The Cultural and Social Capital of Unaccompanied Refugee Children

A policy study of the education of unaccompanied refugee children in Sweden and Germany

Maya Niemeyer
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Abstract

The globalized world is facing increasing refugee flows over the past years, which brings challenges for the receiving countries. One important part of this challenge is the education of refugee children. Particularly unaccompanied minor refugees are often not noticed by the society and policies. Therefore they are even more vulnerable than other refugee children. Providing a quality education as stated in the Education for All Goals and the right to education given through the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child enables these children to gain stability and reenter a normal life at least in one area; and of course provides them with education.

This research attempts to examine the recognition of cultural and social capital of unaccompanied minor refugees in developed countries and how this capital is used in education in two illustrative countries, Sweden and Germany. The study attempts to compare the recognition and use of the capital of unaccompanied minors in policy and practice. The starting point of the paper is that the cultural and social capital of the unaccompanied minors differs from accompanied refugee children and that of the target culture and thus creates obstacles in education for those children.

The work shows that some attempts have already been made in using the existing capital from these children to give them opportunities in education, for example the mother tongue tuition in Sweden. However it shows as well that there are still many difficulties for these children, with accessing schools in the first place and unequal treatment in schools.

Keywords:
Unaccompanied minor refugees, education, refugee education, social and cultural capital
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## Abbreviations

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CRSR</td>
<td>Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSL</td>
<td>German as Second Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRK</td>
<td>Standing Conference of the Ministers of Culture and Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTT</td>
<td>Mother Tongue Tuition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSL</td>
<td>Swedish as Second Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM/s</td>
<td>Unaccompanied Minor Refugee/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCRC</td>
<td>United Nation Convention of the Right of the Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nation High Commission for Refugees</td>
</tr>
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</table>
1. Introduction

The European Union (EU) member states are receiver countries for refugees and this obligates them with the minority of unaccompanied minor refugees. During the past years the numbers have increased and brought new challenges with them. Particularly the education of refugee children is an important issue, especially to ensure a quality education for these children.

Education has become a major global concern over the years and with the development of knowledge-based societies the importance of education has increased. Especially equality and equity in education for all reached a high level of attention. However there are many marginalized and minority groups in developed countries that do not have the same educational opportunities as others. Hence the discussion on inequality, equality and equity for minorities and especially migrant education are high on the policy agenda. (Bourgonje 2010).

Unaccompanied minor refugees, as one of these minority groups, have different (learning) needs than migrant children or those socialized in the dominant culture, since they are separated from their parents and families, and because of their various backgrounds and educational history. Even though westernized countries have a long history of formal education, is it not always guaranteed that refugee children receive the same care as native children. It is difficult for the education systems to work with the rather limited existing knowledge of the resources and skills of the unaccompanied minors. (Eklund 2013). But especially these children are in need of education as an opportunity to accumulate capital, since they are not familiar with the new country and the aspects which are considered as capital. Nonetheless, in order to “survive” in a western country and to gain respect and acknowledgment (symbolic capital) they need to accumulate capital in all its forms (Bourdieu 2006; Boutgonje 2010). This refers to Bourdieu’s concept of capital and will be a central point of the study, elaborated in chapter five.

Education for unaccompanied minor refugees in the EU is an important research area in International and Comparative Education. The ongoing refugee flows affect many countries within the EU, however the topic has not been addressed as much as general refugee immigration or education. Comparative analyses within this field helps to understand the difficult problems to include this group in the regular education; additionally countries with a poor developed policy or educational approach regarding unaccompanied minors have the opportunity to develop their own policies through comparison.
1.1. Aims and Objectives

The research examines how the cultural and social capital of unaccompanied minor refugees from developing countries, who arrive in developed countries (such as OECD and EU countries), is used and recognized in education. Germany and Sweden are the case study countries. The focus of the research is the education policy environment in which the teachers are working and how the teachers can work with UMs in the respective systems.

The starting point of the paper is that, unaccompanied minor refugees as all children have social and cultural capital, but that this differs from the one of the target culture and thus is not so well recognized in the education policies and curricula as the capital of the majority group. Therefore it creates obstacles in education for those children; but could be used in order to provide a needs-based1 and equal education.

There are three research questions, which aim to be answered within this thesis. What capital of unaccompanied minors can be identified by their teachers? Is their capital used in school and recognized in education policy and curricula? In what way is their capital used in school?

To attempt to answer the research questions it is needed to look at policy level and practice level in education. This is done by doing a document analysis of educational policies and curricula in Germany and Sweden. Furthermore the capital of unaccompanied minors identified by teachers will be identified with two qualitative interviews of one teacher in each country.

1.2. Limitations

This paper only focuses on formal education. Informal education does of course exist for unaccompanied minors as well and plays a major role but this study is concerned only with mainstream schooling. A selection is made of the most relevant legal regulations, rights and frameworks due to the complexity of the asylum process and refugee status. The regulations mentioned in this paper will focus on unaccompanied minors and education.

Due to the framework (time and space) of the study it is not possible to address the group of unaccompanied minors as the highly individualized group they are (specific country context, biographies and cultural backgrounds). In contrast, due to the nature of qualitative

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1 Needs based refers to the students learning needs as stated in the Education for All Goals. (UNESCO n. d.).
studies, the results can indicate areas of interest for further research, but are not in themselves valid for other settings as well.

The study is mainly on the policy level, more interviews with stuff and interviews with unaccompanied minors are needed to be done in a further study to show in more detail how policy impacts on classroom practice. Also only policies on the national and state level have been examined with the teachers practice as focus rather than the pupil themselves. Another limitation is the small number of interviews due to people’s reluctance to be interviewed. Furthermore, qualitative research in social studies does not claim to be objective, hence it is subject to interpretation. Nevertheless the researcher does tried to be as bias-free as possible.

1.3. Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is motivated by the ongoing challenge of new refugee flows toward Europe and the educational situation for refugee children, particularly the education of unaccompanied minor refugees. They are a particularly vulnerable group in the society and therefore in need of a good education to be empowered to make own decisions and take responsibility for them in an educated manner. Not only is this an issue for Germany and Sweden, but for all countries that receive unaccompanied minor refugees.

Education policy has a strong impact on what is happening in the classroom and what efforts teachers undertake to make tuition equally available, so that all pupil can learn according to their previous experience and knowledge. Missing or not clearly stated policies can cause differences for the learning outcome of the student body.

1.4. Overview of the Study

The study is structured in nine chapters. The first chapter is the introduction part, it states the aims and objectives, limitations, significance of the study and a literature review on the topic. In the second chapter there is an overview of unaccompanied minor refugees give with definitions, numbers, legal guidelines and their educational situation, followed by an overview of the education systems in Germany and Sweden (chapter three). The next chapter (four) addresses the concept of multicultural education. Subsequently chapter five addresses the capital forms of Pierre Bourdieu. The Methodology section in chapter six provides the reader with used research strategy and methods. In chapter seven the research findings are presented and analyzed, those are then discussed in chapter eight. Chapter nine completed the paper with some concluding remarks.
1.5. Literature Review

The research about refugee children and their education or their educational experiences is very little, compared to the studies on their traumatic experiences (Rutter 2006). The majority of information on the education of unaccompanied minors, hereinafter referred to as UMs, that can be collected, are from international organizations such as the United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Furthermore, academic papers and reports do tend to focus on the accessibility of education for UMs, not on the actual execution and implementation of educational policies in regard to UMs in school. The available resources are mainly focused on refugee children in general with no concrete distinction between accompanied and unaccompanied minor refugees.

Targets of the research within the field of the educational of UM’s have been mainly good practice cases: “[...]on the importance of a welcoming environment, free of racism, the need to meet refugee children’s psychosocial needs, particularly if they have had traumatic prior experiences, ensuring that refugee children’s linguistic needs are met, primarily by assisting their learning of English.” (Rutter 2006, p. 5).

However, some interesting points, relevant to the research, are the following. Brownlees states in an UNICEF UK Report (2010) about the situation of unaccompanied and separated children in England that: “[...] evidence shows that education plans and experiences rarely reflect unaccompanied or separated migrant children’s educational needs or experiences in reality, and are instead based on factors such as age, resources and language.” (Brownlees 2010, p. 97).

Moreover, Brownless (2010) states that school represents a bigger problem for the older children arriving in the target countries (16 to 17 years old). For example in England, they are not always able to be enrolled in the appropriate school form for their age, as the access to colleges is highly dependent on their previous education background and their language skills in English.

In Sweden it could be identified, according to Eklund et. al (2013) who refers to Bunar, that newly arrived children2 introduced to the Swedish school system are often victims of the teachers not focusing on their abilities and knowledge, but on the language difficulties and problems to connect with the cultural background of the students. Furthermore it is stated, that there is limited research done for the introductory classes in the Swedish school system.

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2 Including all immigrating children; refugee children (accompanied/ unaccompanied), asylum seeking children etc. (Eklund et. al. 2013).
(international or introductory classes) where the newly arrived children start their education in the new system. Also it has been shown that the quality of education is not the same as in the regular classes, even though that should be the case. The instruction is mainly in Swedish as Second language (SSL). Nevertheless the authors state and refer again to the findings of Bunar, that the field is underrepresented in the research community. (Eklund et. al., 2013).

According to Behrensen and Westphal (2009) young refugees are not yet the systematic focus of migration and education research. Therefore, there is only little known about their education experiences. They state further, that there is even less known about their previous cultural capital, resources and competencies and transferability into the context of the particular country.

2. Unaccompanied Minor Refugees

The following part of the paper will discuss and reflect on the group of UMs in more detail. First the term will be defined; afterwards general background information will be given as well as number, regulations, legal guidelines and some general information about their education.4

2.1. Definition

UMs are a specific group of migrants, a subgroup of refugees. To clarify this group, the terms migrant, refugee and UM will be defined.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (n.d.) defines a migrant as any human being who made a permanently or temporary shift in their living environment to a new country, which is not the country of origin. Even though migrants can have urgent reasons to move, Hannah (2008) argues that they move voluntarily. Furthermore it is a planned step and their access to resources is higher, which makes a big difference to the life quality. „[…] Refugees [in contrast] are forced to seek asylum in another country […]“ (ibid., p. 34). A refugee is defined by the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (CRSR) known as Geneva Refugee Convention within Article 1 A

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1 This reference is provided only in German, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.

2 This will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis.
paragraph 2 as follows: "[…] owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it." (UNHCR 2010, p. 14).

This definition does not distinguish between adults and children, however it is important to distinguish those terms. A child is, after Article 1 of the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC): “[…] every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.” (United Nations 1989, p. 2). Therefore refugee children are a subgroup of refugees, they are minors and can either be accompanied or unaccompanied by a legal guardian (for instance parents). This means that they either reach the target country alone or with a guardian. However UMs exclude all children who arrive in the target country with a guardian such as their parents. More specifically, “the term[.] [u]naccompanied minor[.] refer[s] to immigrants who are under the age of 18 and are not under the care of a parent or legal guardian. This includes children fleeing violence or unrest, seeking work, or who are victims of trafficking.” (Levinson 2011). Furthermore, the European Migration Network refers to “an unaccompanied minor [.] to a third-country national or stateless person below the age of eighteen, who arrives on the territory of the Member States unaccompanied by an adult responsible for them whether by law or custom, and for as long as they are not effectively taken into the care of such a person, or a minor who is left unaccompanied after they have entered the territory of the Member States.” (European Migration Network 2010, p. 12).

These different definitions show that the term can be defined in different ways, an UM can be a migrant or a refugee, a child from a EU country or not. Due to these variations in definitions it is important to exactly define the group this paper is dealing with. This paper defines UMs as the latter: unaccompanied refugee children who are not EU nationals arriving in EU countries.

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5 As for the further use of the terms throughout the paper, the terms refugee children and UMs will always be used as defined.
2.2. Background Information

During the flight and the whole refugee experience itself (pre-, trans- and post migration), refugee children or adults encounter several significant situations and experiences which influence their life in the target country. One of them is the migration process itself, the “movement from a familiar place, 'home', to a different place, usually a foreign country and culture” (Anderson 2004, p. 64). Furthermore the ability to settle into the new environment is influenced by the whole experience, but here the post-migration experiences are a central factor. Settling includes orienting themselves in a new location, accepting and understanding that things are handled differently. For children, there is a new way and maybe transport to school, finding their place in school on different levels (social structures and organization), making friends and establishing new networks (Anderson 2004). Moreover the settling process is influenced by personal resources, social networks, and contextual and social elements (ibid.). In conclusion, next to the migration itself the settling part is a major aspect for refugees to undertake.

Another aspect, particularly for children, named by Hamilton (2004) is the adaptation to a new school environment, to which the refugee child brings many pre-, trans- and post-migration experiences that influence, facilitate or interfere with the process. Such characteristics could be “[…] for example, the nature of the flight and the refugee experience, level of literacy in first language, and parental support.” (ibid., p. 83).

The reasons for the difficult decision to leave their home country as child or adolescent are almost the same as for adults. They are fleeing life threatening situations such as war, persecution, and other abusive realities, or they flee as victims of sex trafficking or slavery. Other reasons could be the dramatic economic situations in their home country (Levinson 2011). The motives for fleeing from their home country can be different for children, even though they have suffered from the same experiences as adults (Treber 2009). Not infrequently the parents are the ones who send them away, because they see no future or perspective for the children in their home country (Meißner 2003). Many children flee because their parents do as well, however they are often separated during the flight to Europe (Parusel, 2008). Besides the flight, reasons children have in common with adults, more specific causes for children are loss of parents through abduction, death through war and violence, sickness such as HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, anxiety of violating practices such as genital mutilation and sexual abuse, forced prostitution, anxiety of slavery, child labor, military service, child soldiers and child trafficking are reasons to flee their country (ibid.).
2.3. Numbers of Unaccompanied Minor Refugees

The number of UM seeking asylum in western European countries has increased significantly as shown in table 1. In 2008, 7,797 UMs have been reported in Italy, 1797 of whom have been identified. Other countries face an increase in the arrivals of UMs as well e.g. Finland, where in 2007 165 UMs arrived, whereas the number increased to 706 in 2008 (European Migration Network 2010, p. 15). “In 2008, the United Kingdom received more asylum applications from unaccompanied minors than any other EU country, followed by Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands.” (Levinson 2011).

Germany received in 2010 a total of 41,332 refugees, 1,948 of them UMs. The numbers increased in 2011, there were 45,741 refugees entering the country of which 2,126 were UMs. Already in 2012 the number of asylum applications was at 64,539 of which 2,096 were UMs. In 2013 about 2.7% of asylum applications were from UMs, 33.1% from accompanied children and 64.2% were others. The number of UMs was in that years at 5,548. (Berthold 2014).

In Sweden, similar as in Germany, there is a significant increase of incoming refugees and UMs recorded. In 2005 there were 398 UMs, until 2007 the number more than doubled with 1,264 and in 2008 1,510 UMs. Also two years later in 2010 the number of UMs increased by almost double to 2,393. The numbers have increased steadily over the past years. (Lundberg 2012, p. 55). A new high can be recorded for November 2014 when already 5,820 UMs6 were documented as asylum applicants. The total of incoming asylum applications was at that time 68,346 of which 19,284 were children that included UMs (Migrationsverket 2014).

