Edited by
Mateja Sedmak
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Migrant Children's Integration and Education in Europe

Approaches, Methodologies and Policies

universidad

Octaedro

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Reflection on Migrant Children's Integration and the Role of Education

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> What a sad era when it is easier to smash an atom than a prejudice.
> *Albert Einstein*

Introduction

This book reflects on a specific aspect of children's migration, namely the process of their integration into European societies.[1] It focuses particularly on education as one of the most important and powerful resources promoting the participation and inclusion of migrant children into host societies. The discussion on the integration of migrant children is timely and important, considering the ubiquity of migration trends across the globe. According to data from 2019, there were 7,258,770 migrant

1 The chapter is published with the financial support of the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation program under grant agreement No 822664 and Slovenian Research Agency program "Liminal Spaces: Areas of Cultural and Societal Cohabitation in the Age of Risk and Vulnerability" (No P6-0279).

children living in the EU (non-EU migrants and internal EU migrants), representing approximately 15 per cent of the total EU migrant population (UN DESA 2019). As reported by Eurostat (2019), the number of third-country national children in the EU alone is around 4.3 million, which equals roughly 4.5 per cent of the total EU population under the age of 18. The highest proportions of underage third-country nationals among EU Member States in 2018 were recorded in Estonia (13.5%), Latvia (13.8%), Austria (7.8%), Germany (6.6%), Luxembourg (7.2%), Malta (6.0%), Italy (5.9%), Greece (5.6%), Spain (5.6%), Sweden (5.4%), Slovenia (5.0%), Denmark (4.9%). However, while analysing data, we must consider that statistics about migrant children in Europe are incomplete due to undocumented and irregular underage migrants who are left out of official evidence.

Given these figures, the need to address the issue of migrant children's integration in order to ensure democratic, inclusive and cohesive societies becomes even more pressing. Successful integration has important benefits, both for individuals and for society as a whole. On the one hand, it enables migrant children to fulfil their full potential and ensures long-term social, economic and political participation in society. On the other hand, integration is an important asset for local communities, as it helps to promote tolerance, acceptance and respect for diversity, strengthens the awareness and capacity of people to overcome prejudices, fears and stereotypes towards 'others'. Diverse, welcoming and cohesive societies are places where all of us feel at ease, safe and a 'part of' – places where everyone would like to live. In the long term, successful integration leads to successful management of cultural and ethnic diversity and a strong, cohesive society. In particular, early integration of migrant children in preschool and school settings has proven to be especially effective in building an inclusive and equal society, avoiding future social exclusion that leads to poverty and exploitation. Inadequate (or lack of) integration measures, on the other hand, can lead to various forms of rights violation, social inequality, exclusion, segregation and ghettoisation.

Integration of migrant children is a multidimensional phenomenon, involving different actors (migrant children and families, schools, teachers and peers, local community members, etc.) and affecting micro (children), meso (family, ethnic community, local community) and macro (state and society) levels of social life. Integration can be perceived as 'a three-way process', influenced, first, by characteristics of the country of origin, second, by the size, role and functioning of the immigrant community in the host society and, third, by the characteristics of the host countries, which differ in their immigration policies as well as in

the structure of migrant groups and the degree of acceptance of migrants (e.g. Tubergen 2006; Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016). Integration is also seen, in contrast to assimilation, as a process of interaction between migrants and the local community that influences and changes both migrants and host societies, and leads to social change and the formation of hybrid cultures, identities and belongings (Bhabha 1994).

When discussing their integration, one must take into account that migrant children do not form a homogeneous social group. Rather, they are diversified in terms of past experiences, present situations and future aspirations. They differ in terms of their legal status, as this group includes economic migrants, refugee children, asylum seekers, undocumented and irregular migrants. On top of that, they have different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, belong to different ethnic groups, and differ in terms of gender, age, socioeconomic status, cultural and social capital and so on. The heterogeneity of migrant children as a social group implies that their social integration must be understood as an intersectional phenomenon.

In addition, migrant children are considered especially vulnerable and often underprivileged due to their lack of language knowledge, often low socioeconomic status of migrant families, lack of social networks, etc., which put them under the greater risk of social exclusion (Dežan and Sedmak 2020).

Internal heterogeneity is also reflected in the diversity of contemporary debates on migrant children, which touch upon a wide spectrum of topics and methodological approaches in research, deal with vast range of pedagogical, educational and integrational approaches, and address diverse regional and national policies on migrant children's integration. In academia, one of the topical themes that has evolved around migrants is the issue of identity, identification, differentiation between 'us' and 'them' and the constructions of multiple, hybrid and transcultural identities (Hall 1996; Anthias 2008; Welsch 1997) and acculturation (Berry 1997). Studies of migrant children often emphasise the role of religion (Lee 2018; Riaz 2015; Ricucci 2016) and family on the integration of migrant children (Moskal and Sime 2016; Nakeyar *et al.* 2018). Finally, scholarship addressing the integration of migrant children also widely addresses their wellbeing and mental health and the role of education in this regard (Soriano and Cala 2018; Tonheim *et al.* 2015; Anastassiou 2017) as well as barriers to integration such as nationalism, xenophobia and discrimination (Jensen *et al.* 2012; Agirdag, Van Houtteand and Van Avermaet 2012; Åhlund and Jonsson 2016).

Indeed, many studies see interpersonal and institutional discrimination as one of the main obstacles to successful integration. Arun *et al.*

(2019: 12) note that while institutional discrimination is prevalent, it is not brought to the fore because its cause is often not 'prejudiced individuals' and also because the ideals of integration and non-discrimination are often part of national narratives. In particular, national narratives carry a strong ideology of avoiding difference and emphasising shared values and experiences; this results in hidden pressure for 'sameness', leading to assimilation and the construction of a national identity on racial and religious grounds that excludes all who are different (ibid.).

However, it is not only institutional pressures towards migrant children that are observed by researchers. At the interpersonal level, some authors speak of informal 'peer pressure' to assimilate (Pryce *et al.* 2018; Ricucci 2016) and show that migrant children are affected by processes of inclusion and exclusion that develop around the concept of 'otherness', discrimination and ethnic labelling (Åhlund and Jonsson 2016; Atamturk 2018; Agirdag *et al.* 2012; Rosenbaum 2001; Ross and Broh 2000; Ross and Mirowsky 1989; Van Houtte and Stevens 2008). Research from various European countries confirm that explicit physical forms of violence towards migrant children are rare, although more subtle forms of aggression such as verbal harassment, bullying and rudeness are widespread and common in school settings (Arun *et al.* 2019; Sedmak *et al.* 2014). Studies also highlight that the 'wrong' ethnic background alone is rarely the sole cause of interethnic violence and is usually associated with other determinants such as personal characteristics, low economic status, etc. (Medarić and Žakelj 2014; Zavratnik *et al*. 2008). Moreover, numerous studies conclude that discriminatory attitudes, either from peers or teachers, negatively affect migrant children's overall wellbeing, academic achievement, school performance, school dropout, self-esteem, psychological resilience, mental health, etc. (Fisher, Wallace and Fenton 2000; Thomas *et al*. 2009; van Dijk *et al*. 2011; Wong *et al*. 2003; Agirdag *et al.* 2012; Rosenbaum 2001; Ross and Broh 2000; Ross and Mirowsky 1989; Van Houtte and Stevens 2010; D'hondt *et al*. 2016; Isik-Ercan 2015; Zine 2006; Walton *et al*. 2013). Finally, attitudes of pupils (and educational staff) toward migrant children and youth are driven also by the wider societal context and the prevailing media discourse (Mirovni Inštitut *et al*. 2019; Sedmak *et al.* 2019).

At the same time, research with refugee or migrant students and teachers has found that positive relationships between migrant students and teachers significantly contribute to students' wellbeing and pro-social behaviour (Dockett and Perry 2004), sense of belonging and engagement (Isik-Ercan 2015; Klem and Connell 2004; Ryan and Patrick 2001), learning success as well as facilitating friendly and welcoming peer relationships within the classroom (Pugh, Every and Hattam 2012;

de Heer, Due and Riggs 2015). Also, positive student–teacher relationships are important in terms of counteracting possible negative effects that are not related directly to school environment such as poor family relationships and low socioeconomic status (e.g. see Hamre and Pianta 2005). In the case of refugee or migrant students specifically, teacher relationships at school may be one of the first relationships migrants have in the community, which is why teachers as such and their relationship with migrant students are so important for pursuing general integration principles and achieving successful inclusion. Finally, research about interethnic violence in the school environment found that maintaining a consistent school-wide attitude towards (interethnic) violence – such as policies of zero tolerance in response to violence as well as policies for transmitting values of solidarity, tolerance and respect – is seen as an efficient way to prevent violent behaviour in schools (Sedmak and Medarić 2012). Educational community and school systems in this sense play a momentous role as an institution, responsible for ensuring a safe and welcoming place for all children. Examples of good practices we came across in our research and elsewhere persuasively demonstrate that schools can really make a difference.

Integration or inclusion?

The concept of migrant integration has been used in different ways. Trying to overcome the increasing terminological confusion that has emerged in consequence of a multiplicity of academic and political debates, at least two distinct usages of this term must be mentioned. Migrant integration is used first as an empirical or descriptive notion referring to the 'process of settlement, interaction with the host society, and social change that follows immigration' (Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016: 11). In relation to this, migrant integration is grasped in a sociological perspective which adopts an empirical position when examining how integration is constructed in actual social relations and the practices of diverse actors in diverse social and political fields. Second, the term migrant integration can be used as a normative (policy) concept and a governing practice, which includes specific assumptions about what good integration is, how it is problematised, what are its objectives, how it is to be achieved, what are indicators of successful integration. Migrant integration in this regard refers to national or supranational decisions, specific proposals, programmes, theories or models that guide this specific field and have impact on people's lives to achieve the desired state

of affairs and outcomes. The use of the term integration at the level of policy is hence essentially value-laden, highly normative and action-oriented, proposing what we as a (political) community should do rather than merely describing how we are.

At the EU level, policy has long relied on the term migrant integration to refer to processes of interaction between migrants and local communities, where migrants should have access to a full range of rights and the local population should foster welcoming, diverse and inclusive societies, based on intercultural dialogue, including interreligious dialogue between faith communities, respect for human rights and European values (EC 2011, 2016). As seen, the concept of inclusion is integrated within its understanding of integration; for instance, the *Action Plan on the Integration of Third Country Nationals* argues that 'integration of third country nationals is and should be an integral part of efforts to modernise and build inclusive social, education, labour market, health and equality policies, in order to offer meaningful opportunities for all to participate in society and the economy' (EC 2016: 4).

When it comes to children, education and language acquisition are seen as the most powerful tools for integration and socialisation as well as for advancing basic skills and as the foundation for further learning and the gateway to employment and social inclusion (EC 2016: 7–8), while elements of 'inclusion' more evidently manifest in that the integration of migrant children is conceived as dependent on the support of the school community in promoting inclusive education and addressing the specific needs of migrant learners (EC 2016: 8). Additionally, EC integration policy measures commit to the inclusion of migrant children by supporting and encouraging intercultural awareness, aiming to remove barriers to the participation of third-country national girls and boys to early childhood education, promoting the capacity building of teachers and school staff to gain the skills needed to manage diversity and promoting the recruitment of teachers with a migrant background (EC 2016: 8).

Despite the evident emphasis on how societies have to accept and adapt to migrants, European and national policies have predominately put the burden of integration on migrants, to become true 'Europeans' (Islam, Rohde and Huerta 2019: 7). In response to such critiques – that migrants are expected to melt into an 'imagined' shared European identity – alternatives to the term *integration* were introduced at the EU policy level as well. The most recent European Commission document addressing this policy field no longer speaks just of integration; in late 2020, the Commission confirmed the *Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021–2027*. In the light of this, it seems that the additional emphasis on

'inclusion' in relation to migrant issues has been introduced mainly to point out even more explicitly the responsibility of local communities for the integration of migrants and migrant children, to highlight the political legitimacy of migrants' identity and to expose the diversity of modes to be European.

While the Action Plan indeed devotes more attention and gives priority to fostering social cohesion and building inclusive societies for all, it can be observed that it uses the notions of integration and inclusion, with small nuances, almost as synonyms. Hence, our research positionality invites to problematise the use of concepts that are becoming entrenched. Bernstein, in a personal conversation, argued that social definitions that become so sclerotised that they offer only one meaning are no longer useful for understanding the complexity and evolution of social phenomena since they are somehow empty. Motero (2020: 80) argues that 'social changes modify words; but we can also give words a little push to change society'. These quotations help us to situate that historically educational and political systems have followed a path marked by exclusion (of the poor, the women, those with special needs, migrants, etc.) to start proposing integration, inclusion and attempts at cosmopolitanism (Popkewitz 2009).

In the field of pedagogy, which developed a specific disciplinary debate on integration vs. inclusion, the first step from exclusion to integration and subsequent inclusion began with attention to special needs. People with different physical and psychological conditions from the majority were excluded from education systems, then integrated, and since the 1994 UNESCO Salamanca Statement, which changed the focus of special education policies to respond to diversity within a common school for all students (Vislie 2003), included. Similarly, the inclusion of ethnic minorities and migrants in education was conceptualised within the framework of multicultural education (Banks 2010); the latter gradually started to gain recognition in the 1970s in the context of the human rights movement, when various marginalised social groups demanded that educational institutions be reformed so they would face less discrimination. Multicultural education, as understood by Banks, essentially rests on inclusion and means 'a reform movement that is trying to change the schools and other educational institutions so that students from all social-class, gender, racial, language, and cultural groups will have an equal opportunity to learn' (Banks 2010: 4).

Currently, we find more and more voices discussing the difference between integration and inclusion in other domains as well. Even from the business world, Banishoeib (2017, paraphrased), founder of ReNEW Business, argues that there is a substantial difference between the notions

of integration and inclusion. For her, integration is incorporation into society or an organisation, such as schools, of individuals of different groups. Which is the case when organisations create a dedicated group to address minorities, such as migrant children, while inclusion means that any person has the same rights, access and choices as everyone else in a community. Inclusion is a universal human right. While both terms, inclusion and integration, strive to an aim to build cohesive society, where all members have opportunities to participate equally in political, economic, social and cultural life, it seems that inclusion, to a greater extent than integration, attempts to overcome unidimensional definitions of 'European identity', preferring instead to recognise that there are many ways of being European (Islam *et al.* 2019: 7).

We can say the same about meeting the educational needs of the migrant population. Authors such as Barker *et al.* (2018) and Pötzsch (2020) have highlighted the significant epistemic and social differences between integration and inclusion in education systems and the enormous variation in terms of educational policies and pedagogical issues. Especially considering that inclusion is: enforcing the creation of relationships; shifting 'the burden of responsibility for adaption from migrants to society by emphasizing the proactive role of public and private institutions in addressing structural obstacles to migrant inclusion such as racism and discrimination' (Pötzsch 2020: 19); building on the 'idea that everyone is different, and all can contribute positively to society' (Barker *et al.* 2018: 13); 'changing and evolving the norms', as 'integration does not require an effort to identify and change your norms' (ibid.); banishing the idea that 'there is something wrong that must be fixed in order to fit into the present system' (Harman 2016: 1).

Promoting inclusion means that education systems serve every child, regardless of their background and social, cultural and physical conditions. This is a goal that requires a great deal of effort to achieve – an endeavour that requires the whole of society, not just the education systems. In research and educational terms, it means rethinking onto-epistemological, ethical and methodological positioning. It means looking at migrant children, young people and adults as 'a legitimate other' (Maturana 1990: 24), not as 'inert materials to be prodded, poked and pontificated upon – they are active agents that have viewpoints, aspirations and designs for their futures, which they are not at all reticent in speaking vociferously into existence' (Smyth and McInerney 2012: 1). Hence the need for researchers, educators and policy-makers to listen to them, to look at them, to try to understand them, not to judge them.

Whether we are talking about integration or inclusion, Banks's (1998, 2010) concepts of multicultural education in schools seem to be the

pedagogical approach that can meet the needs of both migrant and local children and migrant and local community. It builds on five main perspectives: (1) content integration – meaning that teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures in their teaching; (2) the knowledge construction process – meaning that teachers help students to understand, investigate and determine the implicit cultural assumptions and frames of reference and perspectives of the discipline they're teaching; (3) prejudice reduction – meaning that educators use methods to help children develop more positive racial attitudes; (4) an equity pedagogy – meaning that teachers modify their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, gender and social-class groups; and (5) an empowering school culture and social structure – meaning that the whole school community nourishes a culture that empowers students from diverse racial, ethnic and gender groups.

Overview of the chapters

The book contains 17 contributions, which are structured in four parts. Part I *Conceptualising the integration of migrant children* consists of three chapters, which critically reflect on the concept of the integration of migrant children, present some theoretical and conceptual backgrounds, methodological and policy issues and challenges, and, finally, reflect on the relationship between integrational policy and practice in the area of education. Part II *Research projects on migrant children* presents three projects that were granted funding within the programme Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Action under the topic Mapping and Overcoming Integration Challenges for Migrant Children in 2019. In Part III *Migrant children's integration and education*, seven chapters offer analysis of specific experiences of the integration of migrant children in different national contexts, while Part IV *Integration practices for migrant children and youth* presents various practices for the promotion of better inclusion of migrant children in different national contexts.

The first chapter, *Child migrants 'integrating': What do we know so far?* written by Shoba Arun, Gavin Bailey and Aleksandra Szymczyk, reveals that integration is not an either/or process but rather a complex pathway through the life of a migrant child which is simultaneously experienced in education, health, the local community and several other domains. The authors reconsider the integration of migrant children by outlining the barriers and the contexts in which education and integration occur and

also what children and young people themselves might want to integrate into. Theoretically, they start from the theory of 'anchoring'. The chapter thus conceptualises stability and change as built upon each person's 'anchors' and 'holds', mainly exploring the role of schools and educators in integration process while maintaining a child-centred perspective.

In Chapter 2, *What are the problems? Reception communities and the EU integration environment*, Vlasta Jalušič and Veronika Bajt address the integration policy level while revealing that policies that are pertinent to the integration process embody much more than just explicit integration policies. Namely, the policies formulate the problem, giving it normative framing, and define concrete solutions or policy measures that should serve to solve the defined problem and therefore be implemented. The authors explore the main threads of EU policies that shape the transnational context of the integration of migrants and migrant children in education. They present five main intersecting frameworks, which are crucial to understanding the current EU policy agenda and trends in integrating migrant children through education, namely: (a) the diversity and intercultural education frame, (b) the human (child) rights in education frame, (c) the social inclusion frame, (d) the migrant's contribution frame, 'performance' and costs frame, and (e) the evidence-based policy frame.

Part I concludes with Chapter 3 *Initiatives to promote the integration of migrant children in schools and society: Identifying and problematising the notion of 'good practices' in the Spanish context*, where Pablo Rivera-Vargas, Raquel Miño and Fernando Hernández-Hernández critically reflect on initiatives that aim to promote the integration of migrant children in the school system and are identified and considered as being 'good practices'. The authors attempt to answer, first, what are the most important conceptual contradictions related to the identification of the notion of 'good practices' and, second, what are main interests and contextual characteristics behind the identification of the successful initiatives?

Part II *Research projects on migrant children* starts with Chapter 4 *The child-centred approach to the integration of migrant children: The MiCREATE project* by Barbara Gornik and Mateja Sedmak. The authors present the project 'Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe' (MiCREATE) and explain its distinctive focus, namely, a child-centred approach to research, integration policy and practice in migrant children's education. They first explain the general principles of the child-centred approach as an epistemological approach, how it is constructed and communicated. Second, they describe the use of the child-centred approach in research methodology, focusing particularly on participant observation, art-based methods and narrative interviews. Third, they

present how the MiCREATE project applies the child-centred approach to migrant integration at the policy and education level. Finally, they reflect on importance of a child-centred approach to migrant integration – what are its benefits and how can such an approach facilitate the inclusion of migrant children in practice?

Another Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation is presented in Chapter 5 *The approach of the CHILD-UP project to children-centred and dialogic education*. Here Claudio Baraldi presents the 'Children Hybrid Integration: Learning Dialogue as a way of Upgrading Policies of Participation' (CHILD-UP) project which started in January 2019 and deals with the integration of migrant children in seven European countries (Belgium, Germany, Finland, Italy, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom). The CHILD-UP project recognises the agency of migrant children and the fact that their agency is crucial for policies and social interventions concerning their integration. The aim of the CHILD-UP project is to analyse dialogic practices in the education system which can enhance migrant children's agency. The chapter reflects the connections between the social constraints of children's lives and children's agency, explores how children's cultural background is linked to their agency, explains how the child-centred approach can be applied in the education system and presents some outcomes of the project with a reflection on the possibilities and limitations of a child-centred approach in the education system.

In Chapter 6 *A comprehensive approach to the study of socio-educational inclusion of migrant children in Europe: IMMERSE research project*, Eva Bajo Marcos, Inmaculada Serrano and Mercedes Fernández García present the project 'Mapping the integration of refugee and migrant children in Europe' which has arisen as a response to increased migratory flows to the European Union, addressing especially migrant children with the aim to safeguard their rights as well as the social cohesion of Europe as such. IMMERSE's main objective is to create socio-educational indicators for monitoring the inclusion of migrant and refugee children, and thus improve European policies regarding the integration of migrant children. The project, involving six countries – Spain, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Belgium and Greece – aims to focus on micro, meso and macro levels and is based on an integral view of educational context, theory of inclusive interculturalism and co-creative and participative methodologies.

In Chapter 7 *Possibilities, difficulties, tensions and risks in a child-centred approach in educational research*, authors Miguel Stuardo-Concha, Sara Carrasco Segovia and Fernando Hernández-Hernández reflect upon the main concept underlying the Horizon MiCREATE project, namely a child-centred approach. This approach introduces the need for decon-

structions of the usual way of conducting educational and social research in order to consider the participation and interests of children. The chapter reflects on the tendencies that emerge around the construct of a child-centred approach and how the process of researching under this construct takes place, and it explores what are the connections between the child-centred approach and inclusive research. Finally, a child-centred methodological and theoretical approach is reflected through the participation and implementation of the authors as researchers. In this respect, the chapter enquires about the tensions, risks, threats and possibilities of this approach in educational research.

Part III *Migrant children's integration and education* starts with Chapter 8 *The challenges of integrating migrant children into the Slovenian education system* in which Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik and Klara Kožar Rosulnik present the experiences and challenges entailed in the integration of migrant children in Slovenian educational settings. The authors illustrate the data gained in nurseries, primary and secondary schools between 2018 and 2020 with the help of a critical communicative methodology. The gained data provide an insight into the social climate in nurseries and schools, the way educators act and react to children of different nationalities, the attitudes of educators towards diversity, multilingualism and multiculturalism, examples of good practice and main integrational challenges. The chapter presents some key issues, such as the policy of direct school entry, insufficient hours of Slovene language lessons, imprecise regulations on the assessment of migrant students, unsuccessful communication and cooperation with parents, and the absence of topics related to multiculturalism and inclusion during the teachers' professional training.

Chapter 9 *Integration of migrant children in Spanish schools: Policies, practices, tensions and challenges* by Judit Onsès Segarra and Marina Riera Retamero focuses on education in Spain, exploring national, local and school policies and practices for migrant children's integration in education. The chapter presents policies and practices related to migrant children's integration in the Spanish educational system and explores the tensions and challenges for the educational community, practitioners and policy-makers in this respect. The presented data were obtained within the European research MiCREATE project and the fieldwork was carried out with members of the educational community. The chapter also draws up a map of Spanish practices and programmes that, following different methods and strategies, try to better integrate migrant children into Spanish schools and society.

