austrian citizenship takes longer compared to Canada and hinders economic mobility of the first generation. In Canada, most first-generation immigrants are able to improve their economic situation within the first ten years after their arrival to Canada. Hence, we assume that discrimination is more persistent in countries that apply an exclusionary integration policy than in inclusionary pluralist ones. It is important to mention that the second generation of immigrants in Canada has automatic access to Canadian citizenship, as they are born in Canada. This reduces discrimination based on foreign nationality.

The analysis showed that integration policy is cross-sectional and includes many variables into the explanation of successful integration. It is clear that although both countries have more or less the same educational approach to immigrant incorporation, integration also depends on the orientation of integration programs in other societal dimensions, such as the economy. For example, discriminatory treatment in the labor market based on foreign

nationality may diminish a person's integration although the individual has obtained a certain level of language proficiency and education. Although limited in their scope, educational programs directed at immigrant incorporation are an essential part of the integration policy, but cannot be taken as the sole guarantor for full and equal incorporation into society. Integration is more successful in a multicultural policy context, as a society open to cultural pluralism is the prerequisite for equality and intergenerational mobility. The Canadian example shows that nation building and cultural pluralism are not antagonizing forces but instead result in a more complete integration of immigrants into the receiving country.

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ABSTRACT (English version)

This thesis compares the Austrian and Canadian integration policy with a special emphasis on education. It outlines three models of integration policy and their underlying integration concepts. Since the focus lays on the educational approach to immigrant incorporation, remedial language courses in the official language(s) and heritage language programs will be discussed. Integration will be measured by the economic mobility of the first and second generation of immigrants.

Canada, which applies an inclusionary pluralist integration policy, is more successful in integration, as measured by economic mobility than Austria. Although both countries have implemented similar educational programs to deal with the incorporation of students with mother tongues other than the official language(s), immigrant students achieve higher educational results in Canada than in Austria.

The second generation in Austria mainly proceeds the socio-economic status of their parents which implies that Austria is a closed society. In contrast to Austria, Canadian society can be described as mobile with a great income elasticity of the first and second generation of immigrants.

We can assume that integration programs in other policy fields diminish the impact of the discussed educational programs.

ABSTRACT (German version)

Diese Diplomarbeit beschäftigt sich mit der kanadischen und österreichischen Integrationspolitik und legt einen besonderen Schwerpunkt auf bildungspolitische Maßnahmen in Schulen zur Förderung der Integration von Kindern mit Migrationshintergrund.

Es werden für die Untersuchung relevante Integrationskonzepte und drei verschiedene Modelle von Integrationspolitik diskutiert. Die beiden Länderbeispiele werden im Zuge der Analyse den Konzepten und Modellen zugeordnet. Um den Grad der Integration zu bemessen und Aussagen über den Erfolg der Integrationsmodelle und -konzepte zu tätigen wird die soziale Mobilität (economic mobility) von Personen mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund verglichen.

Obwohl beide Länder unterschiedliche Integrationsmodelle anwenden, zeigt sich in der Untersuchung der bildungspolitischen Maßnahmen, dass Kanada und Österreich ähnliche Maßnahmen (sprachliche Förderkurse in der Landessprache, muttersprachlicher Unterricht und interkulturelles Lernen) verabschiedet haben.

Die Ergebnisse der sozialen Mobilität der Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund sind jedoch unterschiedlich in den beiden Ländern. Während soziale Mobilität von Migrantinnen in Kanada relativ hoch ist, konzentriert sich diese in Österreich auf das untere Segment des Arbeitsmarktes. Kanada weist eine hohe Einkommenselastizität zwischen der ersten und zweiten Generation von Migrantinnen auf und kann daher als eine mobile Gesellschaft bezeichnet werden. Folglich ist die Integration von Migrantinnen bemessen anhand der sozialen Mobilität erfolgreicher in Kanada als in Österreich.

Es lässt sich weiters festhalten, dass andere Bereiche der Integrationspolitik einen wichtigen Einfluss auf die Wirkung von Integration haben. Bildungspolitische Maßnahmen für Personen mit Migrationshintergrund sind wichtig, können jedoch nicht Diskriminierung in anderen Bereichen verhindern oder aufheben.

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Curriculum Vitae

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