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6 The number included Ums within the EU as well, however the incoming UMs within the EU is very low and does not change the increase of the asylum applicant out of the EU. The list of countries and the numbers of asylum applications for UMs out of that country are listed in footnote 6.
Table 1. Numbers of Unaccompanied Minors received by Germany, Sweden, Italy, Finland from 2005-2014.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Finland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>398</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td></td>
<td>820</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1,264</td>
<td></td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>763&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1,510</td>
<td>7,797/1,797&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1,948</td>
<td>2,393</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>2,126</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>2,096</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>5,548</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,820&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: European Migration Network 2010; Berthold 2014; Migrationsverket 2014; Parusel 2008

Table 2. below shows the percentage of asylum applications by age in Germany in 2012. These numbers are for all minor asylum applicants, with no distinction between UMs and accompanied children (Berthold 2014).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>45.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>25.24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-16</td>
<td>22.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-18</td>
<td>7.28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Berthold 2014, 20)

The applications for asylum that Sweden received in 2014 are subdivided into gender and age groups as shown in table 3. below.

<sup>7</sup> Applications for asylum of UMs, the number of non-applicants is not known.

<sup>8</sup> 7,797 claimed to be UMs, however 1,797 were identified.

<sup>9</sup> UMs received from January to November 2014.
Table 3. Sweden, Asylum Application numbers of Unaccompanied Minors by Age and Gender in 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-6</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>2,099</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>1,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>3,134</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>2,573</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Migrationsverket 2014, 5

UMs came from all over the world to Sweden in 2014, among other places they came in high numbers from Syria, Somalia, and Afghanistan (Migrationsverket 2014). Also in Germany, for the year 2013, the highest receiving numbers of UMs are from Syria, Somalia, Afghanistan and Eritrea (Pro Asyl, n.d.).

Table 4. Sweden, Asylum Application numbers of Unaccompanied Minors by country in 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>1397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stateless</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Migrationsverket 2014, 2–5

In 2014 the Swedish Migration Board made 44,514 asylum decisions, 26,210 of them were positive, therefore asylum was granted (77%). For UMs 3,301 were made of which

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Unaccompanied minors in Sweden come from different countries, the following are listed within the report: Syria (958), Eritrea (1397), Stateless (347), Somalia (927), Afghanistan (1177), Iraq (63), Albania (73), Ukraine (11), Serbia (14), Kosovo (18), Iran (15), Russia (7), Morocco (310), Georgian (4), Mongolia (4), Libya (23), Ethiopia (75), Egypt (4), Sudan (18), Nigeria (4), Algeria (102), Lebanon (3), Bosnia and Hercegovina (6), Macedonia (4), Azerbaijan (5), Pakistan (5), Uzbekistan (2), Armenia (4), Tunisia (16), under investigation (44), Belarus (3), Uganda (44), unknown (20), Yemen (17), Jordan (1), Kazakhstan (3), Turkey (1), Bangladesh (6), Kyrgyzstan (3), Gambia (16), China (3), Ghana (2), Democratic Republic Congo (3), Cameroon (1), Kenya (2), Djibouti (1), Senegal (2), Guinea (7), Vietnam (1), Venezuela (1), India (1), Sierra Leone (3), Ivory Coast (3), Tanzania (2), Mali (2), Greece (1), Congo (7), Rwanda (1), Chad (4), Philippines (1), Mauritanian (3), Peru (1), Guinea Bissau (2), Kuwait (1), Brazil (2), Central African Republic (1), Niger (1), Canada (1), Germany (1), Dominican Republic (1), Mozambique (1), Hungary (1). (p. 2–5) (Migrationsverket 2014, 2–5). These numbers of the Migrationsverket include UMs from EU countries and other OECD countries.

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2,397 were granted, 436 were rejected which is a rate of 85% of positive decisions (Migrationsverket 2014).

2.4. Legal Guidelines and Regulations

In the following, some of the important international legal guidelines for UMs are laid out. These need to be taken into account when UM issues are addressed. The regulations and legal framework are based on the international level, as those international frameworks provide the basics for the national regulations.

First of all there is the UN Convention on the Right of the Child (UNCRC). This convention protects and stands for the rights of the child. The guideline of this convention is for countries to act in the best interest of the child. Through Article 22 the UNCRC states that it needs to be guaranteed by the country, that refugee children, unaccompanied or accompanied, receive the necessary protection and humanitarian assistance, in consideration of the rights in the convention (United Nations 1989). All countries that ratified the UNCRC agreed that the best interest of the child had to be substantiated in “all major policies regarding the treatment of minors. Other relevant legislation includes the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and the Return Directive [..]” (Levinson 2011). Therefore, also the EU approach toward UMs is always guided by the principle of the best interest of the child. The effect of the Convention includes directives, legislations and provisions on the matter (Levinson 2011).

Besides the UNCRC there is the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (CRSR), the Hague Convention on the Protection of Children, the Resolution of the Council of the European Union of 26 June 1997, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (article 2611; education), international Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and other frameworks such as “Education for All” important guidelines for the situation of UMs (Bourgonje 2010; Parusel 2009). All the international regulations play an important role for

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11 Article 26: “1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. 2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. 3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.” (United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, 6)
the general wellbeing of UMs and for this paper the right to education for UMs, and in particular the UNCRC is most important.

A more recent regulation for the protection of the rights and implementation for refugee children was agreed on in October 2013 at the UN General Assembly High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, the UN Member states committed to “[...] protect the human rights of migrant children, given their vulnerability, particularly unaccompanied migrant children, and to provide for their health, education and psychosocial development, ensuring that the best interests of the child are a primary consideration in policies of integration, return and family reunification.” (CONNECT 2014, p. 20).

The Hague Convention on Private International Law (HCCH) builds the framework for the distribution and recognition of responsibilities of the authorities of the contracting countries. The HCCH states in the part Convention Concerning the Power of Authorities and the Law Applicable in Respect of the Protection of Infants in Article 1., that “the judicial or administrative authorities of the State of the habitual residence of an infant have power, [...] to take measures directed to the protection of his person or property.” (HCCH 1961, p. 1). Furthermore, in Article 2, the Convention states that the authorities, where the child is resident, have the executing power to take measures through the domestic law and that such law determines the initiation, modification and termination of such measures (HCCH 1961).

2.4.1. Germany’s Regulations and Responsibilities

The responsibility for UMs in Germany lies in the 16 federal states of the country. There are not always uniform procedures for all states due to the federal system, which makes the process to some extent complicated. Within the federal states the responsibilities are further delegated to the municipalities and cities (Parusel 2008). Despite the diversity between the states, the following gives an overview over the regulations and procedures.

After a UM is identified, the child is given over to the responsible Youth Office in the municipality that the child had been designated to. The Youth Office is obligated to take the child or adolescent into care and find suitable housing. Furthermore a legal guardian is appointed as soon as possible. After the Youth Office has taken the child into care the “clearing process” will be conducted. Through this process, the reason why the child had to be taken into care shall be examined more closely. Within the process, personal data, information about relatives and reasons for the flight can be collected. This procedure can be handled
differently in the 16 federal states. Some states do the clearing process directly at the Youth Office other have a clearinghouse, which is a gateway before they come to regular foster family or other form of housing. Furthermore, the clearing house should make sure to place the UM in schools and language classes (ibid.).

All states are generally obligated to provide schooling for UMs, however there is no uniform solution to the matter. In some states the enrollment in school becomes problematic if the adolescent is at the age of 16 or 17\(^{12}\). There are efforts made to provide schooling for those children as well, through cooperation with the school board and if free places are available. Language support upon the compulsory schooling is generally not provided. Parusel (2008) states that this is regulated after the Residence Act, where it says that a child or adolescent starts a school education or continues his or her education in Germany they are no longer entitled to additional language classes. Moreover UMs with no residence permit are not in the same way as other children entitled to vocational training out of school. And if they have a residence permit they still will have not the same chances to find an apprenticeship, due to lack of experiences in Germany and poor grades (ibid.).

2.4.2. Sweden’s Regulations and Responsibilities

The responsibility for UMs who seek asylum in Sweden is divided between the State and the municipalities since July 2006 (European Migration Network 2009). Also “unaccompanied minor asylum seekers [are] processed under the normal refugee determination procedure.” (Abraha 2007, p. 13).

Newly arrived UMs who seek asylum in Sweden are placed by the Migration Board in a municipality near the major cities Stockholm, Malmö or Gothenburg. The relocation process has to be executed as soon as possible. The responsibilities of the municipality lay in the welfare of the child, appointing a legal guardian, find housing or foster families, determining if the child needs special care and define which arrangements are in the best interest of the child. Furthermore it has to be investigated if there are relatives of the child living in Sweden (European Migration Network 2009). “The municipal social welfare board is the authority that assesses the child's needs and decides on appropriate housing.” (ibid., pp. 23–24).

Appointing a legal guardian, a so called “good man” for the UM is from high importance. The guardian represents the legal interests of the child, of which they are not able to do for themselves at their young age. The guardian assists during the interviews and during the

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\(^{12}\) This has to do with the age of the end of compulsory education.
asylum process (sometimes along with a legal representative), and ensures the consideration of special needs and rights of the child. Furthermore the guardian helps the child to develop his or her full capacity, by the time of coming of age (Abraha 2007). The day-to-day responsibilities for the children lies not in the legal guardian but the foster family or the staff of other accommodation forms they are placed in (Sollentuna Kommun, n-d.).

“Schooling and other developmental activities are extremely important regardless of whether minors are allowed to remain in Sweden or must return to the country of origin.” (European Migration Network 2009, p. 27). In Sweden, even though all children have the right to education, children who are seeking asylum are not obligated to attend school, however they may if they wish and are of course encouraged to do so. The municipal authorities are responsible to ensure and find a place for schooling under the same terms and conditions as other children and adolescents who are not seeking asylum. This regulation includes the levels of pre-school, primary, secondary and upper secondary school. As mentioned, the municipality where the child is placed is responsible, however the financial responsibility lies with the Migration Board (Abraha 2007).

2.5. Education and Unaccompanied Minor Refugees

2.5.1. Importance of Education for Unaccompanied Minor Refugees

Education is an essential factor for refugee children, as it is for any other child, to build a future, which is pointed out clearly in the citation blow:

“[…] Education opens possibilities that otherwise would be closed: a better chance to lead healthy and productive lives, to participate fully in civic and political affairs, and to defend and protect rights to survival […]. Education is crucial for poverty reduction, because it is an empowering tool that cannot be restricted to power-holding classes.” (Sida 2007, p. 11).

Besides the impact education has on a person’s wellbeing and empowerment, for UMs it is needed to increase their living situation and social status. Formal education helps these children to restore structure, daily routine, normality, social contacts and even to some extent psychological protection (Boyden and Ryder, 1996; Crisp, 2002, cited in: Rutter 2006, p. 47).
This shows that the school itself and teachers have a significant role in the adaption process of the child to the new and foreign culture and country. It is important to note, that not only the refugee child has to adapt, also do teachers and students (Hamilton 2004). Hamilton (2004) states in behalf of Bronfenbrenner, that school, community, family, helping services and the society are influencing the child’s development in very important ways. Therefore it is essential that children receive as much exposure to these influencing factors as possible.

The World Declaration on Education for All states in Article III: Universalizing Access and Promoting Equity in Education amongst other things, that all children, youth and adults should be provided with education and that all learners have the opportunity of an acceptable level of learning. Disparities in education shall be eliminated (World Education Forum 2000, n.d.). Moreover it is said that: “underserved groups: the poor; street and working children; rural and remote populations; nomads and migrant workers; indigenous peoples; ethnic, racial, and linguistic minorities; refugees; those displaced by war; and people under occupation, should not suffer any discrimination in access to learning opportunities.” (World Education Forum 2000, n.d., n.p.).

“A series of investigations [...] draw attention to the fact that education, and the institutions that provide it, are significant factors in both the destruction and the potential reconstruction of societies, cultures and communities.” (Watters 2008, p. 96). Even though this refers most likely to the need for education in developing countries, one can transfer its content to the need for education for refugees in developed countries, as a necessity to reconstruct their position in the new society and culture, not to deny or rebuild identity but to be able to "survive" in the new environment (Watters 2008). Watters (2008, p. 102) argues, that “the school is [...] the site of an often-unconscious form of social reproduction while ostensibly providing an environment in which every pupil could achieve success purely on the basis of their abilities.”

2.5.2. Problems for Unaccompanied Minor Refugees Education

UMs are a very diverse group of children, regarding their background, pre-, trans- and post-migration experiences. All these factors influence the performance, development and wellbeing of the child. Another important factor is the diverse education background, the experiences they have can vary highly from those children socialized in the target country at the same age (Bourgonje 2010). This diversity, regarding the educational background, makes
the participation in school harder and the development of an appropriate school form and curriculum very difficult for the host country. This problem is further pointed out by Bourgonje (2010) who brings to attention that the Resolution of the 5th World Congress of Education International in Berlin in 2007 on International Migration, brought up concerns regarding the access to education of migrant children, denial of their right to education, or only a poor quality education. These failures are not reflecting the interest and intentions of the UNCRC or EFA, they show the complicated issue of this topic and the poor practice in this field. This issue becomes even more important because migration numbers are increasing and thus the receiving countries have to respond with an effective educational solution. As further pointed out by Bourgonje, problems occur at the actual school enrolment of refugee children (prejudice and xenophobia), and the limited ability of schools and teachers to combine the child’s prior experience and education background with the particular school and class content.

Another problem identified by the UNICEF UK report: Levelling the playing field (Brownlees 2010) about the situation of unaccompanied and separated children in England, is that education is usually not based on their needs which means, for example, that they are put in a class with students their same age despite the fact that they do not have the same education status, or that they are held back because of limited language skills in the official language. Brownlees (2010) states further that UM who arrive under the age of 16 in the target country have an easier access to education than those who arrive being 16 years of age or older. A similar problem was identified in Germany, where similarly the problems of adequate schooling increase the older the children get (Niemeyer 2013).

3. Country Context: Germany and Sweden

This chapter is an overview of the German and Swedish school system. The description of the education system is limited to compulsory schooling, which includes primary and secondary education. Early childhood and higher education are not included. Furthermore the

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13 This reference is provided only in German, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.
question of funding is taken into consideration only as a sub aspect. To begin with, there is some background information given about Germany and Sweden.

Both countries are located in Europe and are members of the EU. The federal parliamentary republic Germany had a population of 80,780,000 in 2014 (EUROPA 2015). In 2013 11.9% of the population were immigrants (IOM 2014). In 2013 Germany’s GDP was 2737.6 billion Euro and the educational spending is 4.2% of the GDP (EUYDICE 2015). Sweden is a parliamentary constitutional monarchy and had a population of 9,644,864 people in 2014 (EUROPA 2015a). In 2013 15.9% of the population were immigrants (IOM 2014a). Sweden’s GDP was 420,849 billion Euros in 2013 (EUROPA 2015a). Swedish public spending on education related to the GDP is with 7.93% the highest in the EU. (EUYDICE 2015).

3.1. Germany’s Education System

Germany has a decentralized education system that has its accountability to the individual federal states, Länder level. The federal government has very little responsibility in the education system (OECD 2011). Therefore there is no uniform education system or education law and curriculum available. An important mechanism for the states to coordinate their work and interests is the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Culture and Education of the German State (KMK). The KMK was established in 1948 and functions as coordinator for the school systems across the states (Kehm, 2010).

One goal of the KMK is “to ensure that there are sufficient interstates consistency to enable students to move across systems.” (ibid., p. 105). Furthermore there are the following areas influenced by the KMK: the vacations and holidays, recognition of school reports and certificates and recognition of teacher examinations (ibid.).