In Chapter 10 *Cultural disadvantage and immigrant students in Spain: Current issues and proposals for improvement*, María José Arroyo González, Ignacio Berzosa Ramos and Inmaculada González-Falcón reflect on ed-

ucational opportunities of migrant children in the Spanish context but from a different perspective. They present an analysis of everyday school reality and the pillars upon which educational measures to attend to culturally disadvantaged students should be based in order to allow them to achieve the same educational milestones as their peers. The chapter also reveals the main challenges facing migrant students in the Spanish educational system such as the difference in their academic trajectories compared with native students, vehicular language learning programmes, active methodologies of learning in the classroom, teacher training and the role of the language of origin in learning. Finally, the authors reveal intercultural principles of education as the most appropriate approach to the education of all children, migrant and indigenous.

Chapter 11 *Education policy in intercultural community contexts* by Maria Jesús Igual Calvo is devoted to analysis of the foundations on which intercultural education practices have been developed in the past two decades in the Catalan context. The author presents the extent to which everyday practices actually reflect guidelines and policies and put into play the theory of intercultural education. The chapter focus on questions as to how, through educational practices in the community, intercultural education is applied by different agents and what factors foster and hinder the social and educational inclusion of students from different cultural origins. It explores the education policies that determine the actions of inclusion in culturally diverse communities, challenges for cultural diversity inclusion in a specific intercultural context, specific conditions that facilitate the management of cultural diversity and the impact of the economic crisis on the implementation of educational and integrational policies.

In Chapter 12 *Migrants at school: A critical analysis of educational linguistic policies and practices in Brazil*, Gabriela da Silva Bulla, Rodrigo Lages and Silva Bruna Souza de Oliveira focus on educational linguistic policies and discuss current constraints and challenges regarding the inclusion of contemporary migrants in state schools in Brazil. The authors define *linguistic policies* as decisions about the uses of a language (or languages) and its users in different domains. The chapter is based on research conducted in 2016 at a state school in the city of Porto Alegre, the capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, in the south of Brazil, supported by research undertaken in different parts of the country, and it highlights key points of pressure that call for educational policy responses committed to realising the inclusivity advocated in the law. The chapter first summarise the migration history that constituted Brazil and presents the current migratory scenario as a background for the discussions on educational linguistic policy for better inclusion of contemporary migrants in schools.

Adam Bulandra and Jakub Kościółek, authors of Chapter 13, *The local dimension of children's integration in the educational system in Poland*, discuss problems and challenges that migrant children face in Polish educational settings. They reveal that shortcomings identified as structural issues or reluctance of the central government are more or less successfully overcome by the actions, programmes and practices of local governments. They show how local governments are struggling with national educational policies that defer integration of migrants or do not correspond to actual needs. In this regard the chapter discuss the importance of cooperation between local communities, non-governmental institutions and local authorities in relation to migrant children's integration challenges, and shows how overcoming the identified shortcomings leads to educational innovations at the local level that are shared between the cities and demonstrate good practices for others. In addition, the chapter describes the main intercultural projects run by local governments in different Polish cities, showing diverse approaches to integration issues and different levels of the migrant children's empowerment in the educational systems.

Part IV 'Integration practices for migrant children and youth' opens with Chapter 14 *What challenges and opportunities pertain to introducing Philosophy with Children in schools to foster the wellbeing of migrant children and youth?* by Søren Sindberg Jensen. Sindberg Jensen reveals that from a child-centred perspective, migrant children and youth are likely to face adults in school who have an epistemic challenge of hearing their voice, because monologic forms of teaching, despite decades of criticism, continue to dominate primary education. On the other hand, research indicates that dialogic teaching can enhance the epistemic status and authority of migrant children. The chapter argued that Philosophy with Children/Philosophy for Children (PwC/P4C), being a particular form of dialogic teaching, can have a positive impact on the school life of minority children and youth, including migrant children and youth. The author advocates the introduction of PwC teaching practice in schools in order to foster the wellbeing of migrant children and youth, although there is a lack of empirical studies in this respect. His conclusions are based on fieldwork in Danish schools on PwC teaching practice.

Nektaria Palaiologou, Achilles Kameas, Veronika Prekate and Maria Liontou describe the conditions and integration practices at Skaramagkas Refugee Hospitality Centre near Athens, the largest refugee hospitality centre in mainland Greece with over 2,500 inhabitants, in Chapter 15 *Refugee hospitality centre in Athens as a case study: Good and not-so-good practice*. Their chapter exposes the crucial role of Refugee Education Coordi-

nators, teachers seconded by the Ministry of Education at the camp, who act as the link between the local educational community and the refugee community. In this respect, the system of gradual integration of refugee children in local state mainstream schools is presented, starting from refugee-only afternoon classes in local schools to full participation in morning mainstream schools. The establishment and functioning of kindergarten-at-camp is also discussed, as well as the role of educational excursions and visits. On a less positive note, parental involvement and interaction has been problematic and indicative of the fact that although children's education in the state system is the main avenue of refugee families' social integration, its effect does not seem to permeate to older ages.

In Chapter 16 *Six cases of technology-mediated approaches for the integration of migrant children in Spain*, authors Paula Estalayo-Bielsa, Laura Malinverni, Paula Lozano-Mulet, Juana M. Sancho-Gil and Miguel Stuardo-Concha identify and present six innovative approaches for the integration of migrant students related to the use of digital technologies. To begin, the authors discuss the term *innovation* itself and advocate to go beyond the simple dimension of a 'fashion' to a more profound transformation, in this case, to meet the education and social needs of migrant children and youth. The authors attempt to locate such cases in which technologies promote integration by fostering the cultural capital of migrant children and help to prevent racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerant behaviour and attitudes. Additionally, the authors present the variety of ways in which digital technologies can be used for changing users' attitudes or behaviour through education and social influence and call for a reductionist view of technology in educational contexts.

The book concludes with Chapter 17 *I am home, wherever I may roam: ICT as a tool for the (two-way) integration of migrant youth in the European Union* by Blaž Lenarčič and Lucija Dežan, who analyse a specific dimension of integration process related to the emerging power of information and communication technology (ICT). The chapter reflects on the potential of ICT for the successful integration of migrant youth. Their analysis is based on applications available in two app stores and digital platforms accessed by the Google browser that meet three criteria: providing support to the newly arrived migrant youth, focusing on the EU area, and covering one of the selected integration domains. The chapter presents examples of ICT in different social domains such as education, language and housing, which help migrant youth to overcome cultural barriers and examples of ICT that advocate the principle of two-way integration. Finally, the chapter reflects on the benefits of ICT for migrant youth and members of the host society, as well as on the constraints that prevent its effective use.

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I. Conceptualising the Integration of Migrant Children

Chapter 1

Child Migrants 'Integrating': What Do We Know So Far?

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Introduction

Mobility always involves change and upheaval: in general, child migrants will experience a greater upheaval than those whose context changes little, and their choices are also more constrained than those of adults. Integration is not an either/or process, nor is it necessarily specific to any domain, but is instead a complex pathway through life. In the lives of child migrants, integration is experienced simultaneously in education, health, local community and other domains, shaped by accompanying family or lack of family, community structures, and racist and anti-migrant currents of politics and culture. This chapter[1] reconsiders the 'integration' of child migrants by outlining the barriers and the contexts in which education occurs, and, hence, what young people might want to 'integrate' into. Extending the language of 'anchoring' (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2018) to a rock-climbing analogy, the chapter conceptualises stability and change as built upon each person's 'anchors' and 'holds'. It is based on a literature review undertaken as part of the Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCREATE) project, the objective of which is to stimulate the inclusion of diverse groups of migrant children by adopting a child-centred approach to migrant children's integration. The chapter focuses on edu-

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cational contexts, mainly schools, including the processes that connect the experiences of migrants to educational attainment, and looks at the role of integration in schools in generating positive outcomes for societal integration, while maintaining a child-centred perspective (see Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan 2017; Lawrence, Kaplan and Collard 2018; Luangrath 2016; Malmsten 2014; Sedmak and Medarić 2017; Sedmak, Sauer and Gornik 2018).

First, the chapter outlines some of the key issues in migrant child integration literature and discusses the main questions and developments in integration research, turning to recent approaches of social anchoring. Next, we explore barriers to integration, related to racism, conflict and institutional and structural issues, followed by a discussion of school-based interventions. Further, the case of asylum seekers and unaccompanied child migrants as particularly vulnerable groups is discussed, with particular focus on addressing how policy is key to migrant child wellbeing. We address educational contexts, mainly schools, including the processes that connect the experiences of migrants to educational attainment, and look at the role that integration in schools can play in generating positive outcomes. Finally, we discuss the policy and practice that operate in the school system, involving teachers, parents and migrant children, and ask how 'integration' can be conceptualised by putting children and young people at its centre.

Methodology

The chapter is based on a desk-based literature review, borrowing from the Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA) method, with rigorous decisions on exclusion and inclusion of literature through a team-based approach to search, decision-making and analysis. The focus was to provide a review of child-focused integration of migrants in educational settings.

The searches were limited to papers published since 2015. The research team conducted a literature search using a set of search terms included in a Boolean statement in order to capture variations on terminology. The searches were:

- (migrant or migration or refugee) AND (child or children) AND (integration or education or learning or wellbeing or inclusion or empowerment),
- (migrant or migration or refugee) AND (child or children) AND (stigma or racism or inequality or populism or intolerance or discrimination or bias).

These searches were made in Google Scholar and Proquest databases, and in the languages of the six partners, generating a number of bibliography files. The files generated were then imported into EPPI Reviewer (https://eppi.ioe.ac.uk), an online system designed for systematic reviews and REAs. Once duplicate papers were removed, this system contained details of 3,953 reports, books and academic papers. After the team removed papers with little relevance, 962 of the papers were included for a second sift, finally leaving 419 papers that were read in greater detail for this paper.

Integration and adaptation: some key issues

In trying to conceptualise integration, it is customary to draw on Stubbs' (1996: 36) definition, whereby 'integration refers to the attempt to facilitate a sharing of resources – economic and social, an equalizing of rights – political and territorial, and the development of cultural exchanges and new cultural forms, between forced migrants and all other members of a society'. Here, the integration thesis relates more to successful psychological growth (Copelj *et al.* 2017), identity formation (Mooren, Bala and Sleijpen 2019) and psychosocial adaptation (Haenni Hoti *et al.* 2017) to integration – that is, the engagement with the new culture at the same time as maintaining the old (O'Toole Thommessen and Todd 2018). Thus, a positive ethnic identity (Ayón, Ojeda and Ruano 2018) and cultural pride become the basis for a dual cultural identity (Ragnarsdóttir and Kulbrandstand 2018) or hybrid identity (Calderón and Butler-Kisber 2019). Despite its analytical rigour, both theoretically and empirically, the term 'identity' has been regarded as both overused and fuzzy (Hall 1996) due to its subjectivity and the nature of self-identification. Parents may aim to hold on to and preserve the 'old ways' (see Bowie, Wojnar and Isaak 2017). Further, some authors (and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) and, to some extent, states do see 'family cultural and language capital' (Moskal and Sime 2016) as something to be supported. On the other side of the equation, there is positive encouragement to gain some new elements of cultural identity, including language acquisition and the assumed 'values' of the new society (see Casey 2016). The concept of social anchoring (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2018) is used here as a theoretical lens through which to analyse experiences of migrant children in educational contexts by including the structural contexts/factors of the host environment and/or cultural characteristics of migrants that

both determine agency and provide psychosocial resources for providing footholds. The concept of anchoring in migration studies was developed by Grzymala-Kazlowska (2016), drawing on the metaphor employed by Bauman (1997) and Castells (1997) to describe the stabilisation of individuals and identities, both psychologically and sociologically. This allows for the incorporation of human agency, including emotional aspects of establishing footholds and, on the other hand, acknowledging inequalities and structural constraints that shape their experiences of stability and security. Despite its shortcomings as a construct, 'individual identity … seems to play a crucial role psychosocial functioning of immigrants' and is included in the theory examining the role of 'life footholds for adaptation and integration', but should be treated as 'a certain sphere of problems, rather than a well-defined concept' (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016: 1125). 'Social anchoring' is possible in various sites (geographical, cultural, social and virtual) and migrant integration, identity and community involve a process of gaining new anchors and perhaps letting go of others (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2018). As Manzoni and Rolfe (2019) suggest, schools are the key sites for welcoming migrants and their families, helping them to develop 'footholds' through schooling and other support measures.

The concept of anchoring moves further from discussion on embeddedness. Granovetter's (1985) notion of 'embeddedness' has been influential among migration scholars, although it has been described as a vague and 'fuzzy' concept (Hess 2004). This allows for recognising the role of race relations and racism as well as incorporating migration histories. This chapter tries to advance an understanding of migrant integration that goes beyond simplistic assumptions of integration (Grzymala- Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017). Here, settlement and adaptation are better understood in terms of making life relatively stable rather than putting down roots in a particular country (see Grzymala-Kazlowska 2018). Such trajectories and experiences of developing footholds also acknowledge simultaneity (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) and multidimensionality (including social, cultural, cognitive, emotional, material, spiritual and institutional anchors) as drawn out by Grzymala-Kazlowska (2018). For the purposes of this chapter, the term 'social anchoring' is useful in the discussion on migrant integration through processes of adaptation based on the acquisition of cultural competences and acceptance of the fundamental institutions of the host country, while (often) maintaining their own ethnic identity. The next section explores some of the barriers to child integration, highlighting structural, material and ideological barriers, both individual and institutional, leading to discrimination and conflict within educational contexts.

Identifying barriers to child integration

Evidence of barriers to integration points to issues of identity, language, community, belonging, trauma and stress for all migrants but especially for lone and asylum-seeking children, and the role of discrimination, hatred and conflict. Further barriers – although not limited to migrant children – include: limited access to high-quality early childhood education and care; concentration in disadvantaged schools (Huddleston and Wolffhardt 2016; Darmody, Byrne and McGinnity 2014); low socioeconomic status (Harte, Herrera and Stepanek 2016); difficulties related to choosing a school (Condon, Hill and Bryson 2018; Trevena, McGhee and Heath 2016); parental influence (Harte, Herrera and Stepanek 2016); 'housing problems […] difficulties accessing social services […] and the parents not having steady employment' (Metu 2014: 94). These are in addition to language barriers and the bias of support to 'the majority culture and [imposition of] it as dominant in teaching' (Milenkova and Hristova 2017). Indeed, any cultural difference can also change teacher expectations (Akifyeva and Alieva 2018), such that children are treated differently. This includes differences in the recognition and regulation of emotions (Kaloyirou 2018), with teachers inadequately trained in competences related to multiculturalism therefore feeling less prepared to deal with migrant children (Aydin, Gundogdu and Akgul 2019; Koelher 2017; Castellanos 2018).

While education itself is a basic human right and, if open to diversity and based on equity principles, becomes a tool to build resilience, social cohesion and trust, migrant children can have difficulties gaining full access. They are often torn between inclusion and exclusion processes around the concept of 'otherness', discrimination and ethnic labelling (Åhlund and Jonsson 2016; Atamturk 2018; Jensen *et al*. 2012; Agirdag, Van Houtte and Van Avermaet 2012). In this review, there were few papers that solely considered the problem of addressing the possible conflict between people arriving in Western countries and host societies. Most of the literature touches on these issues indirectly, usually exploring the patterns of education or social policy in the given country. It is also shown that some, especially Western, countries deny the existence of discrimination practices due to developed equality or diversity policies – instead, discrimination is discussed as the reason and justification for integration policies. Institutional and indirect discrimination is prevalent and not caused merely by 'prejudiced individuals', and although integration and non-discrimination are often part of national narratives, they are not at their fore. A strong ideology that seeks to avoid differences and highlights common values and experiences leads to emphasis on

assimilation and the construction of national identity on racial and religious grounds, excluding those who differ. This contradiction to the officially accepted integrative and inclusive approach could be illustrated by the use of the language (often derogatory to migrants) and integration practices, where migrants are forced to participate in intercultural events to disclose their cultural heritage, also constructed around the otherness (Åhlund and Jonsson 2016; Moskal and Sime 2016).

Both accompanied and unaccompanied migrant children can face barriers to integration that are generated by individual and institutional discrimination. These include some that are not inherent in this particular group, but are barriers generated when certain attributes intersect with other factors, especially socioeconomic position. Here it is also important to note that such barriers are not removed for those who have migrant backgrounds but are born in the new place, or otherwise have citizenship: even where formal rights are supposedly in place, these do not always ensure lack of discrimination. Furthermore, this review notes that discourses of diversity management and multiculturalism (especially where a non-racist or anti-racist policy is part of a country's or organisation's self-image) can lead to the hiding of continuing institutional racism.

As a consequence, underachievement, poor school performance or dropout among migrant or minority children is connected to three main issues: the socioeconomic status of the family, interschool relations and the structure and ideology of the educational system. All those factors mediate the conflict that may arise between peers and students and teachers or, more generally, the local community. In particular, the experience of ethnic discrimination has detrimental consequences in these dimensions, affecting the child's self-esteem, psychological resilience, depressive symptoms or feelings of futility (van Dijk *et al*. 2011; Agirdag *et al*. 2012; D'hondt *et al*. 2016). Furthermore, other inequalities that correlate with ethnicity can create unequal outcomes. The socioeconomic status of migrant children is often categorised as one of the major sources of underprivilege and discrimination. Poor children are frequently excluded and marginalised, restricted from participating in activities and deprived of fundamental economic, social, cultural and political rights (Forbes and Sime 2016; Medarić and Žakelj 2014). These affect mainly minorities with a long-term history of social exclusion, such as the Roma (Sime, Fasseta and McClung 2018; Vrăbiescu 2016) and asylum seekers and refugees (Tösten, Toprak and Kayan 2017).

More often cited in the literature, and demonstrating the need for integration policy, is the prejudice and discrimination that comes from individuals. Thus, such work considers individual case studies on personal

relations and experiences in a peer-to-peer context (Fangen and Lynnebakke 2014). In this review of literature, we found, however, few papers that directly refer to the problem of interethnic violence and discrimination. It is generally agreed that physical forms of violence are rather rare, although more subtle forms of aggression such as verbal harassment, bullying and rudeness are widespread and common in the school environment. It is also agreed that the attitude of pupils towards their migrant peers is driven by the wider societal context and prevailing media discourse (Medarić and Žakelj 2014; Zavratnik *et al*. 2008). Furthermore, the toleration of violence seems to increase when it becomes acceptable to ignore or dislike those who differ from the norm (Allport 1954; Nussbaum 2012; Young 1990; Žižek 2008). Finally, it was observed that across many immigrant groups, bullying and peer aggression were consistently significantly higher for first-generation immigrant adolescents who did not speak the official language, compared with third-generation and native-born adolescents. This suggests that risks related to violence are greater when an immigrant adolescent speaks a language other than the primary language of the host country (Pottie *et al*. 2015), and the experience of racism is therefore uneven. Further, visible difference in skin colour means that such issues extend to those who are not migrants but have some form of migrant background (Åhlund and Jonsson 2016).

School-based solutions to integration

Solutions proposed in the literature start with support for school attendance from the youngest possible age. Lunga *et al*. (2018) propose a set of policy recommendations for G20 countries related to migrant children's access to school. Jager (2016: 157) claims that '[t]he key is awareness and the commitment to include all children in the preschool education programs […] [in order to] guarantee the right to quality education for all children and that we behave as responsible citizens towards the most vulnerable'.

For linguistic difficulties, Iliescu (2017: 293) proposes that schools take a 'translanguaging' approach, which 'might help teachers find pedagogical tools to maintain and develop these students' linguistic and cultural experience and make them regard it as an asset rather than a hindrance'. Janta and Harte (2016) consider it important to ensure that migrant students learn the language of instruction and maintain a relationship with their mother tongue, as this could be useful to build relationships between educators and parents. Further, Wofford and Tibi

(2018) suggest including not only children but also families in school language learning programmes.

Jensen *et al*. (2012) focus on the importance of not treating bilingual students differently from other students, so that being different does not become a problem *per se*, while Evans and Liu (2018) propose that the education system as a whole should include all languages, as they play a key role in children's development. In addition to this, the Commission of the European Communities (2008) considers that, as far as possible, teachers should speak the immigrants' mother tongue.

Regarding teachers' multicultural skills, Vižintin (2016), and Suárez-Orozco (2017) propose the implementation of intercultural competences to teach social diversity, although Vižintin (2016) considers this to be difficult because students need time to adapt and teachers need continuous training in the field of intercultural education. Wellman and Bey (2015) propose art teaching-training programmes as they enhance sensitivities and foster community by navigating through difference. Atabong and Alemanji (2016) argue that it is important to build and offer anti-racism programmes in and out of schools. Bajaj, Argenal and Canlas (2017) also propose the construction of a pedagogical curriculum oriented to a critical conscience in human rights and inequalities; the creation of the means of reciprocal learning between families or communities and schools; and attention to the material conditions of students' and families' lives.

Quezada, Rodriguez-Valls and Lindsey (2016) propose a resilience curriculum that equips migrant children with the skills needed to overcome challenges, focusing on their strengths rather than disadvantages. Cowie, Myers and Rashid (2017), Thijs and Verkuyten (2014) and Arvola, Lastikka and Reunamo (2017) all claim that peer-support programmes between children and young people are a key tool in facing xenophobia and other forms of exclusion at schools.

Thomas (2017), Fruja Amthor (2017) and Thijs and Verkuyten (2014) highlight the need to introduce migrant children's symbolic cultural artefacts in school. Meanwhile, according to Crawford's study, music education programmes have a positive impact on refugee students – specifically, 'fostering a sense of well-being, social inclusion (a sense of belonging), and an enhanced engagement with learning' (Crawford 2017: 353). Leurs *et al*. (2018) state that media literacy education contributes to strengthening participation and resilience. Miller, Ziaian and Esterman (2018: 350) ask for specific funding for 'the ways in which schools can support their students, such as funding for support staff or to implement particular programmes'. Ahad and Benton (2018) mention five policy priorities: (1) ensuring that professionals are equipped for

diversity, (2) addressing students' diverse needs across the entire education trajectory, (3) unlocking the broader role of schools as integration actors, (4) building governance structures that can withstand crisis, (5) designing content and pedagogy for 21st-century challenges. Medarić and Žakelj (2014) add the need to have policies and legislation to deal with violence.

Responding to discrimination/barriers: Multi-level interventions

The literature also, on occasion, refers to ways in which any conflict is responded to. This includes those responses that come without prompting, those that are being promoted through training or other intervention, and also those focusing on migrant children themselves and those addressing teachers, other children or any others.

First, it is noted that new arrivals, when negotiating their multicultural identity, try to avoid being positioned as victims or as vulnerable or exposed to cultural clashes and contradictions. Much like other migrants, the students can be seen to contest and renegotiate the ways they are categorised and labelled by the majority culture (Åhlund and Jonsson 2016), and this may not always be positive. Some of the literature shows how migrant children adapt to the new situation, what psychological mechanism they are using or what kind of behaviour they engage in, including violence in order to negotiate their statuses (Åhlund and Jonsson 2016; Jensen *et al*. 2012; Fangen and Lynnebakke 2014). Most of the studies demonstrate that education in diversity and tolerance and real experience of 'otherness' lower levels of prejudice, open children to critical thinking and sensitise them with higher levels of empathy (Triliva, Anagnostopoulou and Vleioras 2014; Kralj, Žakelj and Rameša 2013). The literature also notes interventions focused on migrant children and their peers. They explore also the problem of tools and strategies of sensitising children to issues related to diversity, social justice and anti-racism – for example, in Northern Ireland (Connolly *et al*. 2006).

A second set of responses are those focused on the broader educational environment, teachers and other staff. This includes structural development, social involvement and empowerment, but also teachers' competences and skills (Forbes and Sime 2016; Edling and Francia 2017). Emphasis is given to those strategies that counter teachers' tendency to lower expectations of migrant students and to perceive them through stereotypes (Peterson *et al*. 2016; Glock, Krolak-Schwerdt and Pit-ten Cate 2015). Furthermore, it is generally accepted that an intercultural curriculum, teaching diversity and tolerance, and understanding the

'other' are important factors in conflict resolution, respect for migrant communities and their further inclusion in the host societies (Atamturk 2018; Margiotta 2018). Here we focus on the case of asylum seekers and unaccompanied child migrants as particularly vulnerable groups within the wider group of child migrants.

Asylum-seeking and other unaccompanied child migrants

Some child migrants, however, are not embedded in migrant community structures and do not have access to either formal or non-formal education. Asylum-seeking and other unaccompanied children do not have immediate recourse to those organisations their family connect to, although they may do so independently. They may also be housed by the state, fostered or otherwise have transitional arrangements that lack the stability that enables long-term integration. Sedmak and Medarić (2017) and Sedmak *et al.* (2018) investigated unaccompanied children's subjective views with regard to their perceptions of daily life and their wellbeing, concluding that the best interests of the child (UNCRC) are not achieved due to unclear national politics regarding unaccompanied minors.

Legal protection and ground-level practices

While unaccompanied migrant children do have legal rights courtesy of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, these are not always fully realised in practice (Luangrath 2016). Where such children are undocumented, individuals may be fearful of engaging with the educational system, or the system may refuse to engage with them. Even where paperwork is in order, there may be limited access to education for refugee children and minors (Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan 2018) or failure to provide resources that should be available. Further, unaccompanied children do not have the support of parents to assert their rights, but are reliant on support organisations where they exist, including NGOs providing support for refugee children in the educational system (Hanna 2014). As noted by Karlsson (2019), '[i]mplementation of […] rights is often conditional, because children have an uncertain citizenship status'.

Indeed, a key component of this experience is the early transitional period, which may involve forms of detention, asylum centres (Karlsson 2019) or transitional houses (Malmsten 2014) as 'home'. 'Research on asylum-seeking children's experiences of the reception period has shown

that they live in housing conditions that do not meet their needs and are inconsistent with their rights' (Karlsson 2019). Evidence from the EU's Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) notes that such social isolation affects access to other basic rights such as education, which is hampered by long waiting periods, language barriers, residing in remote locations, lack of information on educational opportunities, bureaucracy, limited financial support for asylum applicants, and racism. Some of these are discussed below.

Trauma, mental health and responses

Asylum-seeking and other unaccompanied children are more likely than other child migrants to have experienced extreme situations such as unsafe journeys, war and other conflicts. Thus, they often have higher rates of mental health disorders including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression and anxiety (Hall and Olff 2016). Important in this process is the first assessment of the needs of young refugees arriving in Europe (Hebebrand *et al*. 2016), and then the identification of psychosocial needs of refugee children in the domains of social support, security, culture and education (Nakeyar, Esses and Reid 2018). However, where those first few weeks involve detention, there are further effects on the wellbeing of refugee children and minors (Zwi *et al*. 2018).

Thus, many responses to such experiences use art or narrative approaches to give voice to and to then push back against more negative perceptions of refugees and asylum seekers. Such work includes art, literature, music and theatre in the integration of refugee children (Balfour *et al*. 2015; Crawford 2017), and responses to stereotyping representations of refugee children through media literacy and production (Leurs *et al*. 2018). Other activities include participation in musical play for the wellbeing of bicultural children, refugee and migrant children, and digital storytelling as a means to give voice to the excluded (Moutafidou and Bratitsis 2018). Further, this work can also be used as part of the response to trauma, with narrative therapy, expressive arts therapy and mindfulness strategies as preventative interventions to help refugee children in a trauma-informed and culturally and developmentally sensitive way (Lundberg 2016).

Most obviously, community groups (including religious and other cultural associations) and family provide immediate sources of identity formation or social anchoring, and allow for more successful integration into wider society, but this discussion is outside the scope of the present chapter.

Conclusions

The chapter started with discussions of identity, culture, community and belonging that are found in the sociological and psychological literature on migrant identity and integration, emphasising the need to avoid the simplifications of 'ethnicities' and 'cultures', and suggesting other approaches – particularly ideas of 'anchoring' and a bottom-up approach – that may be fruitful. We focus on this as there are many gaps in a child-centred approach to migration in educational settings. The concept of anchoring is a relatively new integrative concept, embracing aspects of identity, stability/instability and integration, all of which are relevant when discussing migrant adaptation in host environments, and are particularly relevant to younger groups of migrants. Such a concept encourages novel ways of understanding processes of how migrant communities, through education, become established in local contexts while simultaneously fostering belonging and attachment. Social anchoring, as seen in this chapter, focuses on the sociocultural dimensions of human agency, and is useful for the psychosocial functioning for children within schools, for establishing 'life footholds' for adaptation and integration, and navigating through structural inequalities and constraints that shape their experiences of stability and security.

The chapter highlights key barriers to integration. The first, which most obviously distinguishes the migrant child from other children, is the institutional and interpersonal discrimination and prejudice that occurs as a form of racism. The chapter includes some discussion of research that examines existing approaches to tackling this. The second addresses health and mental health, under the rubric of *wellbeing*, noting that wellbeing and integration can be interrelated. For example, education and school policies need to prepare young refugee migrants with problem-solving and by fostering intercultural understanding (Wiseman and O'Gorman 2017; Campos-Saborío *et al*. 2018).

Within schools and the educational context, Harte *et al*. (2016) discuss the impact of socioeconomic dispossession and biases in the curriculum, while Nakeyar *et al*. (2018) consider that school and health care should also focus on immigrant youth as facing the same challenges with independence and liberation as other young people. Adopting a children's rights perspective, Cox and McDonald (2020) analyse and critique the UK Government's 'Green Paper' on young people's mental health provision, arguing that the overarching challenge is that the paper is premised on Western-centric models in its understanding of the experiences of refugee children and young people, and fails to recognise the significance of culture and diversity. Thus, policies require the construc-

tion of a welcoming atmosphere, effective leadership, holistic programming, evaluation programmes with an explicit inclusion process, and child-centred learning supported by political and cultural leadership.

Finally, the chapter identifies the specific context of schools and education. While schools themselves might be the source of barriers to migrant success, the literature here argues for the importance of education in the integration of migrant children (McBrien 2005), in a very holistic way. As Asadi (2015: 199) suggests, it is hard to promote long-term positive integration without a policy based on a 'holistic approach to their educational journey, with particular attention to the areas of learning and the social and emotional needs of the students'. Some studies also acknowledge the need to look beyond schools for a better integration process. For example, Dovigo (2018: 48) talks about 'a shift from a school-centred view to a network-based perspective focused on active cooperation between services and communities' that can strengthen the footholds emphasised in a social anchoring framework. It is argued that education enables 'the possibility of breaking out of cycles of chronic poverty' (Nicolai, Wales and Aiazzi 2017: 3) and 'holds the potential to minimize the likelihood of marginalization, neglect and ghettoization of newcomers, by providing social connections and aiding in community development' (Nofal 2017: 8). It therefore provides migrant children 'the opportunity […] to live in a relatively safe and harmonious land' (Nordgren 2017: 86), contributing 'to children's well-being and sound, healthy development' (Naidoo 2016: 5).

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Chapter 2

What Are the Problems? Reception Communities in the EU Environment

Vlasta Jalušič

Veronika Bajt

Introduction to EU integration policies

Integration can be understood as 'the process of becoming an accepted part of society' (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016: 14), which – in order to study integration empirically – leaves the definition open so as to emphasise the process aspect. In this way, the degree or particular requirements for acceptance by the receiving society are not specified (ibid.). Studying integration policies[1] is 'fundamentally different from the study of integration processes', as the main feature of policies is to 'guide and steer […] integration processes of immigrants' (ibid.: 19). Thus, the policies formulate the problem, giving it normative framing, and then define concrete solutions or policy measures that should serve to solve the defined problem. Policy process can therefore be described as a discursive process that gives both a broad and a narrower framework, or frameworks, to the ways in which the 'solving of the problem/s' in the society will be defined, and the solutions implemented. As proposed by Carol Lee Bacchi (2004) – who described policy-making as defining 'What is the problem (represented to be)?' – the way the problem is

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defined, as well as *who* is defined as the problem, always already implies the proposed solutions and their implementations. Therefore, whether immigration is seen as a problem or as an opportunity implies different kinds of solutions. For example, to restrict migration or to remain open to it and to define integration pathways for immigrants that enable them to be accepted? Who has the moral or legal right to be or become an immigrant? Who are the wanted immigrants, and who are the unwanted? These questions always imply who will be integrated and who not, and therefore suggest different solutions for different groups of people (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016: 20). Categorisations play an important role here. For the immigrants who are already present in a society, questions emerge as to whether they are considered 'legitimate' or 'irregular', 'foreigners', 'temporary guests' or 'workers', or 'permanent members of society' who thus have the same responsibilities and rights as 'native' inhabitants or citizens (ibid.).

While integration in itself represents a contested concept, policies that are pertinent to the integration process embody much more than just explicit integration policies. Studying these is fundamentally different from the study of integration processes, as the main feature of policies is to guide and steer integration processes of immigrants. Thus, the policies formulate the problem, giving it normative framing, and define concrete solutions or policy measures that should serve to solve the defined problem and therefore be implemented. Outcomes and implementation can then be measured and evaluated.

The recent policy documents, overviews, reports and accounts on integration of migrants and particularly migrant children and youth in the EU proceed from the common starting point that European societies are, and will continue to become, increasingly diverse (see European Commission 2016; LLLP 2016; Janta and Harte 2016; European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2019; Huttova, Kalaycioglu and Molokotos-Liederman 2010). Growing diversity, depicted as the main challenge/problem, represents the broadest framework for policies that call for successful integration, diversity management and new and effective strategies of social cohesion in the EU. The fact that already in the last decade, in some schools across the EU, pupils of migrant origin made up half or more of the total number of students (Huttova *et al*. 2010: 17) turns out to be an increasingly important impetus for new strategies. Meanwhile, education figures as a key area and as one of the most powerful tools of successful integration.

The present chapter does not go beyond integration policies in a normative sense but concentrates on policy frameworks. What is presented as EU integration frame/s is a synergy of results of diverse set of actors:

both high level EU institutions such as the European Council or the Parliament ne the one hand, and several existing forums, networks, initiatives and NGO platforms on the other. The chapter does not present the developments of EU polices in a narrower sense but rather attempts to describe some of the main policy frames (and some changes in those frames) that have been established in the last two decades. Drawing on policy and legal documents, recommendaations, academic articles and grey literature, it studies EU policies particularly after 2014.

The purpose of the chapter is to isolate the main elements of the problem of representation and solutions offered for migrant children by the integration regime in the European Union. After describing the most general trends in EU integration policies, we present five of the main recent intersecting frameworks, which are crucial to understanding the current EU policy agenda and trends in integrating migrant children through education: (a) diversity and intercultural education, (b) human (child) rights in education, (c) social inclusion, (d) migrants' contribution, 'performance' and costs, and (e) evidence-based policy. Based on desktop analysis of secondary sources, a descriptive approach is used with elements of frame analysis. Special attention is paid to identifying those policies or initiatives that focus on the wellbeing of children while adopting a 'whole-school', 'whole-child', 'child-centred' or 'child rights' approach (i.e. analysing the extent to which EU policies on the integration of migrant children take into account the child as a whole).

Brief overview of general trends in EU integration policies

The EU (EEC) has paid increasing attention to migrant children's education since 1977 (see Council 1977), when the importance of teaching them the language of the reception state was emphasised for the first time. While the Lisbon strategy, with its neoliberal framing, and the EU Education and Training Strategy emphasised the importance of education as a primary resource for a stronger, more dynamic economy, and for participation, mobility and inclusion in the EU (see Essomba 2014; Huttova *et al.* 2010), migrant children's education was also progressively seen as part of the protection of human (children's) rights (Devine 2013). Within the former framework, the educational underperformance of children from non-EU countries (when compared with

their 'native' peers) was considered as 'jeopardising the likelihood of meeting the European Commission's Education and Training Strategy (ET 2020) goals' (Essomba 2014: 1). This 'utilitarian' frame probably represents the first shared framework for the integration of migrant children in the EU, while some parallel efforts increasingly underlined the human rights perspective as well. These two approaches, neoliberal and human rights, can be considered the two main framings of migrant children's integration policies in the EU. The first represents a global neoliberal policy framework with a human capital paradigm, which focuses on performance in school. The second considers education as a public good and as a human right that should bring about the wellbeing of every child, foster children's participation and citizenship, and bring their voice to the forefront of policy-making.

The second common point of departure of EU policies is the assessment that 'national economic and social policies will need to cater for the recent inflow of third-country migrants and refugees […] to provide for their immediate needs and their integration into the labour market and society' (European Commission 2016: 3). This 'inflow' is considered to be a potential fiscal burden, yet with swift and successful integration, it is predicted, the EU states could overcome their demographic problems while the migrants would not necessarily be a burden but, rather, a gain for the economy. In other words, 'the cost of non-integration will turn out to be higher than the cost of investment in integration policies' (ibid.: 4). An early start is therefore seen as the most important move, and educational opportunities represent the main path for successful integration into the labour market (European Commission 2016).

While immigrant integration policies fall under the jurisdiction of Member States and are therefore a national competence, there exist a series of EU measures dating from the Treaty of Lisbon in 2007 that support the EU mandate to 'provide incentives and support for the action of Member States with a view to promoting the integration of third-country nationals' (see European Commission n.d.). Periodically, 'the EU has set priorities and goals to drive EU policies, legislative proposals and funding opportunities since the 1999 Treaty of Amsterdam' (ibid.). Yet it was not until 2003 (*European Communication on Immigration, Integration and Employment*) that the European Commission formed a more comprehensive view on integration policies (Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016: 2). An important difference to the previous approach was the fact that integration was defined as a 'two-way process based on reciprocity of rights and obligations of third-country nationals and host societies' and that the aim was immigrants' 'full participation' (ibid.: 1–2). Thereafter, the 2004 Common Basic Principles (CBPs) represented

the first move towards a common framework 'to guide most EU actions in the area of integration' (European Commission n.d.; see also Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016: 2).

In general, explicit policies for the integration of migrants in the EU were, and are, meant for the integration of 'third-country' migrants, who are seen as being in need of integration, while EU nationals who migrated from their own to another EU country are mainly not seen as a 'challenge' (i.e. a 'problem') but as 'integrated by default' (Mügge and van der Haar 2016: 81). While these categorisations have changed with some newer policy studies in education and recommendations for the case of migrant children, they represent an important frame for understanding the aim and scope of integration policies. This is especially true given the restrictive move of the EU's and the Member States' policies in the field of migration in recent decades, and also considering the fact that (integration) policies always depend on definitions and categorisations of who is wanted and who is unwanted, who needs integration and who does not, and therefore produce target groups that may cause additional discrimination (Mügge and van der Haar 2016: 77, 81). Migrants from the newer Member States, too, may 'face highly nationalized demands for integration' or even be placed in the category of unwanted, as shown by the most extreme and violent examples of the treatment of Roma immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania in France (ibid.: 82).

Policy challenges across the EU and intersecting policy frameworks

The ongoing studies, statistics, indicators, drafted policies, policy briefs and implementation plans underline that migrants, especially third-country nationals, 'across the EU continue to fare worse than EU citizens in terms of employment, education, and social inclusion outcomes' (European Commission 2016). From 2008 onwards, policy papers have highlighted the educational disadvantages of children from a migrant background compared with their native peers (Commission of the European Communities 2008). Migrant children are among those disadvantaged groups which are 'disproportionally represented among the underperformers' (Essomba 2014: 1) and also among early school leavers (Ward, Click and Ulcina 2015). Different interpretations of such educational outcomes come to the fore when one considers which data on various kinds of migrant populations are accessible

and what is the possible influence of other inequality dimensions that intersect with migration status (see Janta and Harte 2016: 3). There is, however, overall agreement that the higher rates of underachievement of migrant children and young people in schools are 'linked to problems of social marginalisation, failure to integrate, and future unemployment' (Huttova *et al.* 2010: 17). The literature identifies two main reasons for their lagging behind the majority population of pupils in their school results: different language of instruction (to their mother tongue) at school and lower socioeconomic status than that of their native peers (Essomba 2014: 2).

As outlined by Huttova *et al.* (2010), there exist four important policy areas/dimensions of integration that all intersect and influence how children with a migrant background are integrated through the educational system. These areas include policies concerning (a) fundamental rights, equality and anti-discrimination, (b) migration and integration, (c) social inclusion and cohesion, and (d) policies in the area of education and training itself. This intersecting policy framework has been rather stable and preserved in the last decade in the EU, with some changes and shifts after the *Action Plan on the Integration of Third Country Nationals* in 2016. Concerning the first area particularly, anti-discrimination became, to a large extent, part of the larger frame on managing the increasing diversity of European societies, and different approaches of EU Member States in managing diversity (from the multicultural integration model to the assimilationist model). The second area (migration and integration) has gained much importance and has grown into two parallel policy packages (one for regular, or 'legitimate', migrants and the other for irregular migrants). The third (social inclusion and cohesion) has also incorporated anti-discrimination mechanisms. The fourth (education and training) has been increasingly linked with all other areas due to the intersectional character of both integration and education. We address some of the main recent intersecting points/areas, which are crucial to understanding the current EU policy framework and trends in integrating migrant children through education. These include the diversity and intercultural education frame, the human (child) rights in education frame, the social inclusion in/and education frame, the migrants' contribution frame (costs and benefits of migration), the 'performance' frame and the evidence-based policy frame.

Diversity and intercultural education: migrant children, local children and educational community

In January 2016, the European Parliament adopted the *Resolution on the role of intercultural dialogue, cultural diversity and education in promoting EU fundamental values*. This Resolution indicates a shift in understanding the role of formal, non-formal and informal education and intercultural learning in the process of integration. It stresses all dimensions of education, including the process of socialisation and the role of the whole society in challenging discriminatory responses to diversity and migration. The document underlines 'the importance of teaching intercultural dialogue[,] which is [an] essential tool of conflict management and [of developing] a deeper sense of belonging. Teachers, Parents, NGOs and Human Rights Organizations are seen as key players' in the process (Sikorskaya 2017: 13). Education not only provides knowledge, skills and competences, but should also also assist learners in developing ethical and civic values, thus becoming active, responsible, open-minded members of society (European Parliament 2016). Specifically, while the Resolution recommends that 'the EU cooperate in making learning and schooling accessible for refugee children by continuing to support programs on access to education in humanitarian crises and to ensure the integration of migrant students in Europe', it also calls on the Commission and the Member States to explore, design and implement interactive youth- and child-focused methods of participation at all levels of government (ibid.). The Resolution was adopted when EU education policy began focusing more intently on how intercultural education could be used not only to increase 'human and social capital' but also to build social cohesion and fight inequality and social exclusion (Sikorskaya 2017: 16). There were several moves made on this policy path, from the 2008 Year of Intercultural Dialogue, to the Green Paper in the same year, to the 2016 European Parliament Resolution. Additionally, over time, the language of EU documents shifted from calling for the 'smooth' integration of immigrant children to giving immigrant children the necessary 'support and opportunities […] to become active and successful citizens, and empower[ing] them to develop their full potential' (ibid.: 17).

Intercultural education in consequence focuses on educational pedagogy but also involves the whole range of 'official policies and reforms that aim to promote equal education opportunities to culturally (and/or ethnically) diverse groupings, regardless of origin, social rank, gender

or disability' (Faas *et al*. 2014: 305). It moves beyond the mere transfer of knowledge or understanding among statically understood 'cultures' to acquisition of skills that presuppose the transformation of hidden curricula of discrimination (ibid.: 306) by processes of creating a 'third space' in which 'locals and immigrants share a hybrid cultural identity'. Moreover, interculturalism 'asserts that teachers and students ought to recognise oppression by promoting education for empathy, moral consciousness and examination of discrimination from the victim's perspective' (ibid.). Some scholars even claim: 'If education is not intercultural, it is probably not education, but rather the inculcation of nationalist or religious fundamentalism. It is important in medicine as in civics, in mathematics, and in language teaching' (Sikorskaya 2017: 11, quoting Coulby 2006).

However, the intercultural approach to educational policy has been understood differently over time. While at the beginning (1970s and 1980s), it mainly embraced the issue of learning the host-country language and language proficiency, its meaning changed to represent a path towards social cohesion in diverse societies and bring a specific perspective to social and educational policies. The discursive shift from considering it a special policy for migrants and minorities that can be used for (in the language of official papers) 'smoothing integration of immigrant children' to 'providing them with the support and opportunities they need to become active and successful citizens, and empower[ing] them to develop their full potential' (ibid.: 17) took place only gradually. The most significant progress was made, according to Sikorskaya, with 'the statement that culturally diverse society, and intercultural and multicultural education is for all students, not only for minority and immigrant students' (ibid.). As a concept and a practice, intercultural education therefore not only assumes a simple two-way process of communication in integration but involves a multi-stakeholder and whole-school approach: teachers/educators, learners, parents, school, society and the national policy level are targeted. In addition, as far as children's integration is concerned, it also requires a child-focused approach.

While intercultural education policies helped garner 'more political weight […] as a pedagogic approach [that aims] to meet the EU commitment to integrating diversity, fostering multilingualism and promoting intercultural dialogue' (Sikorskaya 2017: 13), this shift also represented an important commitment. However, this 'commitment' is far from having been met. Concrete policy-making still tends to use a 'remedial approach' (Essomba 2014: 4). Further, as described above, the main NGO initiatives that are working in this area are not directly targeting the formal educational system as a whole but rather working incremen-

tally to raise awareness and offer volunteer programmes to welcome new migrants, as well as to lessen anti-diversity attitudes and 'populist, xenophobic' rhetoric – from both politicians and social-media users – which is 'on the rise across Europe' (LLLP 2016: 6). This situation is seen as concerning, as 'discrimination, racism and exclusion have destructive effects for positive youth development and social cohesion, and are risk factors for violent radicalisation' (ibid.).

The most recent insights in the area of teaching also show that, despite the increasing heterogeneity of European classrooms, 'the teaching population remains largely homogenous and feels ill-prepared to teach students from diverse socioeconomic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds' (European Commission 2017: 3). In this context, the EU and its Member States have also called for renewed efforts to prepare teachers for diversity and to lay the foundations for more inclusive societies through education (European Commission 2015). They recognise the need to empower and equip teachers to take an active stand against all forms of discrimination, to meet the needs of pupils from diverse backgrounds, to impart common fundamental values and to prevent racism and intolerance. Therefore, if in the past the focus was on children as learners and their position, their achievements and failures, and the effects of these on the economy and society, with the emphasis on the intercultural and inter-linguistic approach, the focus has shifted towards educators: they too have to be educated – not only with additional training and courses but from the very beginning. The recent study on teachers' preparedness to deal with diversity and to practise intercultural education suggests that

> [E]ducation systems need to make sure that initial teacher education (ITE) and continuous professional development (CPD) opportunities effectively equip teachers with the relevant intercultural competences, linguistically responsive teaching competences and ability to reflect on their own beliefs, cultural and socioeconomic differences. There is an increasing need to challenge the current negative perceptions of diversity, shifting towards recognising and multiplying its benefits. (European Commission 2017: 3)

EU policies therefore increasingly take these considerations into account and call for a paradigm shift in national education policies in Europe in their approach towards diversity. Yet while there exists 'a growing tendency to recognise the benefits that cultural, linguistic, religious and social diversity can bring to schools and to society […], deficit-based approaches still prevail in many countries' (ibid.).

Human (child) rights

Having immediate access to education is essential for the overall well-being of migrant children who are in an especially vulnerable position. The EU has only gradually acknowledged that their rights – and not performance – should take priority. Specifically, the scope of EU policy regarding migrant education was initially related only to ensuring the free movement of EU nationals within the EU in order to develop the European single market. This has been broadened under a human rights framework to include children of migrants from outside the EU (Huttova *et al*. 2010: 32). Currently, under European and international law, human rights include children's rights (including the rights of migrant children) and the right to education (regardless of nationality or legal status). Protecting children is first and foremost about upholding European values of respect for human rights, dignity and solidarity. It is also about enforcing European Union law and respecting the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and international human rights law on the Rights of the Child. This is why protecting all children in migration, regardless of status and at all stages of migration, is a priority (European Commission 2017a: 2).