In Germany, the education system is divided into early childhood, primary, secondary, tertiary and continuing education (KMK 2013a).

Compulsory education starts for all children with the year that child turns six, followed by nine years of fulltime schooling. “Those young people who do not attend a full-time general education school or vocational school at upper secondary level once they have completed their period of compulsory general schooling must still attend part-time schooling

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14 The federal states in Germany.
15 Including disabled children and young people.
(compulsory Berufsschule attendance – Berufsschulpflicht). This usually lasts three years, according to the duration of training in a ["anerkannter Ausbildungsberuf"] (recognised occupation requiring formal training).” (ibid., p. 26). Thus the German compulsory schooling consist of nine years full-time education followed by three years part-time education.

Primary education in Germany, the Grundschule, starts with the compulsory school age at grade one and ends with grade four, only in Länder Berlin and Brandenburg does primary school contain six years. During primary education all children attend all classes together and there is no segregation between their abilities. The transition to the next school level after grade four (or six in some states) are dealt with differently, depending on the state legislation. The pupil stays usually within that school for the rest of the compulsory schooling period. (ibid.).

Secondary schooling starts with the grades of five or seven (again depending on the state) and goes up to grades 12 or 13. There are different types of secondary education, which represent different ability groups and the different school types lead to a variety of certificates and qualifications. The school types are: Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium, Comprehensive-School (Schools with several education programs/ school leaving certificate levels). In Sachsony-Anhalt for example the Comprehensive School is named Secondary School, this school is for children in the grades 5 to 10. The children can achieve a school leaving certificate at the level of the Haupschul or Realschule.16 (Sachsen-Anhalt17 12/14/2012 ).

Attending the Hauptschule, Realschule or the Gymnasium, pupils have only one certificate option, for instance only at the Gymnasium a student can be awarded with the Abitur, this school leaving certificate is needed to attend university. At the Comprehensive-School all three school leaving certificates levels can be awarded. The schools with several education programs, however, offer the child several different opportunities18 (KMK 2013a).

By the age of 15, pupils are usually completing their compulsory schooling and move to upper secondary education. Into which upper secondary education a pupil can enroll depends on the qualification he or she received from lower secondary education and the entry requirements of the upper secondary education path. Students can continue full-time general

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16 This is relevant for the analysis later on.
17 This reference is provided only in German, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.
18 The German school system offers possibilities to receive the Abitur although the student did not attend the Gymnasium, however these possibilities are not further discussed.
education at the Gymnasium or Comprehensive-School, vocational schools, vocational training in the *dual-system*\(^{19}\) (ibid.).

Besides the regular public schools, there are several privately maintained schools. The right to establish a privately maintained school is based in the Basic Law. Such schools have to follow the legal provisions of and be supervised by the state (*Land*) they are in. (ibid.).

The conditions to establish privately maintained school in the primary sector, are very strict. Only in case of special pedagogical interest, which are not found in the regular school is the establishment permitted. This could for instance be a school with a religious focus or with a special pedagogical approach such as the *Rudolf Steiner* Pedagogy. (ibid.).

In the secondary school sector there are two types of privately maintained schools, the alternative schools and the complementary schools. The alternative schools follow the purpose to widen the diversity of the school landscape. They are an addition or substitute to the regular school. Usually such schools are denominational, reformist schools or boarding schools which have their own education mission. In contrast, the complementary schools simply offer unconventional subjects as options for the students, these schools are not driven by a different concept than the public school. (ibid.).

### 3.2. Sweden’s Education System

The Swedish government has overall responsibility for education, goals and learning outcomes are defined at the central level as well. However the municipalities are responsible for the provision and operation of schools. (EURYDICE 2015a). In Sweden the compulsory school age is from 7 to 16 years and contains nine years of schooling (*Skolverket* 2011a). The school system consists of pre-school, pre-school classes, compulsory primary and secondary school and optional upper secondary school\(^{20}\). Students and parents can choose between municipal schools and private run schools or independent schools (VITTRA n.d.).

The Pre-School in Sweden is non-compulsory for children from the age of one until they start school, it is similar to Kindergarten or Nursery-schools. The activities involve a high level of play, creative activities and self-exploration. The pre-school class, however, is a non-compulsory class for six year old children within the public school system. Its primary goal is to prepare the pupils for the compulsory school and stimulate their development and learning.

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\(^{19}\) The *dual-system* is a vocational training where vocational school and practical training in a firm or enterprise are combined.

\(^{20}\) Other parts of the education system are not included in this overview, hence they are no part of the compulsory schooling.
Upper secondary school is a three year, non-compulsory, continuing education provided by the municipalities or private schools. Upon completion of upper secondary school, pupils are eligible to study at the university or other post-secondary level courses (ibid.).

The privately run or independent schools must be approved by the National Agency for Education (Skolverket). The content and teaching in such schools is basically the same as in the municipal school, but often such schools have a particular focus or orientation (ibid.).

Some municipalities in Sweden offer international classes, which are preparatory classes for immigrant children. The core of such classes is language skills, Swedish as Second Language (SSL). The pupils are integrated in the “regular” classes as soon as possible (Edsbergskolan, n.d.\textsuperscript{21}).\textsuperscript{22}

Immigrant children (including refugees) are entitled to bilingual education within the compulsory school system. Swedish has to be offered as second language in the curriculum and it has an equal status to Swedish as first language. Also the pupils have the right to mother tongue tuition (MTT) and study guidance that the school authorities are obligated to offer. Study guidance is a special support for children within or alongside their regular classes. The support teacher decides if there should be individual meetings, meetings with a group or if the guidance takes place in the class. Carrying out SSL, MTT and study guidance is the responsibility of the school (Bourgonje 2010). For the school to provide MTT, as student to be entitled to such, some qualifications have to be met: the student has to use the mother tongue as a daily language and have basic knowledge of it. However, if there is no suitable teacher, or if there are less than five students with a mother tongue other than Swedish in the target area, the schools obligation is waived. If the services of MTT or study guidance are not requested the school does not have to provide it (ibid.).

### 4. Multicultural Education

Multicultural education represents a concept and a movement where different cultures are integrated in formal education. The concept encourages teachers and school to change and be open for change. The concept, as elaborated in the following chapter, offers one possibility of

\textsuperscript{21} This reference is provided only in Swedish, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.

\textsuperscript{22} The municipality of Sollentuna has such international classes, which is where the data collection in Sweden was done.

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how the capital\textsuperscript{23} of unaccompanied minors can find recognition in school. Additionally it includes the concept aspects on several levels – Meso (authorities), Macro (schools) and Micro (teachers).

The origin of the multicultural education movement dates back to the 1960s and 1970s in the United States, the development was an answer to the civil rights movement (Banks 2009a). At this time "the gap between ideals and realities in the Western democratic nations and the marginalized status of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic minorities stimulated the rise of ethnic revitalization movements [...]" (Banks 2009, p. 1).

Hereinafter multicultural education will be elaborated, the term will be defined and its relation to intercultural education explained. Afterwards the concept will be outlined.

4.1. Definition and Differentiation Between Multicultural and Intercultural Education

Multiculturalism is "a philosophical position and movement that assumes that the gender, ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity of a pluralistic society should be reflected in all of the institutionalized structures of educational institutions, including the stuff, the norms and values, the curriculum, and the student body." (Banks 2004, p. 451).

Emanating from this philosophy is multicultural education, which Banks (2004) defines as "a Reform movement designed to change the total educational environment so that students from diverse racial and ethnic groups, both gender groups, exceptional students, and students from each social-class group will experience equal educational opportunities in school, colleges, and universities." (p. 451). Furthermore, according to Gay (1994), it is "a philosophy that stresses the importance, legitimacy, and vitality of ethnic and cultural diversity in shaping the lives of individuals, groups, and nations." Banks (2004) sees multicultural education as an ongoing process and not only a problem-solving based notion.

Manning (1989) interprets multicultural education as an answer to cultural, ethical, religious and socioeconomic diverse classrooms, which reflects and respects the children's differences. Furthermore the author uses the following definition: "A multicultural perspective is a recognition of (1) the social, political, and economic realities that individuals experience in culturally diverse and complex human encounters, and (2) the importance of culture, race,

\textsuperscript{23} Elaborated in chapter 5.

Within and across nations there are different ways regarding how multicultural education has been interpreted, nevertheless the main goals are recognized. In Western Europe for example the multicultural education movement refers often to intercultural education. "A term used to recognize the desirability for people from different cultures to interact in dynamic and complex ways." (Banks 2009a, p. 14).

Allemann-Ghionda (2009) describes intercultural education as a concept related to multicultural education, however claims that intercultural education is an overall term. This shows that the terms are, to some extent, interrelated, even though they are not to a hundred percent representing the same philosophy.

A distinction between the terms can be made as followed: “In multicultural education the prefix multi describes the multiplicity of different cultures which live on the same territory and/or are taught in the same institution, for example in school or the higher education. In intercultural education the prefix inter underlines the interactive aspect.” (ibid., p. 135).

Within intercultural education bilingualism is understood as mind opening to other cultures. Further, in education, it shows respect of the culture of others, their identity and educational needs. For example, it could mean including different religions into the curriculum besides the dominant one, integration and education of children with migration or ethnic minority background, reflection of the high diversity in the curriculum. All these are key factors of intercultural education. In Europe, usually the term intercultural education is being used, but in the Netherlands and UK the term multicultural education appears to be more frequent (Alleman-Ghionda 2009).

Although one can find many definitions of multicultural educations, the once mentioned above are those this paper is using.

4.2. The Concept of Multicultural Education

In the beginning multicultural education consisted of only small adjustments that were included into the curriculum without any major changes. Through the years the concept of multicultural education developed into a transformative idea. At this point the implementation required radical changes. These changes would influence all aspects of the school routine (for instance, teaching methods and materials,) to achieve educational equality. (Banks 2009).
According to Gay (1994) school represents the mainstream society and mirrors the culture of the dominant group. Teachers from that dominant culture and students from other cultural backgrounds mirror their own cultural experiences and knowledge in their learning and teaching behaviors and attitudes as well; that however results in a cultural conflict which can have a negative effect on the learning and teaching process.

Therefore, one of the key ideas behind the concept of multicultural education is equal learning opportunities in school for all pupils, regardless of gender, social class, ethnicity, race or cultural background (Banks 2004). Banks (2009a) understands multicultural education as "an approach to school reform designed to actualize educational equality for students from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, social-class, and linguistic groups." (p. 13) Furthermore he says that multicultural education also "promotes democracy and social justice" (Banks 2009a, p. 13) which can be seen as an outcome of multicultural education.

The basic goal of multicultural education is "the transformation of schooling to include the needs and perspectives of many cultures in shaping the way in which children are educated and thus, the transformation of society." (Hadley 1999, n. p.). Additional goals named by Banks (2009a) are, first to "restructure schools so that all students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function in ethnically and racially diverse communities and nations, and in the world." (p. 14). Second to "seek [...] educational equality for students from diverse groups, and to facilitate their participation as critical and reflective citizens in an inclusive national civic culture." (ibid., p. 14). And third to "provide students with educational experiences that enable them to maintain commitments to their community cultures as well as acquire the knowledge, skills, and cultural capital needed to function in the national civic culture and community." (ibid., p. 14). Manning (1989) points these skills out as cross cultural competencies.

These goals reflect the challenges that pupils have to overcome while living in a multicultural society and school environment. One of these challenges Banks (2004) mentions, and important to indicate, is the struggle students face to incorporate the colliding cultures they live in (home, community, and school culture). With an effectively implemented multicultural education concept, they should be able to acquire the needed abilities to mediate and function in the different cultural settings they live in and across other communities in the world (ibid.).

For an effective implementation of multicultural education Banks (2009) elaborates, that the school has the responsibility to ensure, that all students (with no distinction) obtain the opportunity to develop the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed for the future, which
includes the ability to employment in the globalized world, participate responsibly in society and political system. Additionally he points out, that schools have the responsibility to reduce the achievement gap between students from different backgrounds.

Hadley (1999) argues, that multicultural education takes five directions, which can dominate or influence the tuition in school. These are (possibly interrelated) approaches to multicultural education, which were, according to Hadley, delineated by Sleeter24. These approaches are the following: Teaching the Culturally Different, has the goal to “raise the academic achievement of students of color through culturally relevant instruction.” (ibid., n.p.). The Human Relations approach desires to achieve an understanding of cultural and social differences and focuses teaching commonalities. As Single Group Studies approach, is teaching the content of historic and contemporary issues of oppressed groups, such as people of color, women and homosexuals. Multicultural Education “promotes the transformation of the educational process to reflect the ideals of democracy in a pluralistic society.” (ibid., n.p.). The approach of Social Reconstruction focuses on oppression and discrimination, the goal is to teach pupils that they are agents of social change and thus can promote an equitable society. At last is the approach where “students are taught content using instructional methods that value cultural knowledge and differences.” (ibid., n. p.). These approaches influence the way how multicultural education is implemented in schools and on what content the focus is.

Furthermore, to achieve an effective implementation of multicultural education in schools, Banks (2004) developed five dimensions, those are guidelines for teachers and schools. The dimensions of multicultural education are "(a) content integration, (b) the knowledge construction process, (c) prejudice reduction, (d) an equity pedagogy, and (e) an empowering school culture and social structure.” (Banks 2004, p. 15). According to Banks (2009a) they can be elaborated as followed. Content Integration focuses on a culturally diverse content during tuition). The dimension Knowledge Construction includes that pupils learn how knowledge is constructed and how the assumptions or perspectives from a specific culture influence that process. Prejudice Reduction deals with the racial attitudes of students and how these can be influenced by teaching materials and methods. The dimension of an Equality Pedagogy implies that a learning environment is created by the teacher, where all students are enabled to reach academic achievements. The last dimension an Empowering School Culture: has as goal to create a school culture where a diverse group of pupils (racial, 

gender, ethnic) are empowered. Even though the dimensions exist individually; they cross over and influence each other. (ibid.).

As reaction to the implementation of multicultural education, Banks names response paradigms which are patterns of institutional responses. Banks states that Kuhn (1970) uses such paradigms to describe the shared beliefs, values, techniques, and so forth by members of a community (Banks 2009a). The paradigms can coexist or emerge at different times, but only one or two of them are probably dominant at the same time. The following response paradigms are identified: “Ethnic Additive, Self-Concept Development, Cultural Deprivation, Cultural Difference, Language, Cultural Ecology, Protective Disidentification, Structural, [and] Antiracist.” (ibid., pp. 19-20).

“Research and theory grounded in the cultural difference paradigm indicate that if teachers incorporate the cultures and languages of diverse groups into instruction the academic achievements of these students will increase.” (Banks 2009, p. 3).

5. Bourdieu’s Capital Forms (and Social Reproduction)

The capital concept of Bourdieu is the core area of this thesis, which is reflected in the research question, data collection and analysis. The relevance of this theory in the context of the study is, that cultural and social capital are according to Bourdieu important to increase one’s position in society. For unaccompanied minors explicitly cultural and social capital, its recognition and accumulation helps them to secure their future without having a family support system. The point of departure for this study is that all children are bearers of different types of capital, but UMs come to the receiving country with very diverse capitals which may or may not be acknowledged in their new country.