The best interests of the child are therefore put forward as the primary consideration in all actions or decisions concerning children, and not the status of those who are 'rightfully' and 'legitimately' present in EU. The official documents have recognised that the number of children in migration arriving in the European Union, many of whom are unaccompanied, has increased in a dramatic way from 2011 onwards (ibid.). In this context, the European Commission reaffirms *the need to protect and give access to rights and services to all refugee and migrant children, while building on the framework of children's rights*. This not only prioritises a child-focused perspective but also openly recognises and includes those migrant children who would otherwise fall under the category of 'irregular' migration and might end up in procedures for return. This shift is important not solely for asylum seekers and their minor children – who may be stuck in lengthy procedures in bureaucratic limbo waiting for extended periods of time – but also for those minors who did not apply for asylum and are considered 'irregular': children in places of transit who have experiences of detention and deportation, limited or no access to social support and legal protection, limited or no access to education and/or language training, as well as experiences of separation and (in)security, and experiences of daily life in transit.

Social inclusion and/in education

Both the intercultural education frame and the children's rights frame are connected with the social inclusion approach/frame. Inclusion has become the latest education paradigm to describe how to overcome barriers of inequality and a tool to encourage socialisation, because it offers quality education for all while respecting diversity and different needs and abilities, characteristics and learning expectations of the students and communities, eliminating all forms of discrimination (Essomba 2014: 4). In essence, the inclusion approach is student-focused, allowing students to direct their own learning processes while teachers 'mediate' the students' experiences and knowledge acquisition. The emphasis is thus placed on learning rather than on teaching.

Not only is education thus projected to become an immensely important factor in the cohesion of EU societies, but schools themselves are seen as major vehicles for the inclusion of migrants and promotors of diversity. While there still exists broad *de facto* segregation in many of the EU States, expectations are raised that education, 'as a major agent of socialisation, can contribute to the development of inclusive, pluralist societies through curricular and extracurricular activities that promote equality, social cohesion and active citizenship by making students more familiar with their societies' different cultures' (FRA 2017: 40–41). As suggested by Essomba (2014), national education systems have already made a shift to a 'more inclusive teaching perspective'. Prior to this, their education schemes traditionally employed a 'remedial approach' (ibid.). The shift from a traditional remedial strategy, with its focus on helping migrant students catch up and blend in with their native peers, to an inclusion framework that celebrates diversity seems to mirror the shift from an assimilation paradigm to an intercultural paradigm within a broader understanding of integration policy. However, for children with migrant backgrounds across the EU, mainly pre-primary and primary educational support is widely available, whereas secondary schooling is a different matter altogether (Essomba 2014: 2; ECRI 2016: 22).[2]

The social inclusion frame, differently from the neoliberal frame, demands not solely more labour supply with high-level qualifications but also increased representation of people with a migrant background among education professionals. This is why promoting the 'inclusion of

2 In its fourth report on Slovenia, for example, ECRI recommended that all children should have equal access to upper secondary education, regardless of their citizenship, ethnic origin or immigration status or those of their parents (see ECRI 2016).

migrant teachers as qualified staff, cultural mediators and role models' should be considered of 'high societal value' and the EU should support the 'implementation of university-level support programmes that encourage students with a migrant background to attend and successfully complete university' (SIRIUS 2014: 14). In addition, non-formal learning, such as sports, culture and youth associations, is also recognised as an important social inclusion dimension, because it complements integration (European Commission 2016: 8).

Migrant contribution: performance, costs and benefits of migration

The adage of EU policy documents based on Eurostat data runs that 'third-country nationals across the EU continue to fare worse than EU citizens in terms of employment, education, and social inclusion outcomes' (European Commission 2016: 2). However, according to *An Economic Take on the Refugee Crisis*, a document by the European Commission Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs, '[f]ailure to release the potential of third-country nationals in the EU would represent a massive waste of resources, both for the individuals concerned themselves and more generally for our economy and society' (ibid.). Similar findings are reported in *Integrating Refugees and Migrants Through Education: Building Bridges in Divided Societies* by the Lifelong Learning Platform. The LLLP has asserted: 'Investing in lifelong learning opportunities costs considerably less than dealing with a wide range of problems linked to poverty, social exclusion, hate crimes and violent behaviours' (LLLP 2016: 4). In other words, 'the cost of non-integration [could] turn out to be higher than the cost of investment in integration policies' (European Commission 2016: 4).

While the LLLP focuses on integration through lifelong learning and education in reaching these conclusions, the *Action Plan* (European Commission 2016) discusses labour market integration specifically, noting that employment is integral to integration (ibid.: 9). The EC asserts that countries are wasting human capital due to overqualification of migrants for their jobs, as well as underemployment of women, in the reception country (ibid.). Therefore, '[f]acilitating validation of skills and recognition of qualifications is crucial to ensure that individuals' skills are used to their full potential', especially for refugees (European Commission 2016: 9). In light of high unemployment rates for

third-country migrants in most EU Member States, the EC also discusses the importance of access to the labour market for refugees and asylum seekers, as well as early vocational training and a focus on vulnerable, unemployed young people (ibid.: 9–10).

Evidence-based policy frame: data, indicators, monitoring and assessment

Polices as discursive strategies and means of population governance are based on categorisations. They are also based on statistical and other data and knowledge that is framed by definitions that apply to these categories. The EU purports to carry out evidence-based policy-making which includes evaluating evidence, conducting academic research and systematically reviewing and measuring impact and progress in the area of interest. In the integration field, this evidence-based policy-making has become a key objective across EU countries. That is why one of the Common Basic Principles on integration policy from 2004 states that 'developing clear goals, indicators and evaluation mechanisms are necessary to adjust policy, evaluate progress on integration and to make the exchange of information more effective'. The efforts in this direction first showed results in the Zaragoza declaration indicators, which were intended to provide for comparable data for most Member States: limited, comparable over time, simple to understand, easy to communicate and focused on outcomes (Wolffhardt *et al.* 2019: 7). Further sets of indicators have since been developed by the European Commission and have been published (see OECD 2018), also in the field of migrant children's education. The existing indicators are meant 'to compare specific age groups of the general and immigrant population: for both third-country nationals and the non-EU-born as well as for men and women. The indicators are annually updated by Eurostat, drawing on already harmonised data sources' and 'on EU level, they are used to inform e.g. strategic documents on integration, the programming and implementation' (Wolffhardt *et al.* 2019: 9).

However, both research and policy documents still report that 'the scope of integration related data across Europe differs widely' (ibid.). In some countries, there exists sophisticated data and integration monitoring, including on local/regional levels, while, for example, cities lack appropriate tools for evidence-based integration policies. Data gaps in the context of the reception of asylum seekers (arrivals, health, school-

ing, unaccompanied minors) are seen in most Member States, also due to juridical and institutional competence. Cross-country comparability of data produced in national contexts is low (ibid.). The EC Communication *The Protection of Children in Migration* from 2017 also underlines that data on children in migration 'are still very fragmented, not always disaggregated by age and sex and not always comparable, making children and their needs "invisible"' (European Commission 2017: 15). Only data on children who are asylum seekers are 'collected in a coordinated manner', while no 'precise numbers of (unaccompanied) children who go missing or abscond from reception and care facilities' are known (ibid.). The EC states that 'more detailed data on all children in migration (meaning TCN children, rem. by authors) are needed to inform policy development and better target support services and to plan for contingencies' (ibid.).

Data on other groups of children from migrant backgrounds in education differ to a large extent. As the recent study on monitoring and assessment of migrant education in the EU shows, a s well as the fact that there is no common definition of 'migrant student', there is still no common framework for comparability in the EU. There are no clear definitions of the common values on the basis of which the content of monitoring and assessment processes, such as 'inclusion, equity and social cohesion', can be defined (Essomba, Tarrés and Franco-Guillén 2017: 61). The Member States essentially use three main blocks of policies, with the aim of decreasing inequalities, namely language acquisition, intercultural education in schools and improving teacher education (ibid.: 58). Meanwhile, 'assessment tends to be focused on children's performance, in many cases using internationally comparable standardised tests (e.g. PISA), and such assessments tend to be carried out sporadically' (ibid.: 18). Other studies that exist 'are focused on ethnic background, despite the fact that migration is not a risk factor in itself' but 'becomes a risk factor when combined with other factors' (ibid.). All this shows that policies and the data they collect are intended to make an impact on individuals or 'individual characteristics' (ibid.) and do not target the problem in a comprehensive manner, and therefore do not tackle the issue of integration as a 'two-way process'.

Conclusion: inconsistencies, tensions and shifts

An inherent tension was built into the initial EU approach towards integration – in spite of its definition as a 'two-way process' – between the

'illiberal civic integration policies' (which put forward labour market integration and economy and the immigrant as the sole responsible actor, who must earn equal rights and is not included in immediate civic citizenship provisions) and 'the emphasis on anti-discrimination laws and policies' (Joppke 2006: 8). According to Joppke (2006), the integration process therefore starts with difficult civic integration that does not succeed (the first generation) and ends with necessary anti-discrimination policies to ameliorate resulting inequalities and discrimination (in the second generation).[3] This is why access for immigrants to 'institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration' (Council of the European Union 2004: 21). The real process of integration was in fact not the proclaimed two-way process but 'in reality, two-way integration consists of two separate one-way processes: at first, the burden of change is all on the migrant; later, the burden of change is all on society' (Joppke 2006: 9).

It was on this basis that education's importance grew and that it was increasingly considered as a main vehicle for integration among (factually or perceptually) unequal migrant children who did not have equal access to (all) the benefits of education. It was also on this basis that efforts in education 'are critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society' (Council of the European Union 2004: 21). The educational policy frame could therefore be considered (alongside the anti-discrimination frame) as a corrective for failed integration policies (see Joppke 2006: 9). In the field of the integration of migrant children, the educational policy frame originally pulled together under one umbrella issues of education, labour market and economy/growth of the EU into one sole 'performance frame', in which migrant children and their low scores and low language proficiency were seen as the main problem. This was criticised by several researches (e.g. Devine 2013) and policy analyses that claimed that 'policies and measures on learning support in the EU tend to focus on students' academic rather than their social and emotional needs' (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2019: 21). However, especially in the last decade, the educational framework has been supplemented by several other dimensions and sub-categories. The

3 'The opposite logic of anti-discrimination is to depict migrants and their offspring as members of groups, who are victimized by majority society, thus reintroducing at the tail end of integration the ameliorative group logic that had been thrown out at its beginning by the harsh individualism of civic integration' (Joppke 2006: 9).

sub-framings that emerged were informative in terms of what is considered a problem/challenge and what education is supposed to render/achieve as a solution *vis*-à-*vis* the existing inequalities and demands for integration. The productive intersections were diversity, social inclusion, human (children's) rights and education and migrant contribution. Interestingly, education represents both a problem and a solution.

The children's rights, intercultural and inclusion frameworks therefore stretched the educational policy and performance frame in several directions while pointing to additional problems – for example, diversity, intolerance and hatred (intercultural education frame) and the problem that, in some situations (i.e. in the case of 'irregular' children in migration), children's rights are not respected. Among these, the right to education was particularly exposed, as were the problem of segregation, low social status and income as connected to low achievement and dropout in schools (social inclusion and education frame). Thus, some issues that were at first marginal and subordinated to the educational policy frame have created an opportunity for existing inconsistencies to enter the problem definitions that were articulated by non-governmental EU voices.

The frameworks of integration policies that we have listed are, of course, intersected and dependent on the political power and voice of the actors. The key to understanding policy framing is that the underlying frames that we find are always stretched and bent according to the activity of the actors. Here, inconsistencies and tensions in fact represent opportunities. One such example is the problematisation of violations of the (educational) rights of children who find themselves with irregular statuses, and within the framework of 'education' the tendency to emphasise education as an absolute right of the child and the right of immediate access to education regardless of the status and thus relativise its legal status. Changed policy frameworks, such as the shift from 'diversity frame' to 'interculturalism' or from 'performance frame' to 'child rights' framework – which took place in the educational area – could only be achieved through the active involvement of actors – the many NGOs, networks and forums that work intersectionally in the field of migration and integration policies at EU level, promote and exchange good practices, and are consulted by the EC (Sirius, Euridike, LLLP, Picum, European Integration Network, European Migration Forum, European Integration Website, etc.).

Although we may be critical of the securitisation of migration policies and the problematic categorisation of immigrants according to the origin and alleged 'motive' of migration, it can be concluded that the frameworks of EU integration policies in the field of immigrant child

education have progressed at least in normative terms. The studies, as well as the first results of the MiCREATE[4] project, show that there is a gap between EU principles, the existing promotion of good practices and how Member States understand the integration of immigrant children. The fact is that they still 'integrate' their 'immigrants' in a way that too rigorously emphasises the concepts of national identity, history, culture, values and norms, which is especially effective in the field of education. In many countries, such as the Netherlands, France, Germany and the United Kingdom, a new 'assimilationist turn' can be detected.

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Chapter 3

Initiatives to Promote the Integration of Migrant Children in Schools and Society: Identifying and Problematising the Notion of 'Good Practices' in the Spanish Context

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Introduction

During the execution of the first phases of the European project: MiCREATE we have identified some of the good practices carried out by the six European states participating in the project. In the case of Spain, this exercise led us to recognise that there are multiple and different notions of 'good practices', both in the context of top-down and bottom-up initiatives. Given this, in order to guarantee optimal execution of this preliminary phase of MiCREATE, it was essential to try to define and problematise the notion of 'good practices'. For this, we have searched for different key aspects that allow their analysis in educational contexts. The analysis is based on a review of recent academic publications on the field, and the analysis of a set of political and social initiatives carried out with the aim of promoting the school integration of migrant children in Spain during the last 20 years.

In this chapter[1] we have proposed to answer two main questions: (1) What are the most important conceptual contradictions related to the identification of the notion of 'good practices'? (2) What are the most important interests and contextual characteristics that might be behind the identification of an initiative as successful? The chapter is divided into three sections. The first part is an analysis of the conceptualisation of the notion of 'good practices'. The second is the presentation of a set of ten initiatives that aimed to promote the integration of migrant children in the school system and have been considered good practices. The chapter finishes with a discussion of the results and conclusions.

Good practices and initiatives for the educational integration of migrant minors

In this section, we first discuss the notion of 'good practices' as an 'apparently simple concept [which] is deceptively slippery, laden with surplus meaning' (Osburn, Caruso and Wolfensberger 2011: 213). Secondly, we introduce ten initiatives identified by a literature review that were developed in Spain between the years 2000 to 2019 and have been considered good practices for the integration of migrants in school contexts, with the end of exploring their meanings and contributions.

What is good practice in social initiatives and public policies?

The concept of 'good practice' is based on the 17th- and 18th-century Enlightenment notion of improvement through scientific knowledge. Based on the modernist trust in an objective science to provide better solutions for progress and improvement, it was thought that a 'correct' way to do things could be found. In the 1960 and 1970s, in a sociohistorical context marked by Taylorism, many researchers worked on identifying teachers' behaviours to improve student achievement. This kind of approach can be found in areas such as medicine, finance, law and architecture, showing that 'vestiges of Taylorism are reflected in a contemporary tendency to apply science in a myopic way to improve efficiency and achieve ends' (Kappler 2015: 136).

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For this reason, the notion of 'good practice' has been problematised in recent years and in different fields. It has remained a concept used to point at a model or activity carried out with satisfactory results. However, how exactly are these 'satisfactory' results defined? And why is the notion of 'good' usually naturalised and not problematised? This aim of finding good or even best practices is still popular nowadays, to the extent that the concept has many variants and it is used in fields from agriculture and mining to healthcare and education (Osburn *et al.* 2011).

While 'best practice' is the general term, common variants are 'promising practices', 'evidence-based practice', 'science-based practice', 'good practices', 'better practice', and the appealingly modest 'probably effective practices'. Another is 'best outcomes', which is probably what early 20th-century originators of the 'one best way' idea were really trying to get at. In addition, quite a few definitions and descriptions of 'best practice' have been put forward in the literature (Osburn *et al.* 2011: 214).

According to the authors, there are four patterns of discourse when it comes to 'good' or 'best' practices. The first discourse would be based on a definition of good practices as those with a *solid body of evidence* that demonstrates their effectiveness. This is based on the initial goal of identifying 'evidence-based practices' by using different studies, but this notion was quickly substituted by the other three. The second discourse considers those practices that respond to what a *certain ideology* holds desirable. In this case, evidence is not relevant, and it can even be delegitimised if studies point in different directions. The third discourse considers *those practices that have been done all along*. An example of this is found in some conferences or events that make compilations or give to a compilation of papers the title 'good practices', while there is no clear reason for this claim. The fourth discourse has been used by many parties to *embrace the latest trend*. An example would be an organisation that launches a call with a focus on 'good' and 'innovative' practices (Osburn *et al.* 2011: 215).

There are some problems embedded in the popularisation of the use of 'good practices' that other authors have addressed. In the first place, they are the product of the characteristics of a specific context where these practices take place (Chickering and Gamson 1987) or, as Meyer (2003) points out, many 'best practices' are likely to be culturally biased toward particular racial, ethnic, political, national or other concepts and constructs. This might have several consequences, such as using it as a way of colonisation or domination when specific conditions are not considered.

Homi Bhabha (2001) points out that colonial power is exercised through the articulations of difference of the colonial subject. This post-

colonial author argues that colonisation is about using difference as a means to 'justify conquest and establish systems of administration' where the colonised is discursively produced as the 'other' (391). From this broad definition, we use the term 'colonisation' metaphorically in relation to 'good practices' to signify the danger of using this notion to fix how the 'other' should be, framing as subjects in ways that meet the needs of the reception cultures and powers. This approach leads us to propose that 'good practice' could be a form of structural power, a strategy of governing – regulating – in this case, migrant people. This makes it necessary to consider towards what aim/objective we are being governed. We explore this issue further below, by reporting on the good practice experiences we have gathered for analysis.

Another inherent aspect of the concept is the character of transferability and exportability (Benavente 2007) – that is, that a public policy or initiative could be considered good practice to the extent that there is an escalation or replication of the initiative in other contexts and institutions. Focusing on another aspect, Biesta (2015) considers that a good practice should be considered as such when it overcomes the difficulties it faces in its applicability and which ends up favouring its sustainability and implementation capacity in different realities and situations. Therefore, from this point of view, a good practice would imply a transformation of traditional forms and processes of action, which could be the beginning of a positive change in traditional methods of action.

However, the notion 'good practices' has also been widely debated when it is understood directly based on the logic of means and ends. In other words, an action could be considered a good practice to the extent that it favours the sustainability and profitability of the initiative or institution where it is carried out, which would not necessarily imply a change or improvement in the social conditions of less favoured groups. In this sense, for Biesta (2015), if the aims and ends of education are embedded in an initiative identified as good practice, what kind of citizens are individuals supposed to become?

Another problem would be the 'hyperbolisation' that is produced when a practice is labelled 'good' or 'best'. We agree with Osburn *et al.* (2011) that all practices have their limits and actually analysing and mentioning these limits is fundamental. The fact that pointing at good practices might inhibit the exercise of identifying how one activity might improve or change in time is a great danger.

Another important issue is what Biesta (2015) calls the 'normative validity' of measurements. Especially in social sciences, many phenomena cannot be measured, but if some activity has to be labelled as good, better or best, it will be necessary to measure the results or impact of this

activity. Therefore, many times the exercise of identifying good practices is limited by what can easily be measured.

The definition of these terms is elastic, and they could be considered also as slippery concepts that can be associated with almost any idea, activity or technology. Their excessive use strongly suggests their misuse as well. This is not to say that what some people proclaim as good practice may not, in fact, merit that designation, or a similar one, but rather that the claim itself does not ensure its merit, and yet it is all too easily made (Osburn *et al.* 2011).

Therefore, the literature shows us that the prevalence of one notion of 'good practices' over another would be conditioned from the following three dimensions: (1) the cultural and historical framework in which the initiative has been implemented, (2) the specific ideology and aims that guided the proposal, and (3) the limitations or tensions of the initiative that point at how it could be improved.

The next section presents a descriptive analysis of diverse initiatives that have been considered 'good practices' for the integration of migrant children in the Spanish educational context. Later, in the section 'Discussion', we will analyse these initiatives based on the three dimensions mentioned above.

Initiatives for educational integration of migrants in Spain considered 'good practices'

For the development of this section, a review of initiatives and public policies implemented in Spain between 2000 and 2019 has been carried out. After the identification of more than 50 projects and programmes, nine were selected and grouped into three dimensions, according to the actors implementing the initiative or policy: (1) formal education, (2) civil society and (3) administration. The description of these initiatives has been built from the information that we have been able to obtain from the executing institutions themselves, or from the documentation available on the internet (official documents, technical evaluations, doctoral theses, reports, management, press and research reports). The development of this process has made us face the same doubts and tensions that have been identified and described in the previous section. This happens when in each of the initiatives the consideration of 'good practice' does not obey a common and representative pattern, but rather a self-assignment of a singular nature.

'Good practices' from formal education

The *Plan for reception of foreign students* was promoted in a primary school in Andalusia in 2003. It was selected as a 'good practice' and awarded a prize by the Observatory of Childhood in Andalusia (General Directorate of Childhood and Families, Andalusia Government), who launched a call for good practices with regard to immigrant minors. The main goal was to promote intercultural education by involving different members of the educational community to achieve social and educational integration of foreign students, to guarantee equal opportunities for all. The school developed a project of intercultural education with the educational community, including local institutions and associations, that involved changing teaching practices, creating teachers' working groups and engaging families in school activities. The goals of the project were: sensitising members of the educational community about multiculturalism, promoting the value of respect and coexistence, making a linguistic adaptation for students who did not speak Spanish, helping them to build their identity, establishing the principle of difference as enriching, promoting the participation of students and families in the school, addressing the socioeconomic situation of immigrant students, fostering competence to understand cultural differences with a positive attitude and collaborating with local entities.

The *INTO project*[2] *– Intercultural mentoring tool to support migrant integration* – was financed by the European Comenius Multilateral call in 2014–2015 and awarded by the Directorate General for Education and Culture of the European Union as a 'good practice'. It was promoted by universities and secondary schools from Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom, Cyprus and Poland, and its main aim was to introduce tools for the social integration and improvement of academic performance of immigrant students at risk in secondary schools. They introduced peer tutoring in schools to decrease absenteeism and early school leaving, improve social integration and academic and job opportunities. Students (13–19 years old) with a migrant background accompanied younger migrant students, while teachers supervised and supported the mentors. It consisted of providing teachers and students with tools and training to support mentees during their learning process, advise them academically and professionally, offer linguistic support, and organise activities for newly arrived students and students at risk of exclusion.

2 Intercultural mentoring tool to support migrant integration (INTO)

The *Nightingale project*[3] *–Social mentoring to promote social inclusion and interculturality* – is a mentoring programme that has been implemented in 20 different European universities, including the University of Girona. The project was inspired by the mentoring project Perach, founded in 1972 in Israel. It was carried out in Malmo University (Sweden) as a pilot in 1995, and in 2002, the city of Malmo awarded the project its integration prize. Its main aim is to promote the inclusion of immigrant children and young people from a social, cultural and linguistic perspective. It consisted of connecting college students with primary and secondary school students with migrant backgrounds, so they could create a social bond and the mentor could become a model for the children and do leisure activities with them. The activities involved practising the language of the region and visiting cultural spaces, and usually secondary school students ended up establishing a relationship with the mentors' families and friends.

Civil society 'good practices'

The project *Cambalache*[4] was selected by the General Directorate of Integration of Immigrants (Ministry of Work and Immigration of Spain) to receive funding from the European Integration Fund (EIF) of the EU Annual Call for proposals. Launched by the *Federation Andalucia Hosts* in 2012, it aimed to improve the socio-educative process of inclusion of children from diverse sociocultural origins, by engaging the whole educational community, starting from schools of Andalusia and connecting with other ambits of socialisation such as the neighbourhood, family and group of peers. It involved accompanying minors and their families in the process of integration in the school system, promoting extracurricular activities for intercultural cohabitation, providing school reinforcement in curricular subjects and organising workshops for educators to learn to manage diversity in school, with a gender perspective.

The project *Own Voice: Interculturality and Gender in Primary Schools*[5] was also selected by the General Directorate of Integration of Immigrants (Ministry of Work and Immigration of Spain). It was promoted by the NGO Women in Conflict Zones and implemented in 11 primary schools in Andalusia and seven schools in Extremadura. The objectives were to improve the intercultural and co-educational approach of teach-

3 The nightingale mentoring network
4 Cambalache
5 Own Voice: Interculturality and Gender in Primary Schools

ers, improve the coexistence of immigrant and local students and increase the level of awareness about interculturality and gender equity. By using action research, they identified needs in the educational community with students, teachers and families and prepared interventions with students in classrooms and playgrounds, by using songs and games from all continents based on cooperation, respect and mutual enrichment.

The project *Culture and inclusion: Building from the youth and the European institutions*[6] was financed by the European Comenius Multilateral call (2018–2019) and considered an example of 'good practice'. It is an initiative from the Youth of Cultural Action (Joves d'Acció Cultural), based on the need to propose tangible and youth-led solutions to change the design of immigration and refugee reception policies. The project aims to generate a process of active debate, through a participatory methodology based on non-formal education, backed by important policy makers, activities and learning materials. In order to fulfil this goal, they used the network of 'Ciudades Refugio' (refugee cities). This network is composed of the municipalities that have offered to host refugees, since the central government was not responding to this need.

'Good practices' from the administration

The programme *ATAL: Temporary classrooms for language adoption*[7] was launched by the Department of Education of the Government of Andalusia (Order of January 15, 2007) to promote the educational and cultural integration of immigrant children. Since its origin, it has been defined as a mechanism that seeks to regulate actions of intercultural education and the teaching of Spanish as a vehicular language in the teaching-learning process in public primary and secondary schools in Andalusia. The programme is implemented in eight Andalusian provinces and it is aimed at foreign students enrolled between the third grade of primary and fourth grade of compulsory secondary education. It is considered a good practice of social integration for two central reasons: (1) it has allowed the provision of Spanish language skills, reaching more than 50,000 young immigrant students throughout its history, and (2) it has had a progressive growth both territorially and in terms of coverage. ATAL emerged as a pilot programme in the province of Almeria in 1997. Once the pilot was finished, it was implemented in the rest of the Andalusian provinces. It is not until 2017 that the project began to be

6 Culture and inclusion: Building from the youth and the European institutions
7 ATAL: Temporary classrooms for language adoption

promoted and financed by the Department of Education of the Government of Andalusia.

Escolinos de Babel[8] is a programme offered by the City Council of Oviedo since 2006. Since 2014, it has been carried out by the NGO ACCEM, a non-profit statewide organisation whose mission is to defend the fundamental rights, care and support of people who are at risk of social exclusion. The objective of the programme is to reinforce the instrumental learning of students who present difficulties and, as a priority, to assist those who join the educational system late, and those who do not know the language. The programme is considered good practice of social integration mainly because it is an initiative that has been able to remain in force from 2006 until now, gradually increasing its coverage. In addition, it is an initiative that supports immigrant children's inclusion in the education system. The City Council of Oviedo considers that the outsourcing of the service to the NGO ACCEM has been fundamental for the sustainability and success of the initiative.

The *II Plan of Attention to the Immigrant Student in the framework of an inclusive and intercultural school* (2016–2020)[9] was produced by the Basque Country Government with the objective of supporting the inclusion of students from families of foreign origin in the educational system of the Basque country. This objective was sought to be achieved through the promotion of normative, organisational and methodological initiatives that support actions carried out in schools. The specific actions were the creation of points of information and orientation, making adjustments in school supply, offering teacher training to foster positive coexistence, and creating an instrument for the characterisation of educational needs. This public policy is considered a good practice because it represents a significant effort of many years bringing together different local initiatives with the same objective. The creation of this plan therefore represents the culmination of a process of generating initiatives for more than 30 years and has broad support from all the political sectors of the Basque parliament.

From the presentation of these cases, we can point out three considerations. As noted above, the designation of an experience as 'good practice' is usually given from outside the activity itself. Namely, they are agents external to local experience, who define what is a 'good practice'. These agents have their own agendas and, in many cases, use the

8 Escolinos de Babel

9 II Plan of Attention to the Immigrant Student in the framework of an inclusive and intercultural school (2016–2020)

qualification of 'good practices' to legitimise their performance. This is something that happens, as we have seen, with the entities – public and private – that finance the projects that are later called 'good practices'.

Another aspect to consider is that defining an experience as 'good practice' implies an act of standardisation that establishes the guidelines for what has to be done in a specific field. This process of normalisation may favour, as can be seen in some of the cases described, a form of colonisation. This is something that could happen because the qualification of 'good' is related to the kind of subject that this notion wants to normalise through recognition of reception language and the hegemony of certain cultural practices. In this operation, 'good practice' acts as dispositive to define a legitimated 'other'.

Finally, we must not lose sight of the fact that the process of naming an experience as 'good practice' does not usually take into account the vision of the 'insiders', of these subjects who participate in the experience. 'Good practice' comes from the adaptation to predetermined objectives or from the accommodation of immigrants to host societies' expectation of them. In this sense, the notion of 'good practice' does not usually take into account the agency of those who should be considered as actors and not as receivers.

Discussion and conclusions

There are multiple contradictions and conceptual definitions regarding the notion of good practices. As we have been able to observe, the typification of 'good practice' (of a public policy or a bottom-up initiative) is conditioned both by the historical-cultural dimension and by the ideological framework in which it is promoted and implemented. In order to address this problem, we proposed two questions in the introduction to this chapter, in order to guide the theoretical and analytical development of this work.

The first question was: What are the most important conceptual contradictions related to the identification of the notion of 'good practices'? The first aspect identified across these initiatives is that the majority of these assumed their 'good practice' status because they were funded by the European Commission, the Spanish Government or different city councils. Behind each initiative was a school, a university, an organisation or a government that presented its initiatives and these have been awarded or selected because they showed continuity, they were

implemented in different countries of the European Union, they found sources of funding, and their support increased its coverage gradually. Also, the development involved collaboration with other entities and was based on local initiatives.

In terms of patterns of discourse (Osburn *et al*. 2011), we identified initiatives of all kinds that were assessed, researched or monitored, showing a body of evidence based on the implementation of questionnaires, interviews or focus groups. Some other practices were considered 'good' because an institution selected them to promote similar projects, falling into a discourse based on what a certain ideology considers desirable. We did not find any discourse that supported that they were good practices only because they have been done all along or that it was a trend that had to be embraced.

The second question was: What are the most important interests and contextual characteristics that might be behind the identification of an initiative as successful? When it comes to the sociocultural and historical context of the initiatives, the analysis shows that the only context that is described in the presentation of the practices was very general and institutional. For example, they pointed at universities, associations or public schools that participated in the project. However, a deep description of each context would be needed.

This is related to the lack of consideration towards the difficulties or tensions that were faced by the participants of each initiative. In line with Biesta (2015) and Osburn *et al*. (2011), we suggest that when 'good practices' are sought, only achievements and successful practices are highlighted, producing a hyperbolisation that can be counterproductive for the educational community. For example, one project fostered collaboration between institutions such as families, schools and civil society, but the tensions or problems across them were not mentioned. Highlighting and discussing why they encountered certain problems and how they faced them could be extremely useful for educators, but the discourse associated with 'good practices' usually avoids showing any kind of fissure or contradiction. Thus, as we have said in other spaces (Erstad *et al.* 2021; Ocampo-Torrejón *et al*. 2020) we believe that it is essential to be able to reveal the mechanisms with which these tensions were faced and addressed.

Along the same lines, what we suggest is that the exercise of studying and sharing practices that are oriented towards solving educational and social problems is relevant, but the logic behind the use of the notion of 'good' practice might be counterproductive and limiting. Our proposal would be to move towards the use of 'initiatives', to address some of the issues that have been pointed out. From this perspective,

apart from identifying why one practice might be relevant, in this case to promote social and educational inclusion, as we proposed in the first section, we suggest that the following aspects might be taken into account: (1) a cultural and historical framework in which this initiative has been implemented, (2) a definition of the specific ideology and aims of the initiative, (3) the limitations or tensions of the initiative, pointing at how it could be improved.

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II. Research Projects on Migrant Children

Chapter 4

The Child-Centred Approach to the Integration of Migrant Children: The MiCREATE Project

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Introduction

Growing migration in recent decades has increasingly diversified Europe. In the face of these trends, EU countries have widely acknowledged that the ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of their societies cannot be left ungoverned. Nonetheless, migrant children are to some extent overlooked within the existing framework for migrant integration. It is not that they are disregarded by the provisions of integration policies; they are included in terms of their 'becoming' (as future adults, citizens and workers) rather than as children in terms of their 'being'. They are often not perceived as competent and active agents of their (social) lives, but as passive subjects who need help, support and guidance to thrive in the new social environment. Moreover, they are not included in the processes of migrant integration policy-making as political subjects who are different but equally valuable as adults and have the capacity to represent their own interests and speak for themselves.[1]

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The project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (hereafter MiCREATE) is based on the recognition of these deficits. It was conceived with the aim of, on the one hand, rethinking the limits and potentials of existing integration policies and, on the other hand, promoting the social integration of different groups of migrant children in European countries through a child-centred approach to migrant integration at the educational and policy levels. The child-centred approach is applied to circumvent the common-sense assumptions about what 'we' as adults (professionals, academics, policy-makers and educators) tend to consider as stimulators and indicators of integration. The main aim of the MiCREATE project is to identify the needs and wellbeing of migrant children as they themselves see and perceive them, and to translate the findings into policies for education professionals, practitioners and policy-makers.

The MiCREATE team has conducted research activities on educational staff and school systems as well as newly arrived migrants, long-term residents and local children in schools in Slovenia, Denmark, Spain, the United Kingdom, Austria and Poland. Additionally, fieldwork with children was implemented in camps and institutions in Italy, France, Greece, Turkey, Poland, Slovenia and Austria. More than 3,000 children took part in the research activities of the MiCREATE project. The conclusions of cross-cutting analysis and findings from the fieldwork with local and migrant children will provide a base for policy recommendations in a 'Policy Lab' and development of integration tools through the activities of an 'Integration Lab'.

In this chapter we describe the concept of the child-centred approach as we understand and apply it in the MiCREATE project. First, we briefly explain the general principles of the child-centred approach as an epistemological approach that involves certain views about the nature of knowledge production and meaning-making. We then proceed with a description of the child-centred methodology, focusing on the use of participant observation, art-based methods and narrative interviews. Afterwards we present how we apply the child-centred approach at the policy level. In the concluding remarks, we explain why it is important to adopt a child-centred approach to migrant integration, what are its advantages are and how such an approach can facilitate the inclusion of these children in practice.

The general conceptual principles of child-centred approach in the MiCREATE project

The MiCREATE project takes a child-centred approach to three core aspects, namely research, policy and education. First, we apply methods that recognise children as active participants and as the most relevant source of information about their lives (Mayeza 2017). Second, we develop a framework for policy that has children's wellbeing and participation as the main feature and principle of its conceptualisation (what it is built on), its operation (how it is developed and how it functions) and its orientation (what its intentions are aimed at) (Gornik 2020). Third, we develop educational practices that, on the one hand, contribute to the development of social knowledge and practices necessary for achieving inclusive societies, and, on the other hand, stimulate the agency of migrant children and help migrants discover their skills, passions and abilities through questioning, problem-solving, independent thinking, innovation and creativity.

A child-centred approach should not be confused with a child-friendly approach. The latter primarily refers to any activity, policy or measure that aims to treat children in a respectful manner, regardless of their gender, cultural background, etc., without any abuse or physical and psychological violence, so that children feel safe, comfortable and happy. In contrast, a child-centred approach additionally encourages children to jointly and individually develop their own solutions to given problems and thus also promotes cooperation, development of life skills, abilities and agency. It gives them 'space' to express their opinions and perspectives, thereby enabling them to be actively involved in meaning-making.

In the MiCREATE project, the concept of child-centredness is used as a participatory approach that recognises children as active participants within social interactions and as autonomous individuals who are able to communicate information about their own lives, thus providing a valid source of data (Mayeza 2017). The main feature of the child-centred approach is to shift the focus from the prevailing adult-centred perspective to children's experiences and to consider children as experts of their own lives, skilful communicators, rights holders and meaning makers (Clark and Moss 2005; Fattore, Mason and Watson 2007). In other words, with the child-centred approach, we seek to reduce adult-centred explanations in order to facilitate children's agency in defining migrant integration (Thorne 1993) and to challenge the dominant discourse about whose knowledge matters (Clark and Moss 2011).

Our main aim is to take children's own perspectives as a starting point for learning about them (Mayeza 2017), to let them speak in ways that allow them to report on their own subjective experiences and perceptions, to explain their wellbeing in their own terms, and to prioritise their needs according to their own perceptions. Second, we seek to capture children's understanding of migration and integration processes – for example, how migrant children perceive host societies, how migrant children adapt their lives to current conditions in terms of their own ethnic and cultural characteristics and values, how local children perceive their peers from foreign countries, etc. A child-centred approach thus involves children in the process of defining their wellbeing, which is epistemologically different from simply asking children about their opinions on what we adults tend to consider the indicators of children's wellbeing. This method is not so much about finding out the 'truth' as it is about enabling children to create meanings; it is an epistemological approach, which means that it includes certain views about the nature of knowledge, how it can be constructed and communicated (Clark and Moss 2011). This means that a child-centred approach applies participatory research as a way of facilitating knowledge production, as opposed to data collection, which is the case with methods such as surveys and checklists.

The child-centred approach in MiCREATE research methodology

MiCREATE fieldwork with children includes research with newly arrived migrant children, long-term residents and local children, using a variety of different methodological approaches. Recognising that it is important to build trust with children in order to apply the child-centred approach, our research began with participant observation as the ethnographic component of 'entering the field' before moving on to other research steps – that is, art-based methods, collection of autobiographical life stories and narratives of location. These methods were chosen in line with the child-centred approach to give children a central position in the data collection process.

Participant observation

The decision to apply a participant observation method in MiCREATE research in primary and secondary schools is mainly grounded on a premise that this method allows us to take part in the daily activities, interactions and events of children as one means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their 'culture' (see e.g. Fine and Sandstrom 1999; Pellegrini, Hoch and Symons 2013; DeWalt and DeWalt 2011). The central idea of participant observation is to personally experience happenings, class and school dynamics and peer interactions in a 'natural' setting. In the participant observation phase, we have combined passive observation and moderate observation (see Fine and Sandstrom 1999: 16–17).

Passive observation is used to record explicit behaviour, interactions and social dynamics, when these are more important than the interpretation that is given to explain the happenings. With passive observation, the imperative is to minimise the obtrusion from the researcher's side, to adopt a 'fly on the wall' technique and observe things as they happen, as much undisturbed by the researcher's presence as possible. In the MiCREATE project, passive observation was implemented when we participated as bystanders to social dynamic in school settings; for example, a lesson from the back of a classroom, a school assembly from the back of the hall, a staff meeting or a playground from the side. With the use of this method, we gained information based on observations (recorded in fieldnotes), which are equally important for the analysis as information from other research techniques such as individual interviewing, survey and focus groups. The data collected in the participant observation phase helped us to gain understanding of the everyday social life in educational settings – it allowed us to develop specific premises about the integration of migrant children in specific situations, to get an understanding of the setting and dynamics within the context in which social interactions related to migrant integration occur, including children's abilities, needs and interests, peer dynamics and relationships between students and teachers, knowledge of day-to-day activities in the school community, school organisation, etc. We got an insight into the (non)existence of child-centred approaches in classrooms and everyday school environments and were able to assess the extent of multiculturality in educational practices and the school environment. Collection of data through participant observation in the early period was also important with regard to our own self-reflection, immediate impression and understanding of the field. It was also valuable for later stages of the research, including sampling, open-ended interviewing, etc.

In addition to passive observation, we also used a moderate observation approach to develop a rapport with the children. Moderate participation was applied, when we helped students with school subjects, talked with them in the hallways and schoolyards, went with them on school trips, etc., without becoming a member of the school community in question. Becoming familiar with the children had central implications for the quality and validity of data, especially because in interaction with adults, children are typically keen to please them and provide answers that they believe adults want to hear. In order to avoid socially desirable or confirmatory responses, we wanted to spend a fair amount of preliminary time in the setting so that children got used to us and our presence. The period of initial observation was crucial in this regard, so that with time children act in a way that they would act if we were not there. Although we are aware that in the light of age and power differences involved, we cannot fully avoid the authority dimensions, we nevertheless attempted to adopt a role appropriate for the contexts, which could set us on the most equal terms with the children as possible. To achieve this, we have adopted a 'least adult role' (Mayeza 2017) and attempted to blend in with the children by developing less paternalistic and more democratic and equivalent relationships with them. In view of the child-centred approach, a more friendly approach to children is valuable because it builds on interaction between us and the students in the most trusted way possible. Our task was to establish positive relationship with a relative lack of authority (e.g. 'sanctioning' the children's behaviour). The 'friend role' is helpful to the development of trust, although this trust must be cultivated by the researcher and this type of unique interaction takes time to develop; this does not mean that researchers behave like children or adolescents but rather that they behave as a friend might, establishing relations of mutuality and respect, offering 'an engaged and interested ear', support, companionship, friendly advice and so on.

Art-based approach

The MiCREATE research activities involved different art-based methods. It is generally understood that, when studying children, methods such as storytelling, crafts and play have resonance with children's lives and day-to-day activities (Curtis-Tyler 2011) and that these approaches are child-centred because they accommodate children's skills, capacities, experiences and interests. Our basic objective was to expand the modes of expression available to the migrant children, ensuring that not all data have to be conveyed through the medium of words, to deliver a

number of different forms of data and to allow cross-checking of results and comparison. As in many other research practices, in the MiCREATE project participatory arts-based approaches were used as gateway to entering children's worlds (Driessnack 2005: 416) and were combined with the traditional methodology. The organisation of the art-based activities was envisioned to help to stimulate the discussion with the children in both the focus groups and individual interviews.

The main benefit of an art-based approach in view of the child-centred approach was that it has the potential to help to break down power relations between children and researchers. This approach potentially modifies adult-centred research agendas and lessens the directness of the researcher's gaze (Rollins 2005), stimulates a more 'child-driven report' instead of one that is adult-driven (Driessnack 2005: 421), decreases the risk of the child feeling too shy to participate (Carter and Ford 2013: 97), helps to create an environment in which the child feels comfortable (Punch 2002), and maintains the interest of children during the process of data collection. Nevertheless, art-based methods and tools should not be seen as empowering by themselves; rather, depending on the purpose and objective of using art-based approaches, they can be used as a tool for stimulating children's participation and agency in the research process, as well as a remedy to overcome language challenges or other personal or structural restrictions.

In the MiCREATE project we have ensembled different art-based methods, which allow children a range of options in terms of research activities, and thereby enable them to use different ways of communicating, some of which may suit them more than others (Due, Riggs and Augoustinos 2014). In this view, we followed the principles of the Mosaic approach (Clark 2005; Clark and Moss 2005), which recognises different 'voices' or languages of children and enhancing participation. The partners at the project, researchers from University of Southern Denmark, have composed a catalogue of art-based methods (Hellesdatter Jacobsen *et al*. 2020), which consisted of:

- Making rap music: this approach can work as a mode of enquiry that challenges and explores children's identities and places stress on children's choices and the possibility to express themselves in creative and unconventional ways. This approach can be an important vehicle to convey political messages as a way to speak against unfair policies and exclusionary practices, while lyric-writing constitutes a rich source of data in research. Here, children can express frustrations and hopes in the creation of songs, which may not emerge using other means (see e.g. Lenette 2019).

- Photo elicitation: the aim of this method is for children to take photos of their homes, friends, surroundings, etc., which form an interview focus. This method can reveal important relationships in terms of people or places, encourage participants' agency, exploration and extended responses. It potentially enhances the ability to reveal children's experiences from their own perspective and can make it easier to talk about sensitive or uncomfortable topics (see Brown *et al.* 2020; Oh 2012).
- Photo-diary/photovoice: with this method children use a camera to take photos over a number of days. A topic for taking the photos is chosen by the children in collaboration with the researcher. The children gather photos of places and situations the researcher not would have known otherwise (White *et al.* 2010). Photo-diary/photovoice gives children an opportunity to navigate and participate in their own agenda-driven method and can be used as main method for understanding children's life, wellbeing, relations, etc. or as part of a photo-elicitation interview.
- Short films: with this method, children and adolescents are invited to interview each other to provide an auto-interview about their lives, experiences and thoughts. Such an approach gives children agency and choice about how and what to ask and thereby minimises power imbalances between researchers and children; this may reduce bias and promote improved understanding of research topics (Lushey and Munro 2014).
- Use of artefacts in interviews: in this method, artefacts are used as the main 'object' in the interview or as a mediating tool to address sensitive or new issues. The artefacts (e.g. object from home, poster, game, toy, etc.) can be a starting point for the interview or be the focus while the child or adolescent explains why and how the artefact is important (Roswell 2011). Children may feel more able to discuss and describe feelings if they are focused on an artefact or image that symbolises their everyday experience (Bahn and Barratt-Pugh 2013: 197). Equally important is the observation that children may begin to be more active in leading the interaction and taking the active role in the interaction when using this method.
- 'Draw and write' method: in this approach, children draw the relationships or important artefacts. The children are given a sheet of paper with different circles and asked to place themselves in the middle and put people/objects/artefacts, etc. in the surrounding circles, with the most important people or most valuable artefacts closest and the least important furthest away. By making relation-

ships visible, the complex map of connectedness and wellbeing can be explained, and children are enabled to 'fit' parts of importance as an (interchangeable) whole. The method helps children to express practices, experiences and relationships and can potentially contribute to a more complex picture of relationships or values (Eldén 2013).

- Mapping: this method relies on drawing, writing or paper-crafting and can be used as a reflective tool, considering topics or emotions, as a navigating tool, showing relations and meanings, or as a processual tool, showing the participants thoughts and being in the world as part of an interview. Children can create maps of certain areas (places to be, places not to be, favourite spots), relationships, emotions, concepts, etc.
- Vignettes: by means of vignettes (a picture, a brief scene, a comic frame or a short literary sketch), sensitive or difficult topics (discrimination, loneliness, love, loss, belonging, etc.) can be discussed or touched upon. In this way, personal experiences are externalised by being 'framed' in the vignettes, while a child or adolescent can identify and relate to the vignettes without exposing his or her private and painful issues.

Narrative interviews

In the MiCREATE project, the art-based approach was followed by narrative interviews, more concretely with the method of collection of autobiographical life stories and the narration of location. The collection of autobiographical life stories is in line with a child-centred approach because it delivers 'a retrospective account that an actual person makes in prose of his own existence, stressing his individual life and the history of his personality' (Lejeune 1975 in Burgos 1989: 30). The very nature of life stories brings to the fore children's subjectivity and individuality as important basic sources of information. The narrative autobiographical method is well suited for conducting child-centred research, particularly since it allows a special analytical focus on children's experiences and life history, subjectivity, self-perception, flexibility of identity and possibility of locating various levels of data such as: concrete family story (what happened, when, why), interpersonal relations and their reflection, understanding of the broad political and economic situation, the interweaving of micro, meso and macro data, etc. (Bertaux 2015).

Additionally, the narration of location (Anthias 2002) is suitable for researching (cultural) identity and belonging and thereby for examining the results of migrant children's integration processes. The process of

integration is a process of transforming the individual's cultural, ethnic, linguistic, etc. identities; therefore, it also addresses questions of belonging and self-identification. Through the analysis of identity changes, we were able to observe the process of integration into a new cultural environment. We believe that the method of narration of location is suitable to measure this process because the essence of the method is to 'catch the identity' through narration; it catches the story about where we place ourselves in terms of social categories such as ethnicity, gender and class at a specific time and space. And thus intersectionality is also considered.