The relation of capital to multicultural education in this context is that multicultural education enables students and teachers to use the multicultural classroom for their benefit. The capital and resources in a diverse class from each student are valuable, whatever gender, culture, ethnic group and religion the student has, belongs to or believes in. This part of the paper, therefore deals with the capital forms as conceptualized by Bourdieu.
Bourdieu’s work includes three main areas: “the first is the relationship between social structure and practice. [...] The second line of inquiry seeks to delineate and clarify Bourdieu's conception of reflexivity, as well as his central concept of habitus, capital, and field. The third line of inquiry concerns the interrelationship of social structures, systems of classification, and language.” (Postome 1993, pp. 1–2).

For this research the focus will be on the second area, more specifically the concept of capital; therefore, in order to follow this concept and Bourdieu’s theory of social reproduction, it is important to discuss and explain his fundamental concepts of field and habitus (ibid.).

According to Postome (1993) Bourdieu’s concept of field refers to a multidimensional space, in which agents or actors are positioned. The position of the agent in the field is based on the habitus and the capital that a particular agent holds. The field can therefore be named as a mechanism to define one’s position in the society. Furthermore every field has its own history, agents and logic and is located in a field of power.

The concept of habitus by Bourdieu is the internalization of a person’s embodiment of the society around them, their activity and individuality. The internalized notions are recognized as schemes. Those, or for that matter the habitus, can be both permanent and changeable. Habitus can be understood as the incorporated capital one has developed and the influence of the direct environment on oneself (ibid.).

Bourdieu describes the concept of capital, according to Postome (1993), as a holistic notion, which includes not only the economic understanding of the word, but an immaterial position as well. Capital is seen as a form of power that gives a person control over their own and the future of others. In addition, it is a link between the individual and the society. Individuals accumulate capital and extend it throughout their lives and determine with the amount of accumulated capital their position in society. Capital however is also a factor for social reproduction or class distinction. Bourdieu claims therefore, pursuant to LiPuma (1993), that the distribution of culture, social and economic capital is the base for class relations in a society. This concept is one way and interpretation of the social order.

Bourdieu understands capital as a resource that leads to power; this understanding separates him from Marxism. A key point of this concept of capital is that there are immaterial forms of capital, which are cultural, social and symbolic. Further the forms can be converted into the other (Calboun 1993).

25 Within the literature it is usually referred to three forms of capital (economic, cultural and social), the symbolic is rather subliminal.
5.1. Capital Forms

As mentioned before, according to Bourdieu one has to distinguish between three forms of capital, which include material as well as immaterial forms. It is important to note that within this concept of capital, capital cannot only be economic. The transformation and appearance of economic capital into other capital forms, cultural and social, material or immaterial form, and vice versa is key to the process to produce capital of all forms. In order to gain capital the three forms have to support each other (Bourdieu 2006). The process of gaining capital is described by Bourdieu as follows "Capital, which, in its objective or embodied forms, takes time to accumulate and which, as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being, so a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible." (ibid., p. 105).

Bourdieu (2006, p. 106) defines the forms of capital as followed: "[...] as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility."

In addition to the three capital forms just mentioned, Bourdieu (2006) names symbolic capital. This form is as the name says symbolic or representative, it refers to the amount of acknowledgement, prestige and recognition an individual has or gains in the society or field "of misrecognition and recognition [and] presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity." (ibid., p. 115).

The two most relevant capital forms for this particular project are cultural and social capital, elaborated in 5.1.1 and 5.1.2. Economic capital will not be discussed further26.

5.1.1. Cultural Capital

Cultural capital can basically be named as "that capital which results from engagement in and with education and culture." (Grenfell 2007, p. 60).

26 Since it is to expect, that refugees, particular children do not have any economic capital.
Bourdieu recognizes three different states in which cultural capital can exist. These three states are, the embodied, the objectified and the institutionalized state. The latest means the objectification in the form of academic qualifications or the like. This state legitimizes the cultural capital, therefore it is no longer autodidactic knowledge. Through this particular state, cultural capital in the form of qualifications can be compared and exchanged as well as giving it a monetary value (Bourdieu 2006).

Cultural capital in its objectified state includes writings, paintings, monuments etc. as materialized objects and media. Paintings or CD collections can be transformed directly into economic capital, furthermore the legal ownership can be transmitted; however it needs the embodied state to accumulate the skill to understand and interpret the paintings. Hence cultural capital in the objectified state is often only possible to accumulate in relation to the embodied state (Bourdieu 2006).

The embodied state represents the accumulation of cultural capital in the form of "[...] culture, cultivation [and] Bildung [...]" (Bourdieu 2006, p.107). In this state the accumulation requires "[...]a process of embodiment and incorporation [...]" (ibid., p.107). Moreover, this process requires time in order to accumulate embodied cultural capital the individual itself must invest time. Different to objectified capital, embodied cultural capital needs to be incorporated, it cannot be transferred to other people as easily and not in the same way (ibid.).

5.1.2. Social Capital

Social capital can be described as the value and the sum of social contacts and resources an individual has (actual and virtual) with other individuals and/ or groups (Grenfell 2007). Bourdieu defines social capital as “[...] the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.” (Bourdieu 2006, p. 110). The membership in a group can be "socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name [...] of a family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party, etc. [...]" (ibid., p. 110).

The amount of the social capital depends on the actual network of connection that can be mobilized by the stakeholder, this ability is dependent on the possessed capital (economic, cultural and symbolic) of the members of the available network. The capital volume is
important for a mutual acknowledgment and its exchange. As a result each member of the network or group is provided and provides equally capital to the group, thus each member profits from the others. Such a relationship network is a product of an ongoing time consuming effort of investment strategies, on an individual or collective level to reproduce and establishing social relationships for short or long term usage. These relationships can include the workplace, neighborhood or relatives; are both necessary and elective; and moreover can be subjectively felt or institutionally guaranteed (Bourdieu 2006).

According to Bourdieu (2006) reproducing social capital presupposes a high level of sociability, which includes the ongoing exchange of recognition, this effort can only be successful with a great deal of time and energy expenditure. Also the expenditure of economic capital is inevitable (directly or indirectly) in order to maintain such contacts.

5.2. Capital and Social Reproduction

A major aspect of Bourdieu’s work is the theory of social reproduction that incorporates the concept of capital (Harker 1990).

“The mechanism argued to perpetuate and reproduce structured social inequalities in society is based on the effective transmission of family-based parental endowments to the offspring. Parents endow their children with physical, human, social and especially cultural capital whose transmissions create inequalities in children’s educational and occupational attainment.” (Tzanakis 2011, p.76).

The reproduction theory focusses on the relation between education, family and social class. Education plays here an important role in reproducing inequalities and social exclusion. Tzanakis (2011) argues that the concept of capital (particular cultural capital) occupies a major role here as the inequalities in cultural capital reflect the inequalities of the society.

Bourdieu argues, according to Harker (1990), that the school takes a central role in both changing and reproducing social and cultural inequalities; by that he claims, "[...] that the culture of the dominant group which is embodied in the schools, and that it is the 'embodiment' that works as a reproduction strategy for the dominant group." (ibid., p. 87).

In addition, based on the above, the social reproduction is due to, the structure of the economic institutions, who favor those who already possess economic capital. In education it is not the economic capital that is favored but the cultural capital. Therefore education institutions favor those who possess the cultural capital in form of the habitus of the dominant group and their culture (Harker 1990). “The schools, he argues, take the habitus of the
dominant group as the natural and only proper sort of habitus and treat all children as if they had equal access to it. [...] In this way the dominant habitus is transformed into a form of cultural capital that the schools take for granted, and which acts as a most effective filter in the reproduction processes of a hierarchical society. [...] Those with the appropriate cultural capital are reinforced with 'success', while others are not” (ibid., p. 87).

The patterns of social life, which are recognized in the society, are maintained over time, due to external factors, unknown to or particularly forced by the agents. Hence, Bourdieu says that reproduction is the result of agents intentional and rational actions, which lead to such maintenance, even though reproduction was not the intention (Calboun 1993).

5.3. Capital Forms and Education

The institution school and education itself are important in order to gain capital (specifically cultural and social). Formal education is one part of the ‘socialization-triangle’ with ‘family, milieu and school’, the areas in a child’s life where their socialization is influenced. Those are as well the places where children receive the opportunities to accumulate capital. For UMs the family factor is missing, therefore school has a particularly important role.

In this part of the paper the relation between Education and Capital will be drawn and, based on the above, this shall point out the importance for education in relation to capital for the target group, UMs.

An important aspect of participating in formal education is, that even though “[t]he school is [...] the site of an often-unconscious form of social reproduction [it is, M.N.] ostensibly providing an environment in which every pupil could achieve success purely on the basis of their abilities.” (Watters 2008, p 102). This would mean that every child would have the same chance, however, this is an ideal situation. Students, who embody the capital of the dominant group are favored in school, those students who do not have that capital often suffer from indirect or direct institutional discrimination.

Cultural capital, as defined and explained in chapter 5.1.1., can be accumulated through family (as main) or other environments of socialization. For refugee children it is difficult to gain the cultural capital needed in the target country within the family, because the family itself does not have this cultural capital either and needs to accumulate it as well. The family is equipped with the cultural capital that is valid in their home country. UMs, however, are missing the normal family aspect and have to rely on foster homes or group homes as
“family”. Therefore formal education – school – is important, as a place to have the opportunity to accumulate cultural capital. Within schools the children learn the language, they gain knowledge about the culture and develop skills to gain and hold knowledge. These skills help them outside school as well.

The school is a place for children where they can start to build a network, as it is seen in terms of social capital. Possible social connections for UMs through school are friends they make and other people they get to know through their friends. In addition children can use their teachers as social capital, they can for instance be used in helping with references or job interviews. There are many social contacts students make during their school time, some will stay as continuing social capital in which the student has to invest. These connections can transform into social capital, where they eventually can be transformed into economic capital. A high amount of social capital is usually provided by the parents and family, whereas for UMs this is not applicable, since they are without any family.

Symbolic capital is highly influenced by education and educational achievements. A good school leaving certificate from upper secondary school gives better or more opportunities for the future. Furthermore school marks or the level of courses one is taking can define or influence the social circle one is entering.

Within the society refugees, included refugee children, have a relatively low symbolic status, often there are seen as “lower class” or as “load” to the society. This is underlined by Rutter (2006, p. 8): „Politicians and interest groups perceive asylum-seekers as unable to meet labour market requirements, as well as a threat to the State's control. “

6. Methodology

This section of the thesis covers the methodological aspects of the research, including the research strategy and design, methods, reliability and validity, sampling, analytical framework and ethical considerations.

6.1. Research Strategy and Design

This study follows a qualitative research strategy, which means it is not quantitative or standardized. According to Flick (2007) qualitative research is characterized by the use of
“text as empirical material [...] starts from the notion of social construction of realities under study [and] is interested in the perspectives of participants [...]” (p. 3).

This study follows Bourdieu’s concept of capital that is integrated in his theory of social reproduction. Therefore the development of the interview guide and questions was influenced by that theory and concept.

The research is a policy study exemplified by two EU countries with a limited amount of collected material in form of interviews. Analyzing policies provides the researcher with the necessary information to see how they are used and work in practice (in school). A comparative research design was chosen to make it possible to compare two countries in the same matter. Comparing the addressed problem in two countries will help the researcher to discover if the phenomenon occurs in both countries in the same or in a different way (ibid.).

The chosen countries for the comparison are Germany and Sweden. These countries have been chosen because they receive high refugee numbers, also they were accessible for the researcher. Furthermore both countries are located in the north of Europe and are members of the EU (which indicates some similarity in legislation due to EU frameworks).

The framework for the comparison will be the Bray and Thomas Cube (2007) (Appendix A). The Cube was developed in 1995. It contains three dimensions that are the geographical and locational level, the non-locational demographic groups and the aspects of education and of society. The first mentioned dimension contains seven Levels, World Regions and Continents, Countries, States and Provinces, Districts, Schools, Classrooms and Individuals. The second dimension contains six groups, which are Ethnic, Age Religions, Gender, Others and the Entire Population. Within the third dimension one can find again seven category options, Curriculum, Teaching Methods, Educational Finance, Management Sources, Political Chances, Labor Market and Other Aspects. One of the reasons for Bray and Thomas to develop the Cube was “ [...] to achieve multifaceted and holistic analyses of educational phenomena.” (Bray et. al. 2007, p. 8).

The selected contents of the cube are at the Geographical/ Locational Level Germany and Sweden as countries. At the level Aspect of Education and of Society, cultural and social capital of UMs and its use in School and education policies, curricula. And at the level of Nonlocational Demographic Groups, UM’s. Therefore, the UM’s social and cultural capital and its use in school in both countries as well as the countries’ education policy and curricula are compared. The cube will be used in two ways, first to compare the outcome of the data analysis on the policy and practice level; and second to compare the results between Germany and Sweden. The data for the education policy is collected by document analyses and the
social and cultural capital of UMs and its use in school is collected through semi structured interview of two teachers\textsuperscript{27} (see chapter 6.2.1. and 6.2.2).\textsuperscript{28}

6.2. Methods

The methods used to collect the empirical data for the study are document analysis and semi-structured interviews. The methods were chosen on the one hand to gain an overview of the extent to which the cultural and social capital of UMs is recognized in education policies in the two case study countries. And on the other hand to obtain a more practical sense of the implementation of the policy level positions. Both methods will be elaborated in the following. The research method used to collect empirical data has been influenced by Bryman’s (2012) approach to qualitative research.

6.2.1. Document Analysis

The first method for the study is the document analysis.

In this research the document analysis is focused on the current curricula and policies/legislations of the two countries. The analysis of these documents adds to the research some knowledge of the degree of the implementation of the UMs capital in formal education.

Table 5. Overview of the used documents for analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Curriculum in the state Saxony-Anhalt</td>
<td>Curriculum for the Compulsory school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Curricula in the state Saxony-Anhalt (German, history, social studies)</td>
<td>Education Act 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidelines by the KMK to Intercultural Education in School</td>
<td>Different Reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Integration Plan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{27} The criteria for choosing the teachers (Interviewees) and the schools they work at are available in 6.2.2.

\textsuperscript{28} It should be noted, that the comparison is not made between the school but between the recognition and of the cultural and social capital in school.
The difference in the used documents between the countries is due to the limited information in the used documents, therefore it was necessary to consider more documents for Germany.

The analytical framework to analyze the collected data is the qualitative content analyses or content analysis. Bryman (2012) defines “Content analysis [as] an approach to the analysis of documents and texts (which may be printed or visual) that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner.” (p. 289).