With these two methods, the 'power' that one usually has as an adult and as the researcher is left entirely to the child, by the means of posing open questions. We explained to the child, in a broad way, what we are interested in, what we are studying – for example, 'We are interested in your life experiences, what happened in your life.' 'We are interested in you, who you are and how you became who you are.' We tried to avoid precise instructions or attempts to influence what the child should talk about or at what point of their life the narrative should begin. They were placed in the position to choose the opening of their life story, how to tell the story, what things, events, people to expose, which to omit, skip, and so on. Therefore, when the child determines at which point in his or her life he or she will begin the narrative, or about what he or she talks most of the time, he/she gives meaning to these events, creating a hierarchy of meanings and events in his/her life. We encouraged the children to determine the rhythm, scope and content of the autobiography as much as possible. It is the child who is supposed to lead the conversation. This is why during the first phase of the interview our conversation with the children was wholly unstructured. Toward the end of the interview, however, we encouraged the children to talk about their everyday life, relations with peers and friends, family and family life, school, the pre-migration period, multiculturality, xenophobia and racism, etc. In order to stimulate the conversation, we shared our own experience with the child in an unobtrusive way or raised a question on a topic already started by the child. As children usually want to please the listener, special attention was devoted to not influencing or encouraging the desired behaviour and statements through our verbal or non-verbal communication (Sedmak 2001a, 2001b).

The justification for choosing an autobiographical approach as a cognitive instrument can be illustrated by the main characteristics and advantages of this narrative research technique, the most important of which are: a holistic approach, historicity and contextual orientation, subjectivity and consideration of the individual's self-perception, flexibility and ability to locate different levels of data (Sedmak 2001a; Bertaux

2015). Contextualism enables obtaining relevant information about the child's family and social networks, reasons for moving, country of origin and country of arrival, the presence of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, potential nationalism and ethnic intolerance, etc.; the historical dimension, however, provides insight into changes (of identity, belonging, opinions, attitudes etc.) and the connection of these changes with the circumstances of social life. The question of subjectivity is central to the autobiographical method. The active involvement of the subject in the research/cognitive process provides access to privileged dimensions of human reality that cannot be achieved through other approaches (e.g. information about life experiences, individual choices, conscious actions, and interpretations of them) (Burgos 1989). Autobiographies have proven to be a particularly effective instrument for exploring the meanings that surround everyday experiences and human interpretations of ourselves. The flexibility of the autobiographical method allows us to face both the expected and the unexpected (Thompson 1981). The importance that autobiographies attach to human self-interpretation and self-perception, and to place the informant and their narrative in a position that is perceived to be superior to previously outlined hypotheses and research guidelines, proves that this method is particularly suited to capture experiences of the 'deprivileged' and 'silent' (Stanley 1996).

Child-centred approach to migrant integration policy

In the MiCREATE project, we also work on developing a child-centred policy framework and discuss the basic principles that would have to form the foundation of a migrant integration policy if the policy-makers sought to pursue a child-centred approach (Gornik 2020). Our basic premise is that a child-centred migrant integration policy is a policy that problematises migrants' wellbeing and participation as a guiding principle and a main objective to be attained. We argue that a child-centred migrant integration policy rests on five aspects: (1) knowledge obtained in line with a child-centred approach; (2) emphasis on children's present wellbeing; (3) participation and involvement of children in policy development; (4) participation of children in the wider social context; and (5) principles of child-centred education (Ibid.).

A child-centred migrant integration policy shifts the focus from the dominant adult-centric perspective on children's experiences and knowl-

edge. This basically means that in a child-centred approach to policy, policy-makers work together with children, who are able to communicate and create new meanings about integration and offer different insights into related challenges. In the interaction between policy-makers and children, emphasis is given to children's views on what is important to them and how to resolve and respond to the specific problems concerning their integration. The focus on children's perspectives is not proposed to undermine the role of adults with specific professional expertise, but to recognise that to answer questions about children's experiences, the primary source of knowledge should be the children themselves (Morrow and Richards 1996). A child-centred approach to policy is distinct in that it reduces common-sense adult-centred explanations in order to facilitate childhood agency in various fields (Thorne 1993) and challenges the dominant discourse about whose knowledge counts (Clark and Moss 2011).

As noted by Due, Riggs and Augoustinos (2014), there is still a gap in knowledge about children's wellbeing, particularly from the perspective of children with a refugee or migrant backgrounds themselves. There has been a growing number of studies concerning children's understanding of 'doing well' that rely on a participatory approach with the aim of gaining an understanding of how children perceive their wellbeing (Due, Riggs and Augoustinos 2014); the studies have focused on their interests and concerns – how wellbeing is defined by children, what is important to them in the present, how they think about their past and the future, what meanings they attach to the physical spaces they inhabit, to the people and activities in their lives (Fattore, Mason and Watson 2009; Clark and Statham 2005). If a migrant integration policy is to be in line with a child-centred approach, it should conceptualise migrant integration through the parameters of children's understanding of well-being. Following this, a child-centred migrant integration policy reaches beyond an adult-centric understanding of what successful integration is (such as good performance in school, meeting developmental milestones and good behaviour) since a lack of negative indicators does not necessarily imply positive wellbeing (Fattore *et al.* 2007).

A child-centred migrant integration policy would also seek an answer to the question how to create 'a political space' where migrant children of all ages with resident status, asylum seekers, irregular or undocumented migrants are able to communicate and share their experiences, needs and aspirations after arriving in receiving societies. Children's active involvement in legal and administrative proceedings and in decision-making processes at individual, family, organisation and policy levels in society has been recognised as key to realising a child-centred perspec-

tive. The fact remains that if children are not acknowledged as rightful political actors with the ability to enact their rights, this puts them into a precarious position in which their rights depend on the generosity and goodwill of others; such a position undermines the understanding of the political dimension of children's rights for it does not treat children as political beings to whom children's rights obligations are owed, but instead treats them as vulnerable subjects, whose rights will be respected out of kindness and compassion (Gornik 2020).

Based on the above starting points, it can be said that a child-centred migrant integration policy would profoundly touch upon implementation of Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), while governments would be called upon to devote particular attention to ensuring that marginalised and disadvantaged children, such as migrant or refugee children, are not excluded from consultative processes in various segments of society. A child-centred policy would address a wider social context and devote attention to how to ensure and implement children's participation across different societal domains and various institutional settings, including schools, local civil society organisations, governmental institutions, independent human rights institutions, and commissioners with a broad children's rights mandate. In other words, it would call for systemic mechanisms for influencing public decisions at all levels as well as development of child-friendly and collaborative public services and support for child-led organisations.

A child-centred migrant integration policy would also promote participation of migrant children in a wider social context. In this view, it would necessitate the sensitisation and awareness-raising of adults: pre- and in-service training on the rights of children for all professionals working with and for children – for instance, training on Article 12 of the CRC, and its application in practice for lawyers, judges, police, social workers, community workers, psychologists, caregivers, residential and prison officers, teachers at all levels of the educational system, medical doctors, nurses and other health professionals, civil servants and public officials, asylum officers, etc. Such training would need to stress how to ensure appropriate conditions for supporting and encouraging children to express their views, and make sure that these views are given due weight, by regulations and arrangements that are firmly anchored in laws and institutional codes and are regularly evaluated with regard to their effectiveness. Finally, a child-centred migrant integration policy would touch upon legislative, policy and practice provisions both to establish entitlement to children's participation and to hold governments and others to account to realise that entitlement (Lansdown 2010).

A special focus of a child-centred migrant integration policy would have to be devoted to child-centred education. The latter addresses children's needs in the present time, based on flexibility of learning environments and student participation (Bonwell and Eison 1991; McCombs and Whisler 1997; Nicol and Macfarlane-Dick 2006). The principles of child-centred education lead teachers to take into account the specific learning needs of migrants and to pay attention to an individual learner's strengths and challenges, as well as needs that are tied to a personal set of circumstances such as length of stay, ethnic and cultural background, religion, age, gender, socioeconomic and legal status, and other personal traits and circumstances (Gay 2002). In this way, adjustability, flexibility and contextuality, which form the foundation of child-centred education, facilitate migrants' equal conditions and opportunities and hence contribute also to their integration.

Moreover, through the principles of child-centred education, migrant children are encouraged to discover forms of self-expression – emotional, intellectual, physical, artistic – that are all valued and bring them to self-discovery, help them increase self-learning and allow them to choose, make connections and communicate, think and search for answers, thereby stimulating creativity and enhancing communication skills. In this manner, they are empowered and build on their agency, learning to work together on goals that cannot be accomplished individually. Finally, child-centred education is also community-centred as it identifies individuals as members of the wider community which facilitate purposeful interactions among learners to promote and sustain learning and communication (National Research Council 2000). Stemming from the above-mentioned principles and perspectives, the added value of a child-centred education is that it is very much concerned with showing and developing the responsibilities of children themselves as learners and community members. From the aspect of managing cultural diversity and building a cohesive society, this emphasis is important because it directs children to accept differences and commonalities between themselves and respect for each other, and it also creates a foundation for building strong and inclusive communities.

Conlusion: The relevance of a child-centred approach to migrant integration

Although in recent years there has been a rise in recognition of the importance and need to involve children and take them into account in all actions, circumstances and relations that consider them at different levels (political, educational, research, etc.) and within different disciplines (sociology, psychology, anthropology, political science, etc.), the child-centred approach is still more present in theory than in practice. Full consideration of children and a child-centred approach are to the largest extent present in educational science and practice and to a lesser extent in other scientific research, and almost non-existent at political and policy levels – areas traditionally perceived as exclusively adult, but also the domain of powerful and dominant social subjects. In addition, if the child-centred approach can be to some extent observed in approaches and actions related to 'our' children, this approach is missing in a case of 'other' children – such as migrant children. Migrant children are in this sense doubly deprivileged – as children and as migrants (Sedmak 2017).

As indicated, the policy area is the most problematic from this point of view. Policy-making procedures in the field of migrant integration do not include consultation with children, and migrant children are not given significant democratic rights to influence integration policy and shape laws. A child-centred approach to migrant integration is, on the contrary, marked with an ambition to overcome this gap. In most basic sense, this approach starts from Article 12 of the CRC – according to which all children, including migrants, have a right to be heard in all decisions and to express their views in all matters affecting them.

In the current state of affairs in the political arena, however, the agency of children is repeatedly moderated through presenting children as persons with limited autonomy according to notions of 'developmentalism' and the 'evolving capacities of the child' (Alderson cited in Aitken and Herman 2009). The problem arises because a child as a right-holder is not at the same time also the moral agent who is empowered to act (Pupavac 2001: 99). This often leads to treating children as objects of adult socialisation; in proposing that 'we' know the best interest of the child, we deny children's rights as well as their right to participate in structuring their childhoods (Mayall 2000: 245; Reynolds, Nieuwenhuys and Hanson 2006). Such a mode of operation is problematic in that it makes (children's) rights contingent upon capacity; it prioritises the authority of adults who judge the competency of children and

perhaps do so from their own worldview, rather than the child's viewpoint (Aitken and Herman 2009: 18). A child-centred approach, which builds on acknowledgement of children's capacity to act politically and socially, has hence a unique potential to counter children's exclusion from the political space.

A child-centred approach to examining the integration of migrant children is moreover valuable because it advances children's views, arguments and experiences that are often absent or underrepresented in the development of integration policies. This is important for numerous reasons, because migrant children experience integration differently from adults and differently from how the problem of integration is problematised in migrant integration policies. For instance, migrant children can do very well in school and meet relevant indicators, which have been set by adults; however, this does not necessarily imply their positive wellbeing. A child-centred approach brings new knowledge about how children experience integration. It gives significant emphasis to examining how integration is defined by children, what is important to them in terms of their present wellbeing, how they think about their past and the future, what makes them feel happy and secure, what meanings they attach to the physical spaces they inhabit, to the people and activities in their lives (Fattore *et al.* 2009; Clark and Statham 2005; Ben-Arieh and Boyer 2005). In this way, a child-centred approach supports the creation of new meanings about integration that are relevant to children.

This is important, especially given that the integration of migrant children is not something that can be achieved by a simple legal rule; on the contrary, in order to be effective, integration policy should respond directly to the needs and aspirations of the children concerned on the one hand and to the critical points in the processes of social inclusion on the other hand. If we wish to advance the integration of migrant children in European societies, we have to start from what we know about them and, more importantly, we should give them a voice by making their views, opinions and desires heard. Understanding integration from the perspectives of the children should have an impact upon policy, because in this way policy would be grounded in evidence.

Finally, a child-centred approach is relevant for understanding the integration of migrant children, because it moves beyond the 'models-thinking' of assimilationism and multiculturalism (Scholten 2011). The problem with models is that they tend to simplify policies and over-emphasise the assumed coherency and uniformity of the migrant population, while the latter proves to be far more diverse than a uniform vision of models would suggest. A child-centred approach is conversely

grounded in children's participation to find out more about immigrant integration, how they conceive its aims, how different problems are approached, how integration is explained, and how they make normative claims in terms of what 'good' integration should be like. It gives way to what Scholten calls a structuralist-constructivist perspective to integration; the latter applies an empirical and dynamic approach to immigrant integration and adopts an empirical position when examining how integration is constructed in actual social relations and the practices of diverse actors in these fields. In this respect, a child-centred approach offers particular insight and perspective to questions such as what exactly is meant by the term 'integration' and by what means we integrate, etc. (Mügge and van der Haar 2016; Doomernik and Bruquetas-Callejo 2016). It goes beyond the classical research question 'what integration is and what it depends on'; rather, it is concerned with discovering new dimensions of migrant integration in host societies from a child-centred perspective.

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Chapter 5

The Approach of the CHILD-UP Project to Children-Centred and Dialogic Education

Claudio Baraldi

Introduction

This chapter[1] introduces the child-centred approach underlying CHILD-UP (Children Hybrid Integration: Learning Dialogue as a way of Upgrading Policies of Participation), a Horizon 2020 project which started in January 2019. CHILD-UP deals with the integration of children from a migrant background in seven European countries (Belgium, Germany Finland, Italy, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom). CHILD-UP recognises that the life of children from a migrant background (hereinafter 'migrant children') is conditioned by the interaction of a variety of social and cultural factors. However, it also recognises that migrant children are social agents, and their agency is of prime importance for policies and social interventions concerning their integration. In a child-centred perspective, migrant children can exercise agency in constructing their identities and changing their sociocultural contexts. CHILD-UP aims to analyse dialogic practices in the education system that can enhance migrant children's agency, paving the way to different personal trajectories, which produce unstable manifestations of cultural identity.

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The following sections explain the meaning of the child-centred approach in CHILD-UP. Section 1 explains the connections between the social constraints of children' life and children's agency. Section 2 explains how children's cultural background is linked to their agency. Section 3 explains how the child-centred approach can be applied in the education system through dialogic practices. Section 4 proposes an example of data analysis based on a previous research project which inspired CHILD-UP. The final section describes the outcomes of CHILD-UP, concluding with a reflection on the possibilities and limitations of a child-centred approach in the education system.

Intersectionality and agency

Since the 1990s, the connection between the different social and cultural factors that condition human life has been labelled *intersectionality* (Crenshaw 1994). This concept has become popular in social sciences (e.g. Cho, Crenshaw and McCall 2013; Hankivsky 2014; Mason 2010) and it has also been related to migration and intercultural relations (e.g. Antyas 2012; Byrd Clark and Dervin 2014; Ensor and Gozdziak 2010; Kaukko and Wernesjö 2017; Szalai 2011). In brief, intersectionality means that 'inequities are never the result of single, distinct factors. Rather, they are the outcome of intersections of different social locations, power relations and experiences' (Hankivsky 2014: 2). Intersections are observed between several factors, such as race or ethnicity, gender, age, class, sexuality, abilities, geography, religion, migration. These factors intertwine with political, law, media, economic, educational structures. The interrelation between factors and structures results in power relations and forms of discrimination. Migrant children's marginalisation and discrimination may depend on the intersection of several factors integrated in Western models of life (Twum-Danso Imoh and Ame 2012).

However, the concept of intersectionality can enhance the representation of the vulnerability and incapacity of migrant children, obscuring their contribution to the construction of social relations. In the education system, the general representation of children's incapacity is important since knowledge is constructed and delivered by adults, and children must simply learn it (James and James 2004; Wyness 1999). This representation is strengthened in the case of migrant children when their difficulties in using language and in socialisation may emerge. Against this background, the school is assigned the task of 'acculturating' migrant children (Horenczyk and Tatar 2012), through the conveyance

of (1) knowledge (curriculum content, course content, etc.), (2) norms (rewarded and punished behaviours), (3) values (recognition of migrant children as a group, retention of their cultures, etc.), (4) basic and tacit assumptions about cultural differences. Knowledge, norms, values and basic assumptions are conveyed and evaluated in classroom interactions (Luhmann 2002; Mehan 1979). However, the patterns of classroom interaction can lead to migrant children's adaptation to the school context rather than enhancing their active participation (Janta and Harte 2016; Szalai 2011). Education frequently proposes predetermined knowledge of cultural values, inviting migrant children to adapt to educational expectations about their cultural identity (Baraldi 2012b).

The definition of migrant children as vulnerable and incompetent conceals their potential *agency*. The concept of agency may refer to the individual capacity to act autonomously (James 2009), meaning that children's actions are not *determined* by adults' actions. However, agency implies that children 'interact with the social conditions in which they find themselves' (Moosa-Mitha 2005: 380). Therefore, autonomy in acting depends on important social constraints (Alanen 2009; Bjerke 2011), which are based on the intersection of age, ethnicity, migration background, abilities.

Agency is a specific form of participation based on the choices of action that are available to children in terms of promoting change in social contexts (Baraldi 2014a). Children's agency can be observed if children's active participation in communication shows the availability of choices of action. In the education system, agency and its social conditions can be observed through children's display of epistemic authority – that is, autonomous access to and production of knowledge, in classroom interactions (Baraldi 2015). Children's epistemic autonomy shows agency in that it shows the autonomous capacity of 'acting' knowledge in social interactions and the availability of choices in 'acting' knowledge. The enhancement of children's epistemic authority can be observed as the social condition of children's agency in interactions with adults and other children. Our view is that the enhancement of agency as epistemic authority is the core of a child-centred approach to education.

Cultural factors and agency

Cultural factors are considered important in the explanation of discrimination and as constraints on agency. Studies on intercultural communication observe multicultural societies as being based on the variety of their members' cultural identities (e.g. Hofstede 1980; Ting-Toomey 1999);

therefore, intercultural communication leads to establishing group identities (Collier 2015). Against this background, classrooms are considered multicultural since they include culturally diverse pupils (Mahon and Cushner 2012), and intercultural education focuses on value and problems of cultural identity (e.g. Gundara and Portera 2008), emphasising the positive recognition of cultural differences (Alred, Byram and Fleming 2003; Grant and Portera 2011). Children are members of specific cultural groups, and recognition of children's cultural identities is the prime condition of positive classroom communication. Teachers need intercultural communication competence to build trusting relationships across cultures and recognise the importance of culturally influenced factors (Mahon and Cushner 2012), thus enhancing cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills in the classroom (e.g. Huber and Reynolds 2014; Radstake and Leeman 2010).

This approach has been criticised as *essentialist* for presenting 'people's individual behaviour as entirely defined and constrained by the cultures in which they live so that the stereotype becomes the essence of who they are' (Holliday 2011: 4). An alternative view of intercultural education stresses the prefix *inter* and warns against insisting on the difference between cultural identities (Byrd Clark and Dervin 2014). Identity is seen as fluid, malleable and contingently constructed in communication (Dervin and Liddicoat 2013; Piller 2011; Nair-Venugopal 2009). This view focuses on the construction of cultural identity in communication processes, rather than on the cultural variety of participants (Baraldi 2015, 2018). According to Holliday (1999, 2011), the production of cultural identity is associated with contingent communication processes produced through specific social groupings or activities. Holliday defines these contingent productions of identity as *small cultures*.

Several studies conclude that intercultural communication may lead to the construction of a *hybrid identity* – that is, loose, unstable manifestations of cultural identities (Jackson 2014; Kramsch and Uryu 2012). In this constructivist view, a classroom is 'multicultural' because it is the social production of cultural identity, rather than the sum of individuals with different origins and cultural backgrounds. This implies an important change of classroom activities, which may obtain three relevant results: (1) the negotiated construction of a hybrid identity avoiding the individual and social construction of unchangeable traditions and motives of separation, (2) the exercise of migrant children's agency in constructing their identities and changing their social conditions, and therefore (3) an interpretation of integration as *hybrid integration*.

Finally, this approach implies that it does not make sense to observe problems of hybrid identity for migrant children only, because hybrid

identity and hybrid integration are concepts applied to classroom communication rather than individuals. Therefore, interventions that aim to promote hybrid identities and hybrid integration are addressed to all children, and all children are potential agents of change in the classroom.

Dialogic practices

The constructivist approach to intercultural education emphasises agency, since it implies that participants in communication can act to change their cultural identity through the social negotiation of culture in interactions. The promotion of agency and negotiated construction of hybrid identities require bottom-up processes (Holliday 2011). In the education system, this means changing the position of educators and enhancing expectations of children's agency in defining the meaning of their identities. These bottom-up processes can take a *dialogic form*, which is based on the positive value of active and fair participation, perspective taking and empowerment of personal expressions (Baraldi 2012a, 2014a). Dialogic forms of communication enable the equal treatment of different (and diverging) perspectives, opening the floor to all kinds of diversity in the form of personal trajectories, thus also opening the floor to the personalised production of hybrid identities.

CHILD-UP analyses three categories of classroom activities, searching for dialogic forms of communication. The first category deals with *language barriers*, which can strongly affect the participation of migrant children in the classroom, in two ways. First, CHILD-UP analyses practices enhancing second-language learning, since participation of migrant children with low proficiency in their second language is a major problem in schools (e.g. Siarova and Essomba 2014). Observation of second-language learning in classroom interaction shows whether this learning can be enhanced through dialogic methods improving children's agency and hybrid identities. Second, CHILD-UP analyses practices of interpreting as language mediation, considered a culturally sensitive activity, which can ensure the achievement of multilingualism (Cronin 2006; Janta and Harte 2016). Relevant literature shows that migrants' agency can be enhanced through language mediation (Baraldi and Gavioli 2015), which can also create the conditions for cross-cultural adaptation in the interaction between migrants and institutional providers (Angelelli 2004; Baraldi and Gavioli 2017). Language mediation can be particularly relevant to enhancing the participation of migrant children's parents, who may face many difficulties in participating in school life due to language barriers.

The second category of activities analysed in CHILD-UP concerns intercultural education, which, while considered important throughout Europe, is not widely practised (Janta and Harte 2016). CHILD-UP analyses practices of intercultural education to show if and in which conditions this education enhances fluid and malleable hybrid identities as contingently constructed in communication, leading to intercultural sensitivity and intercultural learning.

The third category of activities analysed in CHILD-UP is very broad. It includes all practices of dialogic *facilitation* of interaction that bring agency and hybrid identities in the classroom. Facilitation is based on 'mutual interdependence, recognition and respect for children and their views and experiences' (Fitzgerald *et al*. 2010: 300). CHILD-UP analyses how facilitation is achieved through different ways of supporting children's agency, encouraging their personal expressions and involving them in decision-making (e.g. Baraldi 2012a, 2014a, 2014b, 2018; Hendry 2009; Shier 2001, 2010; Wyness 2013). Facilitation aims to enhance children's agency as epistemic authority.

Summing up, the CHILD-UP project analyses practices of second-language learning, language mediation, intercultural education and facilitation of classroom interaction that may enhance the communicative construction of hybrid identities, as a possible outcome of children's agency and personal trajectories (Holliday 2011), by focusing on children's personal experiences and knowledge.