Using the qualitative content analyses, the text material is broken down into different units, which then get categorized and named. This process is also named coding and categorizing. According to Flick (2007) this method can be used to a variety of data and is not dependent to the way of data collection. Moreover, Flick (2007) says that the categories represent the meaning of the units content and show what can be find in the interviews. They can be used for several units, if they have the same content. This method helps to reduce the mass of the data material and helps to understand the material (Hug and Poscheschnik 2010). Later in the comparison it is possible to compare the content of the categories from the different interviews (Flick 2007). To build the categories, qualitative content analysis provides and deductive or an inductive approach. Using the deductive approach, the category-system is built before the analysis of the material based on relevant theories, and concepts of the thesis, that are the concept of multicultural education and the capital theory of Bourdieu. The inductive approach builds the category-system based on the statements in the material. Both approaches can supplement each other (Hug and Poscheschnik 2010). This is the case for this analysis, the researchers orientations follows the deductive approach, but is not limited to it. Therefore, if other categories can be named or are found while analyzing they will be consulted as well. The researcher is doing an open analysis, and looks after pre-developed codes, however the analysis is not limited to those. The pre-developed codes are based on the central theory and concept of the thesis, that are the concept of multicultural education and the capital theory of Bourdieu. The pre-developed codes and categories are the following: Overall goals, needs-based, institutionalized cultural capital, used or recognized embodied cultural capital (of UMs), objectified cultural capital, social capital, accumulating new cultural capital of the dominant culture.
6.2.2. Semi-Structured Interview

The second method for the research is semi-structured interviews. Interviewing in qualitative research focuses on the experience of the interviewed individual (Flick 2007). For this study the approach of semi-structured interviews will be used. For the conduct of this interview form the researcher uses an interview guide (a list of questions), with main and sub-questions, to address the research topic (ibid.). According to Bryman (2012) the interview guide can be modified during the interview process, if necessary, thus it is a method that is both flexible and structured. The interview guide enables the interviewer to a more focused approach of the research topic during the interview, as if there would be without a semi-structured interview guide. Further it is important within qualitative interviewing, that the researcher is looking for detailed answers, for which the interviewees’ point of view is very important.

In addition to the policy study two teachers in each country were interviewed. They were chosen on the basis of the following criteria: The teacher must had have experience in teaching UMs. The schools where the teachers work have had enrolled UMs, is secondary education level, the education content and concept of the school must be recognized by the authorities, legitimate school leaving certificate must be credited by the school. The criteria were developed according to the principles of purposive sampling. The research question, so Bryman (2012) provides guidance and the background to select participants. Since the research questions are focused on UMs as students and their social and cultural capital, the interviewees are teachers who have experiences with teaching UMs. For the study two sets of interviews have been conducted, one in Germany and one in Sweden.
Table 6. Information about the Schools the interviewees work at.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interview A</th>
<th>Interview B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Magdeburg, Saxony-Anhalt</td>
<td>Sollentuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School form</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Public (Municipality)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Group and Grades</td>
<td>6-18 years/ 1-13</td>
<td>13 -16 years/ 7-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (special)</td>
<td>Rudolf-Steiner School</td>
<td>International class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interview guideline contains 15 main questions, the guideline for the German School contains one additional question that refers to the independent school form. The interview guide can be found in Appendix B.

Conducting interviews holds the risk that the answer to the questions are not satisfying for the researcher; due to this it is important that the interviewer is not leading the interview to certain answers but give space for responses. Steering the participants into a particular direction makes the research less valid and not trustworthy. The interview conducted in Germany was held in German. Therefore it should be noted that the interview and the interview guide have been translated with the awareness that this may cause the data to be subject to interpretation and translation error. Every care has been taken to avoid this. The interviews in Sweden were conducted in English. For the interviewee as well for the interviewer, English is the second language, thus it is possible that while conducting the interview expression problems arose, which possibly influenced the outcome. However the interview preparation was very detailed and through the guideline, such expression problems could be minimized.

The analysis of the interview is, as for the document analysis, the context analysis. As in the document analysis, the researcher is doing an open analysis, and looks after pre-developed codes, however the analysis is not limited to those. The pre-developed codes and categories are the following: Institutionalized cultural capital, embodied cultural capital, objectified cultural capital, social capital, use of cultural capital of UMs in school and accumulating new capital of the dominant culture.
6.3. Reliability and Validity

The issues of reliability and validity are important to keep in mind throughout the research process and analysis. Reliability refers to the replicability of the study and the degree of replication of the study. In qualitative research this is difficult to achieve, hence social settings cannot be frozen. The replication of this study is to some extent possible, however it depends highly on whether or not there are any marked changes in refugee flows and other social and demographic factors. It is possible to conduct a similar study in the same countries but other municipalities, or in countries of a similar background (Bryman 2012).

"Validity is concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research." (ibid., p. 47). Conclusions are always to some extent influenced by the researcher, however the theories used support the researcher in the process of analysis and in drawing conclusions from the findings, which enables him or her to reach an acceptable level of validity.

6.4. Ethical Considerations

The study follows the four main areas of ethical principles which are: "whether there is harm to participants; whether there is a lack of informed consent; whether there is an invasion of privacy; whether deception is involved." (Bryman 2012, p. 135).

Participants should face no harm in any form, whether physical, psychological, development, self-esteem or stress (ibid.). Therefore the interview guide was developed, so the researcher can use sensitive questions, the questions were designed so the teacher does not feel judged by them in his or her role as educator. Also the interviewees, who had to conduct the interview in their second language, were asked if they were comfortable with that. Otherwise an interpreter would have been arranged.

To ensure an informed consent, the interviewees were given as much information about the research as needed in order to make a responsible decision to participate or not participate in the research. Within this study, the participants were informed through an e-mail that stated the content and important points of the research subject, as well as why the research was conducted.

To secure the privacy of the interviewee, the conducted interviews were anonymous in the transcription. The participants had at any point during the interview the opportunity to decide if they wanted or did not want to answer a question and to stop the interview.
Moreover, the interviewer was responsible for making sure that the interviewee felt comfortable throughout the interview.

7. Research Findings and Analysis

In this chapter the analyzed data are presented. It is divided by the countries and the type of data collected. First the data collected in Germany and then the data collected in Sweden will be presented. The data analysis followed the methods and terms described in chapter 6.2.

7.1. Germany

Germany's policies follow a human rights based integration approach. This approach highlights "the empowerment of right-holder (refugees children) and accountability of duty-bearers (authorities in the area of asylum and migration, education, social assistance and child welfare services)." (Krasteva 2013, p. 8). With this framework in mind policies in all areas are developed.

7.1.1. Document Analysis

The document analysis for Germany was based on three core documents, the Curriculum of the secondary school in Saxony-Anhalt, the Intercultural Guidelines in School by the KMK, and the National Integration Plan.

The document analysis was focused on the curriculum of the Secondary School in Saxony-Anhalt that follows the Education Act of Saxony-Anhalt. This state was selected because the interviewed teacher works at a school in Saxony-Anhalt. The individual subjects areas have their own curricula, where the content of the subject and the developing competencies are laid out. Because there was no subject matter at all in the overall curriculum, I choose to examine closely three subject curricula: German, History and Social Studies.

Further, the document on intercultural education in school of the Standing Conference of Cultural Ministers was analyzed. The Document provides guidelines for the implementation of intercultural education in school for the federal states. Also the National Integration Plan

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29 Which does not mean that other countries do not.
was analyzed. However this document has an overall approach and only had one particular
section relevant for school.

All documents were analyzed according to the pre-developed codes: new codes and
categories were developed if necessary. The following Codes/ Categories were used: Overall
goals, needs-based, institutionalized cultural capital, used or recognized embodied cultural
capital (of UM), objectified cultural capital, social capital, accumulating new cultural capital
of the dominant culture. And through the analysis developed, learning abilities to accumulate
capital.

An overview of the analyzed data in form of Table 6 can be found in Appendix C.

Overall Goals:

The Curriculum of Saxony-Anhalt has as overall goal three main areas: Participation in
the society: Achieved through, amongst others, a tolerant and democratic life towards others
in school, acceptance of the individual and its individuality. Coping with everyday life and
global learning: Learn to act responsibly and take responsibility for your own actions. To be
open to new and foreign, develop own norms and values, and to review opinions and
judgments critically. And professional preparation: Preparing the students for the
requirements of the job market and to find adequate professions or occupation possibilities.
(Colditz et. al. 2012).

The overall goals, that School has in intercultural education are, seeing diversity as
normal and potential for all, support gaining intercultural competencies in tuition of all
subjects, support of language education and educational cooperation with parents. (KMK
2013 pp. 3-5).

Need Based

The curriculum states that the tuition has to consider the abilities of the individual so that
disadvantages can be excluded as far as possible. Furthermore each child be should supported
individually, therefore the tuition needs to be organized individually. This includes,
recognizing the individual’s learning speed, needed support, and counseling. (Colditz et. al.
2012).

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30 This document is provided only in German, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are
based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.

31 This document is provided only in German, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are
based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.
Education Act §1 states, that every child has the right to an education that promotes the abilities and talents of the individual child. Further, the school is responsible for considering the individual learning needs and previous experiences of the students. (Sachsen-Anhalt 12/14/2012\(^{32}\)).

According to this, UMs are (theoretically) recognized as individuals and have the opportunity to study and learn in their own speed and orientated at their abilities.

**Institutionalized Cultural Capital**

Institutionalized capital can only be recognized if the children already have a school leaving certificate or the like. School is therefore a place where such Capital can be gained.

**Used or Recognized Embodied Cultural Capital (of UMs)**

In the curriculum it is stated, that the learning process should integrate and add to the existing knowledge of the students (Colditz et. al. 2012). Though it does not differentiate between the different groups of students and what exactly prior knowledge means and includes.

In the subject curriculum for German, the used literature can be contemporary or classic and can allow insights into other cultures (Hausen et. al. 2012\(^{33}\)). This can give opportunities for UMs to use knowledge of their cultural background, hence cultural capital, in class.

The possibilities of the integration of existing capital of UMs stated in the curricula seem quite limited. The guidelines for Intercultural Education in School and the National Integration Plan promote the integration of existing capital of the UMs, the latter through the support and promotion of multilingualism and its acknowledgement, including the mother tongue. However, new measures are needed to support multilingualism in school. (Die Bundesregierung 2007\(^{34}\)). Also the recommendations and guidelines of the KMK (2013) are to acknowledge the multiculturalism of the students. Further, it is necessary to address the tuition content from multiple levels and to develop intercultural learning opportunities during tuition. Important here is to coordinate international and intercultural learning activities with the subject content of the curriculum, also in activities in areas such as: Global learning and European Education. (ibid.).

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\(^{32}\) This document is provided only in German, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.

\(^{33}\) This document is provided only in German, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.

\(^{34}\) This document is provided only in German, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.
Possibilities are given to incorporate the existing embodied cultural capital of the UMs in school and tuition. However the recognition seems quite low, especially since the opportunities where embodied cultural capital accumulated in the pre- or trans- migration experience are always in collision with the content of the subject curricula.

Objectified Cultural Capital, Social Capital

There were no indicators for objectified cultural capital.

Social Capital

Possibilities for new Social Capital are given through suggested cooperation between the school and different organizations to support intercultural education out of school (for example: organizations for school exchange, youth clubs, culture centers, clubs and other institution). (KMK 2013). UMs have here the opportunity to establish new contacts and build a network which can be useful to them in the future.

Accumulating New Cultural Capital of the Dominant Culture

This is of course an aspect that can be elaborated on in quite a wide manner, since UMs of course accumulate a lot of new capital of the dominant culture in school. For the analysis, some central aspects were chosen.

Stated in the curriculum, the students should gain knowledge in three areas: science, culture, and social knowledge (Colditz et. al. 2012). Within the subject curriculum for German, gaining general knowledge in language, literature and media is seen as an overall content goal (Hausen et. al. 2012). The history curriculum states that students should gain general knowledge about history, important historic events, processes and structures and knowledge about the national and regional history. (Both et. al. 2012). In Social Studies, content includes knowledge about democracy, democratic systems and society related topics and politics (Both & Bütow et. al. 2012).

The recommendations on Intercultural Education in School have their focus on language education. The KMK (2013) states, that language education is a core-element in every subject. Also support opportunities for all students who need particular support with their second language education have to be given. Also the National Integration Plan focuses on the language skills and needed measures for such. It is outlined that teachers are supposed to give the needed support to pupils in order to overcome language deficits in all subjects through new language support measures. (Die Bundesregierung 2007).

Learning Abilities to Accumulate Capital

This document is provided only in German, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.
Learning abilities to be able to accumulate capital are necessary, without those, the learned knowledge cannot be used or understood in depth.

In the curriculum the following abilities are listed as overall abilities: Learning to learn, the ability to guide and reflect the learning process. Developing and building knowledge on prior experiences, as well as working methods and techniques, so that the students are able to make their (learning-)environment accessible and can use it for problem solving. The ability of problem solving itself and to gather information with and from different types of media. Communication skills, describing, explaining, comparing, generalizing, and drawing conclusions. Social competencies, the ability to communicate and cooperate, responsible and tolerant behavior, solving conflicts peacefully. (Colditz et. al. 2012). The latter are particular important to extend the social capital.

For the subject curricula, it is important to point out that the German subject curriculum includes the abilities to understand and use different types of media and to understand foreign perspectives. (Hausen et. al. 2012). For the History Curriculum the ability to understand how history is related to the present and to the future. (Both et. al. 2012).

7.1.2. Interview

The interview analyses was made with the following pre-developed codes/categorizations: Institutionalized cultural capital, embodied cultural capital, objectified cultural capital, social capital, use of cultural capital of UMs in school and accumulating new capital of the dominant culture. During the analysis of the interview the following codes/categories were developed: motivation, seriousness, sense of responsibility, need of ability to incorporate embodied cultural capital and practical skills.

This interview was with a teacher at the Rudolf-Steiner/Waldorf school in Magdeburg, Germany. The teacher had several experiences in teaching UMs. The teacher was for one UM the class teacher for several years and had therefore the most experiences with that student (hereinafter referred to as Ali). The interview from Germany is named as Interview A (2015) and an overview of the analysis in Table 7. Appendix E.

Institutionalized Cultural Capital

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36 This document is provided only in German, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.
In Interview A (lines 313-317) the teacher states that experience has shown, that almost all UMs can achieve a school leaving certificate by the end of their education, at least a “Hauptschul-school leaving certificate”. This can be recognized as institutionalized cultural capital, that most UMs are able to achieve a school leaving certificate.

**Embodied Cultural Capital**

According to Bourdieu (2006) embodied cultural capital can be knowledge, culture, traditions, values and so on. However what embodied cultural capital do UMs have, or rather what do teachers recognize as such.

Teacher X states that there is only little knowledge in the sense of what in the school is recognized as knowledge. Particularly in the natural sciences, those are often remote from everyday life for the UMs. (Interview A 2015, line 177-180). They have almost no curricular knowledge, basic skills in math for example, but almost no other knowledge. (ibid., line 184-189).

Moreover it is stated in Interview A that the knowledge UMs have varies highly from one student to another, from basic skills to children with rather higher education backgrounds. This also depends on the time they lost in school, from the last school visit in their home country to the first school visit in the target country (in this case Germany). (ibid., line 304-311). This means that the recognition of embodied cultural capital is very little in most cases.

UMs often bring language skills such as English, states the teacher in Interview A (2015, line 182-183) as example she names a Student, Ali who had skills in Russian. Further does she say, that those skills are acquired during their flight in the countries they went through. (ibid., line 182-183).

The mother tongue of the students or the official language of their home country is recognized by the teacher, however he does not find it much use. If language history is addressed during the tuition, they will be asked about their language as well. But that is usually the only chance to integrate it in the tuition. Also it is possible to do a language examination in the mother tongue or the official language and to use it as grade as third language instead of Russian, this does not always works out though. (ibid., line 237-264). The language skills can be interpreted as a valuable form of capital for the student.

**Objectified Cultural Capital**

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37 *Lowest school leaving certificate in Germany.*
As regards objectified cultural capital available to the UMs and to other students at the school, this can be identified as the use of the school library and public library. Computers in the school are available as well, but not used as much. (Interview A 2015, line 394-403).

Social Capital

It seems, according to Teacher X that the school plays a significant role for the accumulation of social capital for the UMs. The identified social capital the students gain and use during their school enrolment includes teachers, students and the parents/families of the students.