The promotion of children's agency and negotiated construction of hybrid identities are visible as chains of alternate adults' actions and children's actions. This promotion can be observed in specific interactions, in which (1) adults' actions enhance children's production of knowledge and choices, and (2) children's actions display their own production of knowledge and choices. This promotion creates the conditions for children's active production of knowledge. Adults' actions can upgrade children's epistemic authority, giving positive value to children's contributions, treating children as persons who can express their own perspectives, experiences and emotions, and showing expectations of children's personal expression (Baraldi 2014a).

The CHILD-UP research programme assesses the effectiveness of classroom activities, paying attention to the ways in which they enhance children's agency and hybrid integration. This research is based on a mixed methodology, including recordings of interactions, questionnaires and focus groups administered to children.[2]

2 Field research within the CHILD-UP project also includes background questionnaires and interviews.

Video recordings and/or audio recordings can effectively document if and in which ways the activities enhance hybrid integration based on children's agency. They can provide qualitative and quantitative indicators to check content, relevance, forms and problems of interactions (e.g. children's level of attention, listening and participation; professionals' types of action, such as questions, feedback, comments) and possible differences in participation and interaction. Pre-test and post-test questionnaires can provide an understanding of children's perception of the activities. The pre-test questionnaire focuses on expected objectives and outcomes of activities. The post-test questionnaire checks if these objectives and outcomes are achieved. The comparison between the results of the two questionnaires shows the short-term results of the activities. The post-test is also used to understand the children's evaluation of the activities. The post-test questionnaire is followed by a focus group to understand, through qualitative means, children's perspectives on the activities.

The use of meshed methods allows for the comparison of the participation of migrant and non-migrant children, thus making it possible to assess forms of hybrid integration, types and levels of agency, and functioning of dialogic practices.

An example from the SHARMED project

Video recording is the most effective method to understand the effectiveness of child-centred approaches in classroom communication. This section provides an example of this method applied to facilitation of classroom interaction. The example is based on the SHARMED (Shared Memories and Dialogues) project, funded by the European Commission (Erasmus +, Key-action 3, innovative education), which involved three partners in Germany, Italy and the UK. The SHARMED project, which was concluded at the end of 2018, aimed to promote intercultural dialogue in the classroom, by producing, comparing and relating children's memories of personal and cultural roots through the collection and use of private photographs. SHARMED inspired the proposal of CHILD-UP.

This section focuses on the ways in which migrant children narrated their experience of migration in facilitated classroom interactions. The interactional construction of narratives does not only concern their contents, but also (1) the participants' exercise of agency as tellers, co-tellers or elicitors of stories (Norrick 2007) and (2) the meaning of the narrating persons' identity (Bamberg 2011). In the SHARMED project, the

use of photographs triggered narratives of pictured past events, which frequently evolved into narratives of personal experience and identity, through the facilitators' co-telling and elicitation of telling (Baraldi and Iervese 2017). The complex chain of telling, co-telling and elicitation of telling enhanced the construction of different narratives starting from photographs.

Data and analysis

Video recordings were made during 90 classroom meetings, for a total of about 180 hours, in the three countries involved in SHARMED. The meetings involved children aged 8–13, and the recordings were made after prior written consent by all participants and children's parents had been obtained. Video recordings were transcribed for analytical purposes using a simplified version of Conversation Analytical conventions (Psathas and Anderson 1990). The extracts that are analysed here are taken from the Italian and the English datasets, where narratives regarding identity were much more frequent than in the German dataset. It must be noted that in England only children from primary schools (aged 9–10) were involved. All children proved to be competent in the local languages (English and Italian, respectively).

Here, the analysis concerns five transcriptions extracted from the video-recorded meetings in primary (P) and secondary (S) schools. The extracts show the interaction between two facilitators (FAC) and some migrant children (Females and Males) and include narratives of migration. The analysis shows how the facilitators encouraged narratives of personal experiences and views about migration, which display the construction of children's hybrid identities.

Conversation Analysis looks at the ways in which, by responding to each other in conversation, participants make sense of the interactional dynamics, contributing to sequences of turns of talk (e.g. Goodwin and Heritage 1990). In SHARMED, in addition, the analysis implied a complex approach to classroom interactions, focusing on their presuppositions and content, a focus that is not provided by Conversation Analysis. The analysis aimed to show (1) the ways in which facilitation functions as a presupposition of the social production of narratives and (2) the specific meanings of hybrid identity emerging in these narratives. The extracts show the relations between children's agency and social constraints on the construction of hybrid identity and conditions of hybrid integration.

Narratives of hybrid identity and integration: social constraints and children's agency

In Extract 1, the child's agency is constrained by his parents' will and this conditions his hybrid identity and integration. The child (M) regrets having left Morocco (turn 2). The facilitator develops this regret by reformulating its reason in relational terms (having friends there) and asking if the child discussed his negative feelings about migration with his parents. M describes himself as forced to family reunion in Italy, based on his father's migration (turns 6–16). The facilitator supports this narrative through reformulations explicating (turns 9 and 15) and developing (turn 11) it, and a comment (turn 17) about the child's feelings. Then he asks M what he misses most and the child mentions the relationship with his grandmother, who lived with him in Morocco (turns 18–24). The facilitator supports this final part of the narrative through a question (turn 19) and a new reformulation (turns 21–23) explicating the reason for the child's feeling. The construction of the child's hybrid identity is conditioned by his regret at abandoning important affective relations in his country of origin.

Extract 1 (Italy, S, seventh grade)

01	FAC	ma: eri contento di di venir via dal tuo paese oppure: *but were you happy to leave your country or:*
02	M	m: non molto (.) [preferivo stare in Marocco *m: not much (.) [I preferred to stay in Morocco*
03	FAC	[perché ma avevi degli amici là immagino [*why, you had friends there, I imagine*
04	M	sì *yes*
05	FAC	e: con i tuoi genitori hai avuto modo di discutere di questo, (.) [ne avete parlato quando han- hanno deciso *and with your parents did you discuss this (.)* *[did you talk about it when they decided*
06	M	[m: n: no non ho parlato con nessuno [perché dicevo a mia madre che non volevo andare ma: *n: no, I didn't talk with anybody [because I told my mother that I didn't want to go but*
07	FAC	[no?
08	M	lo stesso ci siamo andati *In any case we left*

09	FAC	quindi ha deciso il babbo *So your dad decided*
10	M	sì *yes*
11	FAC	che aveva un motivo per venire in Italia, (.) per motivi di lavoro, per motivi: *who had a reason to come to Italy (.) for reasons of work, for reasons:*
12	M	e: mio padre era già venuto in Italia molto prima *e: my father had already come to Italy much earlier*
13	FAC	ok quindi aveva conosciuto *OK so he had known*
14	M	sì era: cioè ci siamo trasferiti perché lui ormai viveva lì e: *yes he was I mean we moved because at that point he had been living there and*
15	FAC	è stata una riunificazione famigliare *It was a family reunion*
16	M	((nods)) sì *Yes*
17	FAC	però insomma lasciare il Marocco è stato un po' doloroso che cosa ti manca di più del del Marocco? *but I mean to leave Morocco was a bit painful, what do you miss most of all about Morocco?*
18	M	eh: mia nonna *Eh: my grandmother*
19	FAC	la nonna non l'hai più vista la nonna? *Haven't you seen your grandmother anymore?*
20	M	no no la vedo quando vado in Marocco *No, no, I see her when I go to Morocco*
21	FAC	ah ok però ti manca perché *ah OK but you miss her because*
22	M	sì *yes*
23	FAC	là viveva insieme a te *There she lived with you*
24	M	((nods))

Extract 2 shows the child's agency as rejection of his family's choice of migration. The child (M) says that he was born in the Netherlands and that he does not know why he came to the UK, as this was his father's will (turns 1–3). The facilitator asks a question that develops the theme of the child's identity in an explicit way (turn 4) and M confirms

the rejection of his origins, linking his identity to the country where he lived longest, rather than the country of origin of his parents (Sri Lanka). The facilitator's question (turn 6) and manifestation of active listening (turn 10) further enhance the meaning of the child's hybrid identity. The construction of the child's hybrid identity is conditioned by his regret at abandoning his country, which also leads him to reject his parents' choices.

Extract 2 (UK, P, fifth grade)

01	M	Um (..) my parents were from Sri Lanka because they were born in Sri Lanka and then I was born in Holland and um I came here (...) I don't know why I came here, it's just because my dad wanted to
02	FAC	Yeah (..) so you were born in Holland
03	M	Yeah but my parents were in Sri Lanka
04	FAC	Ok (..) so who (..) how would you describe yourself then, what is your, who are you, where is your place in the world, how would you describe yourself to somebody?
05	M	Um (..) I would describe myself as Dutch um because I don't really speak Tamil because I have not been to Sri Lanka except (...) I just went to Sri Lanka two times, that's all
06	FAC	So (..) and how many times have you been to
07	M	Holland
08	FAC	Yeah
09	M	I lived there
10	FAC	Oh, you lived there
11	M	I used to live there and then I came here

Extracts 1 and 2 concern conditions of migration and show the social constraints (parents' decisions) on children's exercise of agency. This determines regret conditioning hybrid identity and hybrid integration.

Extract 3 shows the child's claim of agency as autonomy from his parents' choices of returning to their country of origin. The facilitator asks about the child's possible return to his country of origin (turn 2). Initially, the child (M) shows uncertainty, adding that he is not considering this choice and that his parents would like to return to their

country (turns 6–10). The facilitator develops this statement suggesting that M should move to his country of origin (turn 11). The child smiles and then states that he will not move from Italy (turn 15).

Extract 3 (Italy, S, seventh grade)

01	FAC	ah (.) e tu ci andresti a vivere là? *Ah (.) and would you go to live there?*
02	M	m: boh non [so *m: boh I do not [know*
03	FAC	[ci stai pensando? [*are you thinking about it?*
04	M	((shakes his head)) per ora n[o *Not for n[ow*
05	FAC	[i i tuoi genitori tornerebbero là oppure prefe[riscono stare qua? [*would your parents go back there or would they pre[fer to stay here?*
06	M	[no i miei tornano là *[no my parents go back there*
07	FAC	ah [sì? *Re[ally?*
08	M	[c'hanno una casa quindi: [*they have a house, then:*
09	FAC	han deciso di tornare *They have decided to go back*
10	M	sì hanno fatto una casa quindi *Yes they got a house so*
11	FAC	quindi ti tocca: smuoverti a te *So you must move*
12	M	((nods))
13	M?	ma quando? *But when?*
14	FAC	eh?
15	M	oh loro vanno là io rimango qui *Oh, they'll go there, I'll stay here*

Extract 4 shows the child's uncertainty about her future decision of returning to her mother's country of origin, which is not, however, linked to her mother's decision. The facilitator's questions and active listening enhance first F's narrative of her grandparents' life in Romania (turns 1–17), then the child's narrative of uncertainty about the choice between a traditional way of life in the town in which her grandparents live, on the one hand, and city life in Italy on the other (turns 18–23). In turn 24, the facilitator asks if F would like to return to Romania and she confirms this possibility. However, in the last part of the sequence, when the facilitator asks what F's mother says about this possible return (turn 31), F shows the difference between her mother's clear choice of returning to Romania and her own future undetermined choice.

Extract 4 (Italy, S, seventh grade)

01	FAC	e: i tuoi nonni là cosa fanno? *And: what do your grandparents do there?*
		(..)
02	F	e: vivono in un paese, [dove *e: they live in a village, [where*
03	FAC	[piccolo? *[Small?*
04	F	sì sì *Yes yes*
05	FAC	Mh
06	F	dove non ci sono macchine, *where there are no cars,*
07	FAC	come mai? *Why?*
08	F	eh perché è un paese piccolo ancora cioè ((backward hand gesture)) *Eh because it's still a small village that is*
09	FAC	usano: metodi tradi[zionali *They use: traditional me[thods*
10	F	[sì *[Yes*
11	FAC	ad esempio ci sono i carri *For example there are carts*

12	F	sì ((nods)) *Yes*
13	FAC	ho capito *I understand*
14	M	i cavalli *Horses*
15	FAC	i cavalli *Horses*
16	M	[sì *[Yes*
17	F	[((nods))
18	FAC	e ti piacerebbe vivere: in un posto così? *And would you like to live: in a place like this?*
		(..)
19	F	sì e no (.) cioè da una parte sì perché cioè mi sembra più bello [a parte: *yes and no (.) that is on one hand yes because well it seems better [except for:*
20	FAC	[sì? *[really?*
21	F	((nods)) però adesso mi sono abituata alla città *but now I got used to the city*
22	FAC	sì? Quindi le cose che ci sono in città ti mancano *Did you? So you miss things you have in the city*
23	F	sì *Yes*
24	FAC	ma l'idea di tornare in Roma – di andare a vivere in Romania ti è ti è mai venuta? *But did you ever get the idea to go back to Roma – to go to live in Romania?*
25	F	sì *yes*
26	FAC	sì? *Really?*
27	F	((nods))
28	M	bello *Nice*
29	FAC	e i tuoi: chi è rumeno? La mamma? *And your: who is Romanian? Your mum?*

30	F	sì *Yes*
31	FAC	la mamma cosa ti dice? *What does your mum tell you?*
32	F	che: cioè lei mi: mi lascia scegliere (.) mi dice che: quando diventerò più grande lei andrà a vivere là [e se voglio andar- *That: well she tells me: she lets me choose (.) she tells me that: when I grow up she will go to live there [and if I want to g-*
33	FAC	[ah lei andrà a vivere là? *[ah will she go to live there?*
34	F	sì se voglio andare con lei ci vado se no resto qua *Yes if I want to go with her I will go if I don't I will stay here*

Extracts 3 and 4 concern returns from the countries of parents' migration. Children's narratives show that their future choices are undetermined, but they see the possibility of exercising agency autonomously from their parents' choices. This determines an open hybrid identity and hybrid integration.

Extract 5 shows the construction of the child's multiple identity. The facilitator asks F questions about place of origin (turn 3) and identity (turn 5). The child's answer highlights her multiple identity (turn 6: 'I'm German, British and African'), although she clarifies that she only speaks English. The explicit disconnection between identity and language(s) spoken enhances the facilitator's question about the relation between language and cultural identity (turn 7), which is rejected by F (turns 8 and 10). This rejection is recognised by the facilitator through an explication (turn 11), which is developed by F through a reference to 'blood' as the basis of identity. In turn 13, the facilitator agrees with the child and adds a personal story about her multiple identity; in turn 15, she asks another question about the social conditions of the child's construction of identity.

Extract 5 (UK, P, fifth grade)

01	FAC	Ok (..) and it's interesting (..) because you've got your birth certificate and you were born in Germany?
02	F	Yeah
03	FAC	ah (..) so would you say that you're German (..) what's your culture, what are you (…) what's your first name, M.?
04	F	M. (..) My first name's S.
05	FAC	Your first name's S. (..) so S., how would you describe yourself? You're living in England but you've got a German birth certificate and maybe your family are from other places in the world so how would you describe yourself? Who are you? (..) What's your (..) yeah, who are you?
06	F	Um, I'm German, British, and African (..) um so I'd say I do not speak the languages but I speak English
07	FAC	So, do you think speak thing the language makes you from that country, or?
08	F	No
09	FAC	So, what is it then, what do you think?
10	F	I think it's the way (..) I think it's if you know that you're from there either you can't speak it or not
11	FAC	yeah, so it's not the language that you speak, it's that you know that you were born here or that you've lived there or that your family were like this because of where they're from
12	F	Yeah (..) It's from your blood that's where you come from
13	FAC	from your blood? Yeah (..) I er (..) I think I agree with you actually because I was born here I was born in England but my family are Irish so someone said to me but you're English and I said well I was born in England but my family are all Irish so I think like you said my blood is Irish but I was born in England so it's a bit of a tricky ((does hand movement)) kind of thing to explain, isn't it?
14	F	Yeah ((nods))
15	FAC	Yeah (..) does anyone ever ask you these things or is it just your own thinking?
16	F	yeah because some people say that you're born in Germany but your name's English, you talk in English and you sound like an English person but I'm not and then they say you're not from Germany because um, my name is pretty English as well, so I am from all places

Extract 5 shows that the child rejects any specific classification of her identity, asserting that she is from all places. Thus, hybrid identity is openly seen as fluid and contingent.

Extracts 1–5 highlight how the construction of children's hybrid identities and the meaning of their hybrid integration may be produced in classroom interactions involving children and facilitators. The analysis shows that facilitation can be a form of child-centred communication since facilitation can enhance children's agency in narrating personal experience. Facilitators' actions support narratives of children's personal experiences, feelings and views: (1) questions enhance children's narratives (co-telling), (2) minimal responses enhance children's narratives (active listening), (3) reformulations enhance children's narratives by explicating or developing them (elicitation), (4) comments enhance children's narratives suggesting their interpretation (elicitation), (5) personal stories support children's narratives (elicitation).

Facilitation can enhance a variety of social constructions of hybrid identity as formation of small cultures (Holliday 1999, 2011). In the analysed cases, hybrid integration may be associated with regret for past identity, uncertainty about future identity, and multiple identity. Differences of hybrid integration are based on the interplay between social constraints, which are determined by parents' choices, and agency in constructing identity. Social constraints are loser when children tell stories about future choices, in which they project decisions, than when children tell stories about their past dependence on parents' choices. Past limitations of agency are contrasted with future projections of agency.

Outcomes of CHILD-UP

Extracts 1–5 show the analysis of data about the specific topic of school activities (narratives of memory) and the specific ways in which children and facilitators participate in these activities starting from photographs. While SHARMED was based on the researchers' proposal of a specific type of activity in schools, CHILD-UP improves and enriches the analysis by investigating schools' autonomous initiatives that aim to facilitate children's participation in the classroom, including initiatives based on collaboration with agencies providing educational support and lan-

guage mediation.[3] This new topic is important since it paves the way to the investigation of the multiple ways in which schools can facilitate active participation of children from a migrant background.

Moreover, CHILD-UP improves the analysis provided in SHARMED in two more directions. First, CHILD-UP is based on a much larger consortium, thus providing field research in specific areas of seven countries. Second, CHILD-UP adds a large survey on the inclusion of children from a migrant background in the education system, and the analysis of connections between this system and its context, including social work, other educational activities and language mediation.

Against this background, the analysis will be much broader than the one shown in the examples taken from SHARMED, since the researchers expect a great variety and many differences between schools' initiatives in different countries, but also between different schools in the same area. Thus, the analysis will greatly improve the knowledge of the variety of child-centred practices and the conditions of children's agency, stressing both successful initiatives and possible shortcomings.

Through this analysis, CHILD-UP aims to show if and in what ways classroom activities can enhance the agency of migrant children, giving voice to children's personal experiences and views. Personal experiences, showing personal trajectories, can enhance reflection on hybrid integration in the classroom and with teaching staff. Migrant children are frequently less involved in school life than native children are. Promotion of migrant children's agency can show their authority in accessing and producing knowledge, highlighting the hybrid forms of identity and integration which characterise the education system in Europe. This promotion can involve the classroom in the reciprocal knowledge of experiences and identity construction, enhancing dialogue and promoting reflection on and questioning of assumptions, biases and tendencies about the meaning of hybrid integration.

Starting from this new bulk of knowledge, CHILD-UP will provide materials and suggestions to improve dialogic practices and forms of hybrid integration by means of promotion of children's agency. The first step in this direction is identifying examples of best practices through the analysis of specific activities and forms of communication during the activities – for example, providing both comparable and differentiated examples of facilitation. The research materials will also be used to provide (1) professionals' training, made available in written form

3 Schools' initiatives should have been video-recorded in spring 2020, but the field research was delayed to autumn 2020 as schools were closed because of the pandemic.

and as a Massive Open Online Course (MOOC), (2) methodological guidelines for dialogic methods and (3) methodological guidelines for self-evaluation of future practices. These tools will be included in a multifunctional e-platform.

The activation of different and complex dialogic practices enhancing a child-centred approach requires policies that show interest in setting aside traditional ways of educating and integrating migrant children, to focus instead on enhancing their agency as authority in the production of knowledge. It is not easy to find this type of conditions in European schools, since mainstream education policies show a limited interest in enhancing the agency of (migrant) children. The political conditions of education cannot be changed through research, which, however, can highlight successful methodologies of dialogic practices. The lack of connection between research, on the one hand, and the local and national educational policies, on the other, can limit the effect of research, even when this is supported by the European Union.

The ultimate goal of CHILD-UP is improving the ability of children, professionals and policy-makers to understand and intervene in hybrid integration at local, national and European level through the provision of evidence for political debate and the stimulation of public policies that are consistent with research findings and integrated into overall political goals.

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Chapter 6

A Comprehensive Approach to the Study of Socio-Educational Inclusion of Migrant Children in Europe: IMMERSE Research Project

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Introduction

The IMMERSE project[1] aims to include all relevant stakeholders (children and their families, researchers, NGOs, policy-makers, educators or learning institutions) in the co-creation and validation of a dashboard of 30 indicators regarding the integration of migrant and refugee children. This dashboard of indicators will allow the countries' governments and administrations to monitor the needs of society, provide resources equitably and foster more just and more cohesive societies.

IMMERSE will follow the strategic work-lines of the European Union and will provide disaggregated data to build a representative image of migrant children's integration in Europe. In so doing, it will allow developing policy papers with specific recommendations targeting both poli-

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cymakers and educational institutions to enhance diverse and inclusive societies.

The research on which this paper draws is part of a wider project that explores the integration outcomes of migrant children's integration among six European countries. The project is funded by the European Commission within the HORIZON 2020 framework and focuses on the determinants and outcomes of integration mostly at macro and meso levels. IMMERSE responds to the double aim to provide (a) a dashboard of indicators to measure migrant and refugee children's integration and (b) policy recommendations for the socio-educative inclusion of migrant and refugee children in schools and other non-formal education environments in Europe.

This chapter is divided into three sections presenting a contextualisation of the proposal of the project and the resulting conceptual framework from the literature review. The first section focuses on the problems that motivate the project, which are the need to provide a response to the increase of migration flows to Europe and the lack of proper data to address it. The second section briefly discusses the methodology of the literature review and offers a discussion of the results, conceptualising integration, inclusion, intercultural education and the epistemic framework of the project. Finally, the third section exposes in detail IMMERSE's proposal of inclusive interculturalism as a model of integration. A concluding section rounds off the chapter.

Contextualisation of the proposal: integration of migrant children in Europe

Most countries in the world subscribe to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (UN 1989) definition of a child as a 'human being below the age of eighteen'. The age range in this population leads to the consideration of both children and adolescents in the same aggregated group regarding their rights and their vulnerability, even though the needs, developmental stages and social features of the people grouped under the category of 'child' vary significantly across different ages. The motivation to apply this inclusive perspective adopted by the United Nations (UN) was to maximise the provision of protection and rights to the broadest age group possible, even though for statistical purposes, more refined definitions are implemented. For instance, the United Nations General Assembly (UN-GA) (1981a, 1981b) also defines

youth as 'those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years old, without prejudice to other definitions by Member States', overlapping this way the terms of 'young' and 'child' for those with ages ranging from 15 to 18 years old. In addition to these general frameworks, the definitions of childhood, adolescence and youth vary between cultures and across time (Jensen 2015). It is for this reason that data collection and analysis need to be adapted to reflect the features of each age group. More generally, the lack of available data disaggregated by gender, migration status, national or ethnic origin or socioeconomic status poses important hurdles to understanding the specific protection and developmental challenges faced by migrant children and their integration process (Asis *et al.* 2018; UNECE 2019).

The IMMERSE project emerges in response to the demographic challenge of recent migration to Europe focusing on the incorporation and integration of migrant and refugee children in European societies. Other previous projects on this subject have collected qualitative and relevant information about the reality of migrant children arriving Europe, but quantitative data on migrant children is still very much limited and even less available (You *et al.* 2018). These measurement issues are especially present in relation to migrant children's integration and the vulnerabilities that they experience once they settle in the host European countries. For instance, UNICEF (2016) revealed the limitations to rights and the restrictions in access to services of migrant children in Europe. The limitations reported consisted of uneven access to protection measures, family separation, immigration detention and enforcement, restricted access to some health services, challenges of social exclusion and xenophobia, uneven opportunities for education, household poverty and uncertain work prospects and conditions. The project 'Support to IOM for the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration,' funded by the European Union, reported children's particular risk of being subject to trafficking, exploitation, violence or abuse (Asis *et al.* 2018). UNICEF and IOM (2017) also reported these problems with regard to children arriving in Europe via the Central Mediterranean route.