The teacher states that the students in the class (particularly the boys) included Ali from the beginning. One friend in particular, and his family did so (Interview A., line 339-345). As well in Ali’s case, the school was to some extent a family replacement. (ibid., line 88-90). UMs also seek help from classmates and teachers (ibid., line 76-78).

Outside of school, the legal guardian is identified. He or she has to take over tasks parents would do, however they usually have several children to look after which makes the task hard. (ibid., line 119-122). Teacher X states that the legal guardian cannot always compensate for everything the UM needs, teachers, classmates and their parents seem to play a more important role. They can develop a relationship with the UMs. The authorities and support systems usually are overloaded. Also they do not have an emotional bond with the children, which might not be ideal for them. (ibid., line 373-389).

Use of Cultural Capital of UMs in School

The use of the cultural capital UMs bring to the school can be interpreted as very low. The interviewed teacher states that Russian is subject at the school, therefore Ali’s language skills could be used in his education. (ibid., line 190-194) However, that is not always the case.

Further can be concluded from the interview that the use of their knowledge which they have through their cultural background can be incorporated to some extent in subjects like philosophy and social science, English and Russian. Also Ali used his personal biography for his “years assignment/thesis”. (ibid., line 195-204).

Accumulating new Capital of the Dominant Culture.

German as second language, has been mentioned as possibility if needed, but not as individual or regular subject. The teachers try to support the students during the class as good as possible. (ibid., line 290-295)

Motivation
Teacher X stated that the UMs usually have a very high motivation towards their education (ibid., line 54-55, 72). In the case of Ali the teachers says that he was very hard-working outside of school as well, and tried to close any knowledge gaps. (ibid., line 76-78).

Seriousness

The interviewee states that UMs seem to have a different seriousness when it comes to their life goals. (ibid., line 99-100; 325-327). This can influence their learning ability and motivation.

Sense of Responsibility

Another aspect during the interview significant to point out is the UMs sense of responsibility. The teacher states that they have to take responsibility for their own life early and that is what they normally do. They do not have youthful lightness. (Interview A 2015., line 108-114). Their level of responsibility is very high. (ibid., line 325-327). Also this influences the learning process and outcome, particularly if they know and realize that they are responsible for their own future.

Need of Ability to accumulate Embodied Cultural Capital

The abilities needed to accumulate capital are very important as without them no new capital can be gained. In the interview it can be identified that such abilities in form of study methods and techniques are missing, the teacher names as reasons the long flight and the lack of schooling during that time. (ibid., line 128-130).

Teacher X further states that in some cases, the ability to write the Latin letters, and the concept of capitalized letters (arose in some cases) is missing. (ibid., line 136-1422). Also the ability to understand and work with complex novels and text, not in terms of language problems, but how to handle the texts are missing. (ibid., line 142-147).

Practical Skills

The Rudolf Steiner school has many activities in the practical areas as well, which are not dependent on language. Also the UMs are doing work experiences/ internships. (ibid., line 420-423).
7.2. Sweden

Sweden’s policies are orientated at non-differentiation, this means that they avoid classifications of ethnic, cultural and religious groups. Instead neutral terms are used, for example "newly arrived" children. (Krasteva 2013, p. 7).

7.2.1. Document Analysis

The documents analysis for Sweden is based on the national curriculum for the compulsory school that is based on the Education Act 2010. Another documents is the Education Act 2010 and policy information from EURYDICE 2015(b/c) is also referred to.

All documents were analyzed according to the pre-developed codes, new codes and categories that could be developed if necessary. The following Codes/ Categories were used: Overall goals, needs- based, institutionalized cultural capital, used or recognized embodied cultural capital (of UMs), objectified cultural capital, social capital, accumulating new cultural capital of the dominant culture. And through the analysis the following category is developed: learning abilities to accumulate capital.

An overview of the analyzed data is available in Table 8. Appendix D.

Overall Goals

The Swedish curriculum states as overall goals, based on the Swedish Education Act in 2010, that “education in the school system aims at pupils acquiring and developing knowledge and values. It should promote the development and learning of all pupils, and a lifelong desire to learn. Education should impact and establish respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which the Swedish society is based.” (Skolverket 2011, p. 9) Further, it elaborates on the values of the school, these are amongst others the equal value of all people and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable (this includes UMs). Moreover the ethics represented by the school have their origin in Christian tradition and Western humanism that includes amongst others: tolerance, responsibility, sense of justice and generosity of spirit. Moreover, the school should appreciate cultural diversity, raise awareness of one’s own cultural origin and a shared cultural heritage, in order to secure identity and produce the ability to value and understand the values and conditions of others. (Skolverket 2011).

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38 This document is available in English.
Needs-Based

The curriculum states first that “teaching should be adapted to each pupil’s circumstances and needs.” (ibid., p. 10) That means that the teacher should “take into account each individual’s needs, circumstances, experiences and thinking. [...] [He or she should, M.N.] stimulate, guide and give special support to pupils that have difficulties.” (ibid., p. 16). And second, that the learning process should be based on the students “backgrounds, earlier experience, language and knowledge.” (ibid., p. 10).

Institutionalized Cultural Capital

In 2014 resources were made available for the achievement of higher learning outcomes of newly arrived children (through, for example, more reading lessons and better teacher training). (EURYDICE 2015c). This can, if successful, influence the school success of UMs positively. It can lead to better result and to a (better) final certificate that is recognized as institutionalized cultural capital.

Used or Recognized Embodied Cultural Capital (of UMs)

The use or recognition of the embodied cultural capital of the UMs can be interpreted as such in various parts of the curriculum. The school is responsible to promote an international perspective to develop tolerance and understanding for cultural diversity. (Skolverket 2011). Here UMs could share their perspectives, which are based on and influenced by their embodied cultural capital from the home country or trans-migration experience.

Self-development and personal growth should not only focus on the intellectual factor but also practical (sensual, aesthetic) aspects. Further, activities such as drama, dance, music and art should help to develop different ways of expression. (ibid.). A high variety in activities, learning methods and experiences give the UMs the possibility to have successful and positive learning experiences separate from the traditional academia. Here they can integrate talents or experiences that are included in their embodied cultural capital.

The curriculum foresees that, next to values, views and problems of the Swedish society, those of others or different ones should be openly communicated and discussed. (ibid.). This indicates that other societies than the Swedish one should be and are welcome to discussed. UMs can at this point include their own home country’s society.

Students should be given the chance to learn another foreign language, besides English. (ibid.). This could in some cases be the official language of the home country of the UM, however that depends on the languages offered as tuition.
An important factor for the use and recognition of the embodied cultural capital of UMs in the Swedish education is the mother tongue tuition. The mother tongue tuition is regulated through the Education Act 2010 in 10kap, §7 and indicates that students have the right to such tuition. ([Utbildningsdepartementet](https://www.udd.dk) 06/23/2010).

The curriculum writes about Mother tongue tuition (MTT), that pupils should have the opportunity to develop their skills in their mother tongue (written and spoken), to become confident and express themselves in different contexts. It also helps the pupils to develop their cultural identity. The mother tongue tuition should also develop a better sense of the culture and society where the mother tongue is spoken. ([Skolverket](https://www.skolverket.se) 2011).

In 2014 the Swedish National Agency for Education was appointed as responsible actor to develop a curriculum for MTT. ([EURYDICE](http://www.eurydice.org) 2015c). Studying the mother tongue is one element to recognize the embodied cultural capital from the home country.

Further it was announced in 2015, that the Swedish National Agency for Education should support head teachers in the assessment of newly arrived children’s knowledge. ([EURYDICE](http://www.eurydice.org) 2015c). This could lead to a higher recognition of the embodied cultural capital of UMs in the curriculum in the future.

### Objectified Cultural Capital

In the Education Act 2010 it is noted, that all pupils have to have access to a school library. ([EURYDICE](http://www.eurydice.org) 2015b). This ensures that they have the access to books and other media, which is necessary to accumulate capital.

### Social Capital

No indicators.

### Accumulating New Cultural Capital of the Dominant Culture

In the curriculum several aspects are listed which include the accumulation of new cultural capital of the dominant culture. Among them the cultural heritage which is one aspect that is included in responsibilities of education and upbringing students and involves the development and passing on of that cultural heritage from generation to generation. This include values, language, traditions and knowledge. ([Skolverket](https://www.skolverket.se) 2011). According to the overall goals, this does not necessarily only mean the Swedish culture, however it is certainly a part of it.

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99 This document is provided only in Swedish, therefore the interpretations drawn from this document are based on own translation. This applies for the further use of these reference throughout the study.
Furthermore here are included the discussion and clarification of values, views and problems of the Swedish society and to develop the knowledge that is necessary to be a member of society, in this case the Swedish society. (ibid.).

Pupils should acquire knowledge about the national minorities (culture, language, history) (ibid.). However this only includes specific minority groups, not UMs.

By the end of compulsory schooling pupils should be able to use the Swedish language (rich and varied way); communicate in English; mathematical reasoning; knowledge in areas such as science, technology, social science, humanistic, aesthetic areas; knowledge about the Swedish, Nordic and Western cultural heritage. (ibid.).

Language ability is an important part of the new cultural capital for the UMs, that they gain from the dominant culture. Strengthening and developing the language ability is done through practicing communication skills such as discussions, writing and reading. (ibid.). Particularly for newly arrived children, in the case of this study UMs, Swedish as Second Language (SSL) leads as well to the increase of the language ability. SSL should enable pupils to express themselves confidently in Swedish (written and spoken) in different contexts. Not only the language skills should be developed, also knowledge about literature and texts from different periods and part of the world, non-fiction and performing arts. (Skolverket 2011.). SSL as subject in the curriculum is regulated in the Education Act in 10kap, 4§. (Utbildningsdepartementet 06/23/2010).

Learning Abilities to Accumulate Capital

The abilities to accumulate capital are very important for the UMs. The curriculum names such abilities, amongst others to develop the ability to learn and to make use of critical thinking, formulate (personal) standpoints based on knowledge and ethics. (Skolverket 2011). Learn the ability to “interact with other people based on knowledge of similarities and differences in living conditions, culture, language, religion and history.” (ibid., p. 15).

7.2.2. Interview

The interview analysis was made on the basis of the following pre-developed codes/categorizations: Institutionalized cultural capital, embodied cultural capital, objectified cultural capital, social capital, use of cultural capital of UMs in school and accumulating new capital of the dominant culture. During the analysis of the interview the following codes/categories were developed: Motivation, seriousness, need of ability to incorporate embodied cultural capital, communication, independence.
Interview B (2015) was conducted at a primary/secondary school in Sollentuna, Sweden. The students at that school are between 7 and 16 years of age. The interviewed teacher is a teacher in an international class and teaches therefore all newly arrived children. This includes UMs as well. Over the years that he has been teaching that class, the teacher had several UMs.

The interview from Sweden is named Interview B and an overview of the analysis in Table 7, available in Appendix E.

Institutionalized Cultural Capital

None identified.

Embodied Cultural Capital

Embodied cultural capital recognized by the teacher in Interview B were math skills, which he said tend to be a subject where a lot of students are on the same level as the students socialized in Sweden. However history or social studies, religion or geography may not have had a high focus in the home country or the context is not relevant at all for the Swedish school because of the Eurocentric, if not Sweden focused perspective. (Interview B 2015, line 251-266).

Traditions from the UMs culture or home country can be used in projects (Interview B 2015, line 160-165). Political knowledge of the home country can be used in class discussions. (ibid., line 172-179).

The mother tongue of the students is recognized in the MTT. It is not mandatory and the interviewee states that currently (time of the interview) not so many students participate in it even though it is recommended to do so. (ibid., line 213-214, 221-227). Furthermore the Teacher Y points out that a loss of knowledge exists due to break from school during the travel. (ibid., line 98-100). Therefore it is a loss of useful capital for the school in the target country. The amount of capital recognized is quite limited, but the mother tongue tuition is an important factor for the recognition of the embodied cultural capital of the UMs in the target country (in this case Sweden).

Objectified Cultural Capital

Identified as objectified capital available for the UMs at school are the use of the school library and the public library (close by). Also the students have a loaned computer with internet access during the time they are enrolled in school (ibid., line 393-399). Especially the computer and the internet are an important factor from where capital can be accumulated in today’s world.

Social Capital
In Interview B it is apparent that the social capital the students have in Sweden can vary. It is highly dependent on the people at the places where the UMs live, if those are engaged in their lives or not (it differs between accommodations). Also the legal guardian is an important actor, there it depends as well on the person, some are very engaged, some are not (ibid., line 71-84). The interviewee states further that theoretically there is a good social network and support system, but it depends on how engaged the people are. This includes the legal guardian, social workers/people who work with them in the group home, people from the social department. (ibid., line 375-384).

The lack of family of the UMs creates worry for them (ibid., line 64-69). An important factor of their social capital is missing and influences them as well, not necessarily in a positive way.

Use of Cultural Capital of UMs in School

The cultural capital of the UMs can be used in the school in some ways. In Interview B it is pointed out that traditions are addressed in general and not only the Swedish once. This allows everybody to share own traditions. It can also be turned into a project, this means that the students write and talk about their traditions during class. (ibid., line 160-165). Politics and political systems are addressed in a similar manner as the traditions are. The students talk about the topic and share their knowledge and experiences (to the extent the students want to). Watching the news is one way to start and support the discussion. (Interview B 2015, line 172-179).

The previous knowledge students have in subjects like history, social studies, religion or geography are usually not relevant for the Swedish school context, as mentioned above. Therefore Teacher Y says “it won’t help you with a grade here.” (ibid., line 251-266).

In the interview the teacher brings another aspect of using the capital of the UMs in school to attention, the difficulty for the teachers to address every students’ individual needs. He gives the example of studying the human body: Some students have already studied the human body in more detail, others not as much. Therefore part of the class only needs to learn the words, the other part needs to learn more about the subject itself. The teachers try to adjust the class to that. He states that the knowledge levels always differ, because of age and maturing. (ibid., line 281-291).

Accumulating new Capital of the Dominant Culture.

Swedish makes a big part of the international class, reading, understanding, communication and writing (ibid., line 5-10).
The language skills seem not different from those of other immigrant or refugee children. The important thing is that they have someone to talk to in Swedish or have a context to speak Swedish in (Interview B 2015, line 192-199).

Through study guidance the UMs get help with their school work in the subjects, particularly with the language, since the language in subjects like history is more complex (ibid., line 214-216, 243-244).

Motivation

The interview teacher sees a very strong motivation towards learning in the UMs. However, this is mixed with trouble concentrating and frustration about the situation (ibid., line 92-93).

Seriousness

In Interview B it is clearly stated that the teacher, according to his experiences, sees UMs as often very disciplined and thoughtful, not like teenagers or children (ibid., line 116-122). That can be positive for their studies, but he also says “but to what price?” (ibid., line 121-122).

Need Ability to Incorporate Embodied Cultural Capital

As well as the need for ability to incorporate cultural capital in the Swedish school, the teacher sees also the need for the ability to reflect and to state one's own opinion. He states that these abilities are often missing but they are very important to succeed in the Swedish school system. (Interview B 2015, line 347-358).

Communication

UMs have an instinct and will to communicate, even though they know only a few words, they find other ways (ibid., line 105-110). Since they are here alone, without their families, “they also have to make it on their own” (ibid., line 108).

Independent

They have the will to manage things on their own, they don’t often ask for help (ibid., line 124-126).
8. Discussion of Results

In this chapter the result of the analysis are discussed. First the comparison between theory and practice in each country is made. This will show if the capital of UMs is recognized in policies and curricula and how that is implemented in school. This is necessary to subsequently compare both countries\(^{40}\) in order to enable to identify similarities and differences in the addressed matter. The discussion of the results is based on the analyzed data (Documents and Interviews) and the theoretical framework of the study.

8.1. Comparing Policy and Practice

This comparison is located on the Bray and Thomas cube on the level: Aspect of Education and of Society, with cultural and social capital of UMs and its use and recognition in school and education policies, curricula. Thus the use and recognition of the UMs cultural and social capital in policy, curriculum and school will be compared.


In the document analysis the categories named “overall goals” and “need based” are referring to the promotion of the individual abilities and learning speed, as well as considering previous experiences of the students. This should mean that also the needs of UMs are reflected and addressed in an adequate manner. However in practice, it seem that there are many obstacles for these children, in terms of the consideration of previous learning experiences and the individual needs of the student.

Considering previous learning experiences would include the recognition of the embodied cultural capital of UMs, policies and curricula only show attempts to integrate the previous knowledge into the tuition, even though the curricula state that the existing knowledge should be integrated in the learning process. (Colditz et. al. 2012). In practice, as identified in the interviews, the knowledge that is recognized as such is knowledge dominated

\(^{40}\) If Germany is mentioned in this result section, it refers to the state of Saxony-Anhalt (this was the state where the analysis was made)
by the majority culture; it appears there are not many possibilities to access the existing cultural capital of UMs for school purposes.

The promotion and acknowledgement of the mother tongue is one attempt and way to recognize and use the existing cultural capital of UMs in schools. Language is an important aspect of cultural capital (Bourdieu 2006). However there are no concrete measures taken at this point. Currently the only way to recognize the mother tongue or the official language of the home country of the UMs seems to be through a language exam as stated in Interview A. This can make it possible to use the mother tongue as institutionalized capital in form of the third language in school.

Accumulating new cultural capital of the dominant culture seems to be on a higher level of the agenda in policies and curricula. The reason for this is possibly the importance for the students of the dominant group as well. During Interview A this was not addressed extensively, but it can be understood that all input during tuition can potentially be new cultural capital for UMs. Important to point out here is, however, that regarding language education it is nowhere stated that German as a second language has to be taught in school. Language based content of the documents refer to second language support having to be given if needed, or that the language education is the responsibility of every subject. According to Interview A, the practice reflects this, the students receive support during class and teachers (who teach German as a second language) are available in the school, though it does not mean that this is enough to overcome the deficits.

Moreover it is noted that the abilities to accumulate capital are high on the agenda, in particular in the curricula. These abilities include amongst others learning to learn, reflect the learning process and developing and building working methods and techniques. According to Interview A similar abilities are recognized as important in practice, particularly the need for working methods and techniques seems to be high.

Social capital in school can be identified in the document analysis in terms of cooperation of the school with other organizations and clubs. These are possible connections for UMs to establish a network. In practice however, rather individuals are recognized, such as the other students, their families and the teachers.

Important to mention, however, and only identified in the Interview, are a very high motivation, a sense of responsibility and a seriousness in the way UMs address school and learning. These are aspects that can be positive for the accumulation of new cultural and social capital.
8.1.2. Sweden: Recognition of the Cultural Capital of Unaccompanied Minors in Policies and Practice

The overall goals for Sweden’s school education are amongst others to promote development and learning for all pupils, to appreciate diversity and to raise awareness of one’s own culture. UMs are through the term “all pupil” included in the documents. The education should further be based on the individual’s needs, circumstances and experience, and the learning process on the background, language and knowledge. This seems to make it quite clear that UMs as individuals have the right to the above. Hence the previous cultural capital of these children can also be recognized.

Recognition of the embodied cultural capital is reflected in the curriculum in several ways. The school has to promote international perspectives and understanding for cultural diversity, and communication of issues in other societies and cultures. In practice, according to the interview, there are possibilities for UMs to use their cultural capital and discuss or talk about their culture and experiences.

Another area where UMs can use their embodied cultural capital is the right to mother tongue tuition. Even though it has a positive effect on the development of their cultural identity, it is not a mandatory activity. In practice, as is stated by the interviewed teacher, not so many students participate in the MTT. However the given possibility to do so, shows that the mother tongue is acknowledged and therefore recognized as cultural capital of the UMs. The development of a curriculum for MTT (started in 2014) gives it even more value.

The accumulation of new cultural capital of the dominant culture is an important factor in Sweden’s curriculum. It includes transmission of the cultural heritage, the discussion of values, views and problems of the Swedish society and Swedish language ability. For newly arrived children there is Swedish as second language (SSL). SSL is first taught in a so called international class. The interviewed teacher states that the basis of the class is to learn Swedish. Also included is learning Swedish supported by study guidance, whereby the student receives help with the language in the individual subject. Learning Swedish is high on the agenda and seems to be the focus of the newly arrived students.

Abilities which need to be learned by UMs to be able to accumulate capital are reflected in the curriculums as the following abilities: critical thinking, learning, formulating standpoints, interacting with others based on knowledge. These abilities are recognized in
practice as well, the teacher refers to the ability to reflect and develop own opinions, without these, the student will not be successful in the school system.

As social capital in school the interviewed teacher identifies the mother tongue and study guidance teacher, as well as the class teacher. Moreover it is important to point out that in practice, the high motivation and seriousness towards learning and school have a positive impact on the UMs. Also a high level of independence and will to communicate were recognized.

All in all it seems that in some parts practice and theory agree with each other, however in areas such as the actual recognition of the embodied cultural capital, the implementation of the formulated policies and aims in the curriculum is quite weak. Even though it is as positive to mention that mother tongue tuition is available to UMs this seems to be the only area were a real recognition exists.

8.2. Comparing Germany and Sweden

As stated in chapter 6.2, the comparison is based on the Bray and Thomas cube with Germany and Sweden at the Geographical/ Locational Level. The other levels are Aspect of Education and of Society, with cultural and social capital of UMs and its use/recognition in school and education policies and curricula. And at the level of Nonlocational Demographic Groups, the UMs are located. Hence the country comparison will compare the used and recognized cultural and social capital of UMs in Schools.

In both countries the overall goals of school education are stated in a similar manner, both attempt to include all pupils and educate them according to and based on their needs, previous experiences and background. In both countries it is shown that its implementation in practice is not as easy and that policies as well are not concrete enough (and in many cases open for interpretation).

The recognition of the cultural capital of the UMs is in both countries mostly limited to language skills that can be used in the school system of the dominant culture. Knowledge in subjects such as social science, history and philosophy can in in some ways instigate the cultural capital of the UMs, however these subjects are based on the westernized and national culture. This raises the problem of understanding and grappling the system, norms, values and problems that the dominant society and children socialized in that society have, but that the UMs do not have. This reflects what has been argued in chapter 5.2, that school favors those with the capital of the dominant culture. UMs, thus do not have the same chances in the
education system as other students socialized in the dominant culture. This is an aspect relevant for both countries.

Significant for the recognition of cultural capital of UMs is the mother tongue. In Germany this is rather at a starting point than an implemented policy, even though it is stated as important since the National Integration Plan of 2007. In contrast, in Sweden the concept is integrated in the Education Act and implemented in practice as well.

Accumulating new capital that is valid in the dominant culture is an essential aspect for both countries, which includes knowledge about the dominant society, values and issues as well as the language. A particular focus is on the language. Here policies and practice differ highly between Germany and Sweden. In Germany students are taught in the regular classes and do not have German as a second language as subject of the curriculum. The language education is seen as the responsibility of all subjects and needed help is to be given by the teacher if necessary. Whereas in Sweden the newly arrived children are taught in an international class, where the focus is SSL. SSL is a curriculum subject regulated in the Education Act.

For the latter aspect (accumulating new capital) certain abilities and working techniques are needed. Both countries seem to recognize these as important and name abilities like reflection, learning, developing opinions and standpoints, working with complex literature. The interviews show that such abilities are often missing but in high need to succeed in the German or Swedish education systems.

Social capital of UMs in general is not recorded explicitly in the documents, however their teachers can be counted as such. For Sweden, the interviewed teacher is not giving the school a particular role in social capital but simply identifies teachers, mother tongue teachers and the study guidance teacher as social network for UMs. Whereas in the German case, the teacher gives the school an important role in the UMs social capital. The role of the school as social capital, functioning as network for the UMs was discussed before: because of the loss of family, UMs need the school as one of the main areas where social capital and other capital forms as well can be accumulated. According to the data, the use of the school as network, or that is as social capital, is dependent on the individual engagement of the teachers and students.

Other than the mentioned aspects, the interviews in both countries identify a high motivation, seriousness and sense of responsibility towards school, learning and life goals. Those are not cultural or social capital, however they can influence its accumulation and incorporation in a positive way.
Also in both countries there is no particular profiling of the pupils, UMs are not mentioned as such and are therefore always seen as part of the whole student body. However, because of their unique life situation they have not the same background and needs as other immigrant children and the children socialized in the dominant culture. Due to the different socialization and background UMs have from the other children, they need to be differenced in order to identify and specify their learning needs.

Taking the concept of multicultural education into consideration, in order to reflect the discussed and compared results, it seems that the element of multicultural education or intercultural education are incorporated in both countries policies and curricula. However, the implementation and concrete execution for all pupils and specifically UMs is poor.

As stated in chapter 4 a multicultural perspective in education is to recognize “the social, political, and economic realities that individuals experience in culturally diverse and complex human encounters, and [...] the importance of culture, race, sex and gender, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, and exceptionalities in the education process” (NCARE, 1986, 47 cited in: Manning 1989, p. 14). This incorporates the recognition of cultural and social capital as well. However, it can be identified only in a limited way in the collected data, as in the MTT in Sweden and the language examination in the mother tongue in Germany and in different, but limited, ways throughout the different subjects.

8.3. Discussing Methods and Theoretical Framework

Reflecting on the methods used in this study, the document analysis and semi structures interviews, it can be stated at this point that the document analysis provides an overview of the recognition of cultural capital of UMs in policy in the selected countries. The semi-structured interviews are a contrasting juxtaposition and allow a comparison of policy and practice.

The analysis could be extended through more policies regarding immigration and policies on the international and European level. For Germany it would be of interest to select another state, to achieve a broader view for the country, which cannot be done by the selection of only one state. The semi-structured interviews provide a glimpse on the implementation of the policies and curricula in both countries. However a higher number of interviewed teachers at the same or other schools would provide more reliable results and not be as specific.
The theoretical framework, with the main aspect of Bourdieu’s concept of capital, was the guideline throughout the research. The findings show, that teachers cannot draw very much from the social and cultural capital of the UMs, due to the curriculum and policies which are laid out to favor the dominant culture and their capital. In Sweden however one can identify the recognition of the mother tongue as use of the cultural capital of UMs. Nevertheless in Germany the use of language as cultural capital in only reflected in the language examination, and that is not used in every case.

The concept of multicultural education was included as insight into how cultural capital from another group than the dominant one can be integrated in education. The framework was able to give the researcher the possibility to analyze the collected data as planned. However some phenomena (motivation, sense of responsibility and seriousness towards learning and school) identified in the interview data cannot be integrated in the theoretical framework. These do not influence the result in regard to the research question, although they are interesting aspects to consider for further research in the field.

9. Concluding Remarks

The aim of this study was to identify the cultural and social capital of UMs and its use and recognition in school in Germany and Sweden. The research questions to be answered were: What capital of unaccompanied minor refugees can be identified? Is their capital used in school, education policy and curricula? And, in what way is their capital used in school? The study was able to answer these questions with the help of the document analysis and the conducted interviews as illustration.

The hypothesis of the study was, that the cultural and social capital of the UMs differs from that of the target culture and thus is not so well recognized in the education policies and curricula as the capital of the majority group. Therefore it creates obstacles in education for these children although could be used in order to provide a needs-based and equal education.

UM distinguish themselves from other immigrant children through the fact that they don’t have their family as social capital. Losing this important source assigns the school an even bigger role for the accumulation of capital. Furthermore UMs usually have at a very young age a high level of responsibility for their life, that helps them to accumulate capital in school.
The restricted recognition formal schooling seems to give to the cultural capital of UMs\(^{41}\) in both countries is mainly based on language skills such as the mother tongue. This however is not sufficient to achieve an equal and needs-based education for UMs. Of course it is a step towards its achievement and particularly Sweden can be acknowledged for that, in contrast Germany still has to reach the successful implementation of MTT.

Although there are attempts to recognize other aspects of the UM’s capital, it cannot be said that it is effectively used or recognized in an adequate manner to give these children the same opportunities as children who have been socialized in the majority culture. The school subjects are dominated by the content and context of the westernized and dominant society. This supports the statement of (Harker 1990) that the school favors those children who have the capital of the dominant culture. Hence UMs have a rather poor position in the circle of social reproduction, consequently children with only a little amount of capital of the dominant culture have lower chances to be successful in school.

Also the lack of distinction between the different pupils, such as immigrant children, refugee children, UMs and children socialized in the dominant culture provides obstacles for the recognition of the cultural and social capital of UMs. Recognizing the difference between UMs and other immigrant children is necessary in order to understand their unique situation, their learning needs and to recognize their capital in school.

It is important to find ways to make this transition easier and to find other ways to recognize the pre-existing cultural capital of UMs besides language skills. The recognition cannot change in favor of UMs if there is no modification in the content of the curriculum. Policies and curricula need to leave possibilities for content variations according to the needs of the UMs. Or to offer subject options, additional subjects, or part of the subject with a Non-Eurocentric content as well, such as Islamic studies, social studies for non-westernized counties.

For further research it would interesting in Germany to research other states that may have other education policies regarding UMs. Moreover a bigger study with a higher number of interviewees and more schools would allow a broader perspective and give a more holistic picture of the situation. In addition there could be research focused on the UM’s identified high motivation, seriousness and responsibility towards learning and school.

\(^{41}\) This seems to apply for other immigrant children as well, hence the differentiation of immigrant children is only limited.
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Appendix A

Bray and Thomas Cube (2007)

Appendix B

Interview guide

1. Since when have you been a teacher? And particularly at this school?
   a. What subjects and levels do you teach?
   b. Did you had any training for teaching migrant children?
   c. (teaching Swedish as second language?)

2. What is your relation with/ to unaccompanied minor refugees? Please elaborate.
   - For how long have you been teaching UMs?
   - In which subjects did you teach UMs?
   - From which country was the child?/ countries were the children?

3. Can you tell me a bit more about the student/ students you taught?
   a. How old was he/she? Was he in the same age then the other pupils in the class
   b. For how long did you taught the student?
   c. In which subjects and on which levels did you taught the student?
   d. From which country is the child originally from?

4. What would you say distinguish unaccompanied minors from the rest of the children
   (the children from the majority culture and other migrant children)?

5. How would you describe the attitude/ mindset of unaccompanied minors towards
   school and learning?
   - Motivation, Appreciation

6. What kind of skills or abilities did you recognize in the unaccompanied minors you
   taught?
   - Language, Intercultural competencies, organizational skills, autonomy, Time
     management, adaptability, knowing how to study

7. What kind of knowledge did the child brought to school? What knowledge was
   already there?
   a. What knowledge could you recognize/ identify?
   b. Do you support/enable the child to use the knowledge in the classroom? How
      did you do that?
   - Knowledge about home country, values, traditions, cultures, art, religion, politics

8. How would you describe the language skills of UMs?
   - Their mother tongue, other languages, German
a. Does the school support the mother tongue of the student?
b. Is/ was there any support for learning German? Or and other support?

9. While teaching, did you recognize significant differences in the education background of the children and the curriculum in the school in Germany?

10. How would you describe the way of learning of the child?
   a. While teaching, did you recognize significant differences in the way of learning from the unaccompanied minors to other students with migration background or/ and to native students, whom grew up in the German school system?

11. How would you describe the adjustment to the school routine to the German school system?

12. Where do the Students have problems?/ What seems to be easy for them?

13. What can you say about the support system or social-net unaccompanied minors have in Germany?
   - Teachers, social worker, guardian

14. What kind of resources can the student use through the school?
   - Loan books, library
   - Use of computers in school
   - Are there opportunities for homework help, study groups etc.?

15. Before we finish the interview, is there anything else of interest about teaching UM children that you could tell me about.
Appendix C

Document analysis Germany.
The analysis is based on the concept of cultural capital of Bourdieu as elaborated in chapter 5.

C=general Curriculum G= German subject curriculum
H= History Subject curriculum S= Social Study subject curriculum
I= Intercultural Education in School N= National integration Plan
E = Education Act Saxony-Anhalt

Table 6. Document analysis Germany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code/ Categorization</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Content of Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Overall goals              | C: 3-4 | *Participation in the society:* Through amongst others, a tolerant and democratic life towards others in school, acceptance of the individual and its individuality.  
                        |      | *Coping with everyday life and global learning:* Learn to act responsibly and take responsibility for your own actions. To be open to new and foreign, develop own norms and values and to review opinions and judgments critically.  
                        |      | *Professional preparation:* Preparing the students for the requirements of the job market and to find adequate profession or occupation possibilities. |
| Need based                 | I: 3-5 | seeing diversity as normal and potential for all, support gaining intercultural competencies in tuition of all subjects, support of language education and Educational cooperation with parents |
| Institutionalized Cultural Capital | C: 8 | The tuition has to consider the abilities of the individual so that disadvantages can be excluded as far as possible.                                |
|                            | C: 9  | Each child should be supported individually, therefore the tuition needs to be organized differentiated. This include, recognizing the individuals learning speed, needed support, and counseling. |
|                            | E: §1 | Every child has the right to an education that promotes the abilities and talents of the individual child. Further is the school responsible to consider the individual learning needs and previous experiences of the students. |
| Use/ recognition of Embodied Cultural Capital | C: 10 | The learning process should integrate and add to the existing knowledge.                                                                             |
| G:2 | Used Literature can be contemporary or classical, it also can allow insights to other cultures [this can be an opportunity for UMs to use knowledge of their cultural background, M.N.]
| I: 7 | Acknowledgement of the multilingualism
| I: 8 | Addressing Tuition content from multiple levels. Developing intercultural learning opportunities during tuition. Important here, to coordinate international and intercultural learning activities with the subject content of the curriculum. Activities in the areas such as: Global learning and European Education
| I: 9 | Using the multilingualism and language skills of the students during tuition, using the mother tongue for activities during tuition.
| N: 25-26 | Support and promotion of multilingualism. Acknowledgement of multilingualism including the mother tongue. Here are new measures in need to support multilingualism in school.

Objectified Cultural Capital

| Social Capital | I: 10 | Cooperation between the school and different organization should support the intercultural education out of school. (for example: organizations for school exchange, youth clubs, Culture centers, Clubs and other institution)
| Accumulating new cultural capital of the dominant culture | C: 13 | Gaining Knowledge in the areas: science, culture, and social knowledge.
| G: 2 | Gaining general knowledge in Language, Literature and Media.
| H: 9 | General knowledge about history, important historic events, processes and structures. And knowledge about the national and regional history.
| S: 2 | Knowledge about democracy and democratic systems.
| S: 11 | Knowledge in society related topics and politics
| I: 8 | Language education is an core-element in ever subject- Support opportunities for all students who need particular support with their second language education [German in that case]
| N: 25-26 | Teachers give needed support to pupils to overcome language deficits in all subjects. Through new language support measures.
| C: 12 | Learning to learn is a central ability pupils should learn during secondary education, the ability to guide and reflect the learning process. Developing,
building on the prior experiences, further working methods and technics, so that the student are able to deduce their (learn-)environment and use it for problem solving.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C: 12</th>
<th>The ability to communicate in a variety of ways, describe, explain, compare, generalize, and draw conclusions.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C: 12</td>
<td>Social competencies, to communicate and cooperate, responsible and tolerant behavior, solving conflicts peacefully.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 13</td>
<td>Problem solving ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 13</td>
<td>Ability to gather information with different types of media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G: 2</td>
<td>Ability to understand and use different types of Media. And to understand foreign perspectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: 2</td>
<td>Ability to understand how History is related to the present and to the future.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D

Document analysis Swedish
The analysis is based on the concept of cultural capital of Bourdieu as elaborated in chapter 5.

C = Curriculum  E: Education Act 2010
R = Reforms according to EURYDICE (2015c)

Table 8. Document analysis Sweden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code/ Categorization</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Content of Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Overall goals               | C: 9 | Based on the Swedish Education Act in 2010, “education in the school system aims at pupils acquiring and developing knowledge and values. It should promote the development and learning of all pupils, and a lifelong desire to learn. Education should impact and establish respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which the Swedish society is based.” (p. 9) Furthermore should every person working in a school “encourage respect for the intrinsic value of each person [...]” (p. 9)
|                             |      | The values of the school are amongst other the equal value of all people and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable (this includes UMs). Furthermore the represented ethics are originate in Christian tradition and Western humanism which includes amongst others tolerance, responsibility sense of justice and generosity of spirit. Appreciate cultural diversity
|                             |      | Awareness of one’s own cultural origin and a shared cultural heritage, helps to secure identity
|                             |      | Ability to value and understand the values and conditions of others
| Need based                  | C: 10| “Teaching should be adapted to each pupil’s circumstances and needs.”(p. 10)
|                             |      | The learning process should be based the students “backgrounds, earlier experience, language and knowledge.” (p. 10)
| Institutionalized Cultural Capital | C: 16| Teachers should: “take into account each individual’s needs, circumstances, experiences and thinking” (p. 16)
|                             |      | “stimulate, guide and give special support to pupils that have difficulties.” (p. 16)
| R: n.d.                     |      | Recourses were made available in 2014 for the achievement of higher learning outcomes of newly arrived children (through for example more reading lessons and better teacher training). [Leads
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Use/ recognition of Embodied Cultural Capital</strong></th>
<th>to better results in to final school leaving certificate, M.N.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C: 12</td>
<td>Promoting an international perspective develops tolerance and understanding for cultural diversity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 12</td>
<td>Self-development and personal growth should not only focus on the intellectual factor but also practical (sensual, aesthetic) aspects. Further should activities as drama, dance, music and art to develop different ways of expression.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 14</td>
<td>Next to values, views and problems of the Swedish society, those of others or different once should be openly communicated and discussed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 15</td>
<td>Students should be given the chance to learn another foreign language, beside from English. [this could in some cases the official language of the home country of the UM, M.N.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 83</td>
<td>Mother tongue tuition Pupils should have the opportunity to develop their skills in their mother tongue (written and spoken), to become confident and express them self in different contexts. It also helps the pupils to develop their cultural identity. The mother tongue tuition should also develop a better sense of the culture and society where the mother tongue is spoken.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **Objectified Cultural Capital** | **Mother tongue tuition** Mother tongue tuition is regulated trough the education act. | **Social Capital**

Objectified Cultural Capital

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Accumulating new cultural capital of the dominant culture</strong></th>
<th><strong>Cultural heritage is one aspect that is included in responsibilities of education and upbringing students, it involves the development and passing on of that cultural heritage from generation to generation. This include values, language, traditions and knowledge. [this does not necessary only mean the Swedish culture, according to their overall goals; M.N]</strong></th>
<th><strong>Education Act 2010: All pupils, regardless of whether they attend a municipal or independent school, are to have access to a school library. (EURYDICE 2015b)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C: 11</td>
<td>The language ability is strengthened and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: 14</td>
<td>Values, views and problems of the Swedish society should be clarified and discussed.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>C: 15</strong></td>
<td>To develop the knowledge that is necessary to be a member of society [the Swedish society, M.N.] is responsibility of the school.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C: 15</strong></td>
<td>By the end of compulsory schooling pupils should be able to use the Swedish language (rich and varied way); communicate in English; mathematical reasoning; knowledge in areas as science, technology, social science, humanistic, aesthetic areas; knowledge about the Swedish, Nordic and Western cultural heritage.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C: 15</strong></td>
<td>Pupils should acquire knowledge about the national minorities (culture, language, history) [however this only includes specific minority groups, not UMs]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C: ?</strong></td>
<td>Swedish as second language (SSL) SSL should enable pupils to express themselves confidently in the Swedish (written and spoken) in different contexts. Not only the language skills should be developed, also knowledge about literature and texts from different periods and part of the world, non-fiction and performing arts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E: 10kap/4§</strong></td>
<td>Also Swedish as second language as subject is regulated in the Education Act</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Learning abilities to accumulate capital | C: 12 | Addressing issues in school with an ethical perspective should “support pupils in developing their ability form personal standpoints.” (p. 12) |
| C: 15 | Learn and can make use of critical thinking, formulate standpoints based on knowledge and ethics. |
| C: 15 | Learn the ability to “interact with other people based on Knowledge of similarities and differences in living conditions, culture, language, religion and history.” (p. 15) |
## Appendix E

### Table 7. Interview Analysis

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Institutionalized Cultural Capital</strong></td>
<td>313-317</td>
<td>Experience have shown, that almost all UMs can achieve a degree, at least a “Hauptschul-degree”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Embodied Cultural Capital</strong></td>
<td>177-180</td>
<td>Only little knowledge in the sense of what in the school is recognized as knowledge. Particularly the Natural sciences. Those are often life foreign.</td>
<td>98-100</td>
<td>Break from School during the travel. [→loss of knowledge/capitl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>182-183</td>
<td>Often UMs bring Language skills such as English. Farwat for example had skills in Russian. Those skills are acquired during their flight and the countries they went through.</td>
<td>251-266</td>
<td>Math tends to be a subject were a lot of students are on the same level as the students socialized in Sweden. However History or social studies, religion or geography may not have been a high focus on in the home country or the context is not relevant at all for the school here. Since the classes here are Eurozentric if not focused on Sweden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>184-189</td>
<td>They have almost no curricular knowledge, basic skills in math for example, but almost no other knowledge</td>
<td>160-165</td>
<td>Traditions from home country can be used in projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>304-311</td>
<td>The knowledge UMs have varies highly. From basic skills to children with rather higher education background. This also depends on the time they lost in school, from the last school visit in their home country to the first school visit in the target country (in this case Germany)</td>
<td>172-179</td>
<td>Politics in the home country can be used in class discussions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>237-264</td>
<td>If language history is addressed during the tuition, there will be asked</td>
<td>213-214</td>
<td>Mother tongue tuition is after school. At the moment are not so many students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital</td>
<td>76-78</td>
<td>Help from classmates and teachers</td>
<td>64-69</td>
<td>The lack of family of the UMs creates worry for them</td>
</tr>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88-90</td>
<td>School to some extant a family replacement (in <em>Farwart’s case</em>)</td>
<td>71-84</td>
<td>The people at the places where the UMs live can be engaged in their lives or not, it differs between accommodations. Also the legal guardian is an important actor, there it depends as well on the person, some are very engaged, some are not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>119-122</td>
<td>The legal guardian has to overtake tasks usually parents would do, however they usually have several children to look after which makes the task hard</td>
<td>375-384</td>
<td>Theoretically there is a good social network and support system, but it depends on how engaged the people are. This includes the legal guardian, social workers/ people who work with them in the group home, people from the social department.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>339-345</td>
<td>The students in the class (particularly the boys) included Farwat from the beginning. One friend in particular, and his family</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>373-389</td>
<td>The Legal guardian cannot always compensate for everything the UM needs, teachers, classmates and their parents seem to play a more important role. They</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
can develop a relationship with the UM. The authorities and support systems usually are overloaded. Also they do not have an emotional bond with the children, which might not be ideal for them. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of cultural capital of Ums in School</th>
<th>190-194</th>
<th>Russian is subject at the school, therefore Farwat’s language skills could be used in his education.</th>
<th>160-165</th>
<th>Talking about traditions in general and not only about Sweden. So everybody can share own traditions. It can also be turned into a project, then the students have to write and talk about their traditions.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>195-204</td>
<td>The use of their knowledge which they have through their cultural background can be incorporated to some extend in subjects like philosophy and social science, English and Russian. Also Farwat used his personal biography for his “years assignment/thesis”</td>
<td>172-179</td>
<td>Political systems (Politics) are addressed in the same manner as the traditions are. Talking about them and share their knowledge and experiences (to the extend the students want to). Watching the news supports the discussion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>251-266</td>
<td>History or social studies, religion or geography may not have been a high focus on in the home country or the context is not relevant at all for the school here. Since the classes here are Eurocentric if not focused on Sweden. Therefore “it won’t help you with a grade here.”</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>281-291</td>
<td>For example studying the human body, some students have already studied the human body in more detail, some not as much. Therefore some only need to learn the words, others need to learn more about the subject itself. The teachers try to adjust the class to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Pages</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Pages</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accumulating new capital of the dominant culture</td>
<td>285-289</td>
<td>To improve the language skills in German for UMs, the teacher try to support the students as good as they can during tuition.</td>
<td>192-199</td>
<td>The language skills seem not different from those of other immigrant or refugee children. The important thing is that they have someone to talk to in Swedish or have a context to speak Swedish in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>54-55, 72</td>
<td>Very high motivation</td>
<td>92-93</td>
<td>Very strong motivation, mixed with trouble concentrating and frustration about the situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seriousness</td>
<td>99-100</td>
<td>UMs seem to have a different seriousness when it come to their life goals.</td>
<td>116-122</td>
<td>They are often very disciplined and thoughtful, not like teenagers or children. That can be positive for their studies “but to what price?” (121-122)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sens of responsibility</td>
<td>108-114</td>
<td>They have to take responsibility for their own life early and that is what they normally do. They do not have youthful lightness.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need of Ability to</td>
<td>128-130</td>
<td>Working methods are</td>
<td>347-358</td>
<td>The ability to reflect is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>+-----------------+-------------------------------------------------+---------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>incorporate embodied cultural capital</strong></td>
<td>missing, due to the long flight and the lack of schooling during that time.</td>
<td>often missing as well as the ability to state their own opinion. Those are very important to succeed in the Swedish school system.</td>
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<td>136-142 Ability to write the Latin letters, and the concept of capitalized letters (arose in some cases)</td>
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<tr>
<td>142-147 Ability to understand and work with complex novels</td>
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<td><strong>Practical Skills</strong> 420-423 The Rudolf Steiner school has many activities in the practical area as well, which has nothing to do with language. Also the UMs are doing work experiences/ internships.</td>
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<td><strong>Communication</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>105-110 UMs have an instinct and will to communicate, even though they know only a few words, they find other ways. Since they are here alone, without their families, “they also have to make it on their own” (108)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Independent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>124-126 They have the will to manage things on their own, they don’t often ask for help.</td>
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