Despite the effort to capture the most relevant information about the reality of migrant children across the main domains of their lives, there is a striking lack of quantitative data to support the policy agenda with empirically obtained evidence, which makes it difficult to develop coordinated actions to address the integration of migrant children in Europe.

According to the latest report of the Global Migration Data Analysis Centre (GMDAC) of the IOM, there were 36.1 million migrant children in the world, representing 14 per cent of international migration (Vidal, Tjaden and Laczko 2018). The updated data of the United

Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) calculate the total number of migrant children in Europe at 7,258,770[2] people, representing 15.17 per cent of the total migrant population in the continent (UN DESA 2019).

Table 6.1. International migrant stocks 1990–2019

Year	Total number of immigrants in Europe region[3]	Percentage of immigrant population in Europe region	Total children in Europe	Percentage of children within the migrant population in Europe region
1990	49,608,231	6.88%	7,537,116	22.75%
1995	53,489,829	7.36%	7,520,564	21.34%
2000	56,858,788	7.84%	7,141,859	19.42%
2005	63,594,822	8.72%	7,223,652	18.69%
2010	70,678,025	9.60%	6,964,484	16.83%
2015	75,008,219	10.09%	6,884,602	15.27%
2019	82,304,539	11.02%	7,258,770	15.17%

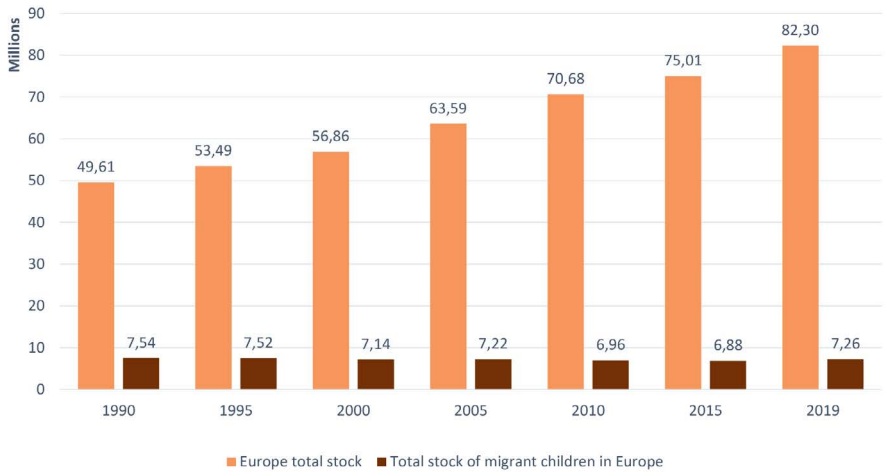
Source: UN DESA (2019)

A narrower approximation of the disaggregated national data on children's migration in Europe has been published from Eurostat in the last report of the European Commission (Schumacher, Löschner and Sermi 2019). This report calculates the number of third-country national children in the European Union (EU) to be at around 4.3 million, which represents approximately 4.5 per cent of EU total population below 18 years. The European population is rapidly changing to the point that in some countries (e.g. France, Netherlands, Belgium, Germany or Spain) migrant people and their descendants already account for 15 per cent of the population (Eurostat 2019).

2 Includes all migrants of third-country and EU background.

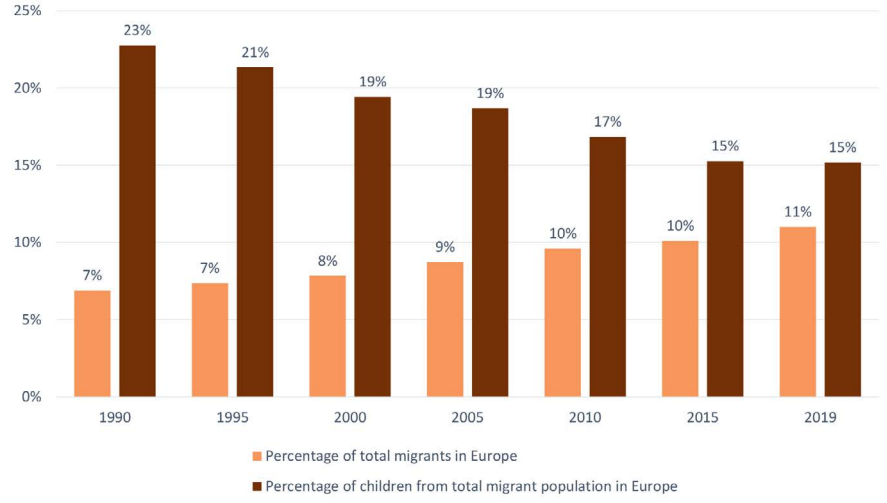
3 The geographic region presented is defined under the Standard Country or Area Codes for Statistical Use (known as M49) of the United Nations Statistics Division

Figure 6.1. Comparison between international migrant stock and international migrant children stock in Europe from 1990 to 2019



Source: UN DESA (2019)

Figure 6.2. Comparison between percentage of international migrant and percentage of international migrant children in Europe from 1990 to 2019



Source: UN DESA (2019)

Table 6.2. Absolute numbers of third-country national children in the EU Member States

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Austria	539,292	566,370	639,645	673,207	687,452
Belgium	410,127	419,822	450,827	455,108	462,435
Bulgaria	40,614	51,246	58,807	64,074	70,920
Croatia	21,126	24,218	26,678	300,086	34,623
Cyprus	48,465	38,242	30,479	29,738	34,632
Czechia	261,302	272,993	280,907	302,579	296,072
Denmark	233,023	244,380	267,192	274,990	284,537
Estonia	187,087	183,276	182,266	179,888	178,270
Finland	121,882	127,792	133,136	143,757	148,491
France	2,761,041	2,858,628	2,939,771	3,041,575	3,144,778
Germany	3,826,401	4,055,321	4,840,650	5,223,701	5,462,268
Greece	662,335	623,246	591,693	604,813	604,904
Hungary	71,414	59,335	64,821	71,062	83,418
Ireland	121,149	117,015	124,709	138,315	143,598
Italy	3,479,566	3,521,825	3,508,429	3,509,089	3,581,561
Latvia	298,616	291,440	282,792	273,333	266,167
Lithuania	16,039	16,573	12,311	13,313	20,062
Luxembourg	34,482	36,429	39,618	40,795	43,438
Malta	13,810	18,894	23,177	24,073	28,582
Netherlands	330,382	338,773	367,744	413,401	451,197
Poland	71,543	76,595	123,926	180,334	208,574
Portugal	300,711	294,778	283,500	279,562	284,793
Romania	52,529	54,687	58,858	60,600	54,352
Slovakia	12,476	13,064	13,901	14,687	15,439
Slovenia	80,290	84,367	90,169	95,718	102,335
Spain	2,685,348	2,505,196	2,482,814	2,485,761	2,630,781
Sweden	384,947	416,246	447,664	505,332	543,921
UK	2,425,088	2,432,666	2,435,596	2,445,610	2,425,737

Source: Schumacher *et al*. 2019

Table 6.3. Percentage of third-country national children of total population in EU Member States

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Belgium	3.7%	3.7%	4.0%	4.0%	4.1%
Bulgaria	0.6%	0.7%	0.8%	0.9%	1.0%
Czechia	2.5%	2.6%	2.7%	2.9%	2.8%
Denmark	4.1%	4.3%	4.7%	4.8%	4.9%
Germany	4.7%	5.0%	5.9%	6.3%	6.6%
Estonia	14.2%	13.9%	13.9%	13.7%	13.5%
Ireland	2.6%	2.5%	2.6%	2.9%	3.0%
Greece	6.1%	5.7%	5.5%	5.6%	5.6%
Spain	5.8%	5.4%	5.3%	5.3%	5.6%
France	4.2%	4.3%	4.4%	4.6%	4.7%
Croatia	0.5%	0.6%	0.6%	0.7%	0.8%
Italy	5.7%	5.8%	5.8%	5.8%	5.9%
Cyprus	5.6%	4.5%	3.6%	3.5%	4.0%
Latvia	14.9%	14.7%	14.4%	14.0%	13.8%
Lithuania	0.5%	0.6%	0.4%	0.5%	0.7%
Luxembourg	6.3%	6.5%	6.9%	6.9%	7.2%
Hungary	0.6%	0.7%	0.7%	0.7%	0.9%
Malta	3.2%	4.3%	5.1%	5.2%	6.0%
Netherlands	2.0%	2.0%	2.2%	2.4%	2.6%
Austria	6.3%	6.6%	7.4%	7.7%	7.8%
Poland	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.5%	0.5%
Portugal	2.9%	2.8%	2.7%	2.7%	2.8%
Romania	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%
Slovenia	3.9%	4.1%	4.4%	4.6%	5.0%
Slovakia	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%
Finland	2.2%	2.3%	2.4%	2.6%	2.7%
Sweden	4.0%	4.3%	4.5%	5.1%	5.4%
UK	3.8%	3.8%	3.7%	3.7%	3.7%

Source: Schumacher *et al*. 2019

It needs to be noted that the presented numbers are likely to be incomplete due to the impossibility in some cases of having access to all children arriving in European territories. Specific circumstances of migration cases, such as those of separated children,[4] unaccompanied children[5] or irregular migrant children arriving by land or sea, are registered differently by different countries and frequently under-accounted for (in some cases they may also be double-counted due to administrative and mobility issues). Thus, there is a lack of information not only about these types of arrivals but also about the number of these people currently residing in different European countries and their life circumstances (UNHCR, UNICEF and IOM 2018; 2019; 2020).

Once in the host country, the overcoming the barriers and challenges to the real participation of migrants in their host societies is crucial to the real participation of migrants in their host societies are crucial in order to maximise successful integration. This means making bidirectional efforts in a way that migrant children can incorporate new social and cultural environments without renouncing their own identity, at the same time that the host society is enriched by their inclusion into the mainstream (Council of the European Union 2004). In this regard, integration is portrayed as a process and as an instrument to foster and maintain social cohesion relating to structural aspects of incorporation into society, such as educational and employment achievements (OECD 2018).

A lack of integration entails political costs and instability by breaking down social cohesion, increasing negative public attitudes, as well as economic costs such as lower productivity and growth (OECD/EU 2018). Despite the fact that OECD reports point to the implementation of effective education and social policies as key to allowing the benefits of immigration, the insufficiency of quality data about children's integration and the lack of monitoring tools have made it impossible to reach a common European strategy (OECD/EU 2018; OECD 2016; 2018).

The early integration of migrant children in schools has proven to be an effective mechanism to build up an inclusive and equal society, avoiding future social exclusion that leads to poverty and exploitation.

4 According to UNHCR, UNICEF and IOM (2020), 'separated child' refers to 'a child separated from both parents or from his/her previous legal or customary primary care-giver, but not necessarily from other relatives. This may, therefore, mean that the child is accompanied by other adult family members.'

5 According to UNHCR, UNICEF and IOM (2020), an 'unaccompanied child' refers to 'a child separated from both parents and other relatives and are not being cared for by any other adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so.'

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030 agenda acknowledges this in SDG 4: *Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all*,[6] designing and implementing monitoring targets. However, the integration of migrant children in Europe seems to be 'under construction' and still lacks coordination between institutions and social entities. Ad-hoc, locally devised interventions usually revolving around education and schooling need to be better aligned with European governance and policy-making. Broader strategic plans must give coherence to these interventions in order to support migrant children, especially newly arrived refugees and unaccompanied minors.

To attend to the multidimensional features of migrant children's integration means to acknowledge the intersectional vulnerabilities they suffer. Influencing policies must serve to empower these children and allow their participation without being defined from an adult stereotyped perspective that represents them as weak, incomplete, passive, devoid of agency and victimised (Ensor and Goździak 2010). In this regard, vulnerability is recognised as universal but also as an intersection of factors that increase the suffering of children susceptible to being harmed. To the European legal scholarship, this concept of vulnerability applied to migrant children presents the opportunity to build institutions in a reconceptualised positive manner in order to get rid of the stigma of being in a vulnerable situation and to provide for safe and empowering developmental contexts (Peroni and Timmer 2013).

A multidimensional analysis beyond researchers and policy-makers needs to be performed to deal appropriately with the socio-educational inclusion of migrant children. For instance, factors affecting socio-educational integration (whether personal[7] or sociocultural[8]) need to take into account the children's sense of belonging and identification with their original and host culture (Heckmann 2006; 2008; Penninx, Spencer and Van Hear 2008). In addition, structural factors[9] as well as social capital[10] need to be addressed in order to identify barriers, challenges and opportunities for integration. An ecological paradigm serves

6 Technical Cooperation Group on the Indicators for SDG 4, Global indicators for SDG 4.

7 Personal factors include, among others, behavioural patterns, social skills, values.

8 Socio-cultural factors include cultural capital, language, religious beliefs and practices, ethnic identity, etc.

9 Structural factors represent the acquisition of rights, the access to core institutions within the host society and the presence and participation in the social fabric.

10 Social capital is referred as the 'acceptance' of immigrants within 'primary relationships and social networks of the host society'(Sime and Fox 2015).

this purpose, allowing the assessment of the social influences on children's development and the understanding of the relationships among nested milieus of the social structure. This paradigm addresses the form, power, content and direction of these types of interaction and seems to be a coherent framework to contextualise the outcomes of integration processes for migrant children (Ben-Arieh and Attar-Schwartz 2013; Cohen 1978; Onwuegbuzie, Collins and Frels 2013). IMMERSE aims to apply in this way an innovative proposal, being the first application of this paradigm in the generation and selection of key migrant children indicators.

Additionally, the IMMERSE project holds on to a safeguarding perspective able to guide the policy-making into political action. Globalisation has made migration of children a common phenomenon and, no matter the circumstances in which they arrive, they are and must be considered first and foremost children. The migrant children collective is reported as the most vulnerable people by the international agencies and require safeguarding of their rights (Schumacher *et al.* 2019; UNICEF 2016; You *et al.* 2018).

Literature review: integration of migrant children in the European education systems

This literature review explores the academic debate on integration of migrants/refugees and the socio-educative inclusion of migrant/refugee children, taking into consideration rights-based and ecological perspectives.

Conceptualising integration

The concept of integration is not yet a clear-cut term. Although some consensus has been reached, commonly agreed understanding is still elusive. This loose conception is further accentuated when applied to the educational field, due to overlapping in the meanings of the terms 'integration' and 'inclusion'.

European perspectives of migrants' integration emphasise the dynamic nature of this process, taking special consideration of the proximal national contexts. These perspectives subscribe a preference for programmes and interventions in local environments (schools, neighbourhoods, etc.) to foster integration more efficiently (Schneider and Crul 2012). In this way, the specialists on the subject use the term 'integration' as an umbrella term to refer to all the actions that foster the

incorporation, adaptation or adjustment of immigrants in the societies in which they settle. In this regard, Penninx and Martiniello (2006: 218) speculate that there are as many definitions of integration as there are authors writing about the topic. Nevertheless, common aspects in the definitions of specialised scholars consider integration as:

a. A bidirectional process in which the effort for integration is made by the host society and the arriving migrants (European Commission 2005; Penninx and Garces-Mascarenas 2016).
b. A process of interaction between immigrant and the receiving society (IOM 2011).
c. A non-static process that fluctuates over time (Bauböck, Heller and Zolberg 1996; Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016) influenced by the characteristics of the host society and the arriving migrant people (Lee 2009).

The conceptual definition of integration has comprised various models that emphasise different facets of its outcomes at the three ecological levels of the social structure (Ares Mateos and Fernández García 2017). For instance, at the macro level, the models usually focus on the political and civic implications of integration, proposing responses to diversity within international or national plans and strategies (European Commission 2005; Penninx and Martiniello 2006). At the meso level, the models target social bonds, links and bridges of social capital, discussing the dialectics between individuals and groups in terms of challenges and opportunities for diversity and cultural enrichment (Heckmann 2011; Kymlicka 2012; Vertovec 2007). And lastly, at the micro level, the models focus on the identification between the person and the receiving society establishing stages or gradients of integration (Lacroix 2013).

These models (Ares Mateos and Fernández García 2017) explain the process of integration around the following standpoints:

a. Promotion or not of the incorporation of immigrants into the host society: under this continuum the societies can be considered exclusive if they establish barriers to the incorporation of migrants or inclusive if they welcome the arrival of immigrants. Underlying these positions towards immigration are the acknowledgement or not of diversity within the society. Segregation and exclusion models assume essential differences between groups of people and deny the recognition of full membership in the society to those subordinate to the mainstream (Ortiz Cobo 2014).
b. Cultural pluralism vs monism: this continuum refers to the recognition and respect of diversity in the features and identities of the groups of people that conform in a society. In this regard, pluralist societies accept and respect both the diversity in features and

identities of certain groups of people, cultures, beliefs, lifestyles, etc. while monist disregard one or both. As presented, the assimilationist models advocate for an incorporation of migrants into the society that erase in the long term all signs of diverse ethnic origins (Alba and Nee 1997), while the melting pot model accepts the existence of ethnic diversity but advocates for a renouncing of diverse identities in favour of a common national identity (Bernstein 2015).

c. Static or dynamic conception of culture: this continuum refers to the recognition of cultures and identities as determined or under construction. In this regard, both multicultural and intercultural models are pluralistic and promote the incorporation of diverse ethnicities in equal conditions, but differentiate between each other in the type of interaction among different groups of people. Intercultural models are based on an intercultural dialogue focused on the similarities between groups and assume that this dialectic exchange is transformative for all involved (Barrett 2013).

IMMERSE subscribes to an intercultural conceptualisation of integration from a constructivist perspective by assuming cultural meanings, cognitions, beliefs, social constructs, lifestyles, etc. as diverse, equal in entity and framing subjects' experience of reality (Goffman 1981; Schultz and Lavenda 2013). Under this perspective, the term 'integration' is employed within the migration studies area as a synonym of what the term 'inclusion' means in the field of education. The introduction of inclusive models in formal and non-formal educational systems boosted development in the management of diversity and the introduction of intercultural education in schools (Ahad and Benton 2018; Ainscow 2016; Ainscow *et al*. 2014; Stainback and Stainback 1990). It is under these conceptions that the final proposal of inclusive interculturalism as a model of integration has been developed in IMMERSE.

Table 6.4. Models of integration

MODELS OF EXCLUSION (Obstacles to incorporation)	SEGREGATION AND DIFFERENTIAL EXCLUSION	Segmented societies, in relatively autonomous groups, dominant, ones, and subordinate, others Some degree of interaction within the economic sphere
INCLUSIVE MODELS (Promoting incorporation)	NON-PLURALIST MODELS	
	ASSIMILATION	Unilateral adaptation of the immigrants to the values, culture and lifestyle of the host society Gradual elimination of the differences
	MELTING POT	Two-way interaction process in which the dominant and subordinate sectors interact to shape a new nation Agreement on equal formal status
	PLURALIST MODELS	
	MULTICULTURALISM	Interethnic relations model that supports social equality and equal opportunities and, at the same time, the right to be different Promotion of cultures of ethnic minorities
	INTERCULTURALISM	Dynamic culture concept Creation of a new cultural synthesis Construction of a social unit that emphasises commonalities

Source: Ares and Fernández (2018) based on Giménez (1996).

Conceptualising socio-educational inclusion

During the 20th century, educational models and responses to diversity have experienced a significant transformation. Former segregationist paradigms evolved progressively to integration and later inclusive education models. Besides the discussion about the terms employed, there seems to be a consensus on the stages of this process (Slee 2012; Tomlinson 2017; Verdugo 2003).

Table 6.5. Evolution of educational models of diversity management

	SEGREGATION	INTEGRATION	INCLUSION
Period	19th century to 1960s	From 1960s to 1990s	1990s to the present
Basic principle	Essentialism	Normalisation	Inclusion
Directionality of effort	Unidirectional: educational system categorised students according to established criteria and 'provided' for them	Unidirectional: students need to adjust to an ordinary context	Bidirectional: school must provide of facilities, support and resources to enhance the students' adjustment
Model of school	Special school	Integrated schools	Inclusive school

Source: Serrano *et al*. (2019)

Inclusion is meant to involve everyone, but especially those who have been previously segregated for reasons such as gender, ethnicity, disability, poverty and social class. Inclusive education does not just relate to the educational setting, but always transcends to the social dimension. Because of that, it is fundamental to collect and interiorise the perspectives and interpretations of children and especially of those vulnerable to exclusion. If planning is based on stereotypical images or outdated models of childhood, there is a risk that marginalisation and exclusion will continue (Topping and Maloney 2005).

Regarding the terminology, integration and inclusion have been vastly discussed (Booth 1995), considering integration as a previous step for inclusion that focuses on the resettlement of the children in the mainstream context in such a way that the accommodation process is mostly undertaken by the welcoming group. The recognition of universal human rights (United Nations 1948), the new philosophical critics on social issues, ethics and education (Rawls 1971; Slee and Allan 2001; Wulf 2003), the economic recovery of states and the lack of the expected outcomes from the special system (Slee 2012) have finally turned the balance in favour of a more inclusive perspective.

However, Armstrong (2002) argued that broad stages in the evolution of these educational models should not be identified as discrete periods. The way human societies abandon some practices, attitudes and cognitive schemas to the next is not always a progressive change but instead an uneven process; certain values, ideas, beliefs and practices remain socially valid even after the implementation of new ones. The

notions about diversity and difference are not only historically situated, but develop in each context entangled and rooted within precise political, temporal and spatial environments affecting perceptions, opportunities and actions concerning diversity.

Engaging diverse students in an inclusive educational setting means involving cognitive, relational and behavioural dimensions of engagement[11] (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco and Todorova 2008:49), not only of the child but also of the community in which he/she lives. The inclusive school represents a participative setting that fosters collaboration between the school community and institutions, coordinating the partnerships that emerge with clear leadership (Giangreco 1997; Timmons and Alur 2009).

The Council of Europe policy vision on human rights, democracy and the rule of law delimit the consideration of diversity as both an aspect and a value of European societies. Within this vision, the consideration of intercultural learning is an asset to overcome the fear of the 'foreign' through dialogue and interaction. Policy-makers valorise the educational and cultural dimension of European citizenship-building through exchange programmes and the introduction of innovative learning methods and tools (Barrett 2013). In short, intercultural education aims to go beyond passive coexistence and to achieve a developing and sustainable way of living together in multicultural societies through the creation of mutual understanding, respect for and dialogue between the different cultural groups (UNESCO 2006; 2010).

Intercultural education brings together in practice the principles of interculturalism and inclusive schools in order to realise the full potential of all students, including migrant and native children. It addresses each member of society, proposing an integrated model of action that affects all dimensions of the educational process. The aim is to achieve true equality of opportunity and results for all, as well as overcoming racism in its diverse manifestations and developing intercultural competence in professors and students (UNESCO 2018).

11 Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco and Todorova (2008, 49) define cognitive engagement as the 'the degree to which students are absorbed and intellectually involved in what they are learning'. On the other hand, relational engagement is 'the degree of connectedness a student feels between teacher, peers and other personnel in the school' and behavioural engagement 'encompasses a student's participation in and efforts to complete academic tasks'.

Results: IMMERSE inclusive interculturalism as a model of integration in Europe

In light of the previous conceptualisations, IMMERSE has proposed a model for measuring the socio-educative inclusion of migrant children. This theoretical model is the basis for a dashboard of 30 integration indicators for migrant and refugee children (Fernández García, Serrano, Fabretti *et al.* 2020).

The model encompasses outcomes and determinants of integration. All these factors take place at one or more nested levels of the social structure and interact to result in better or worse integration of the child. For clarification purposes, the different levels are conceptualised as follows (McLeod and Lively 2003):

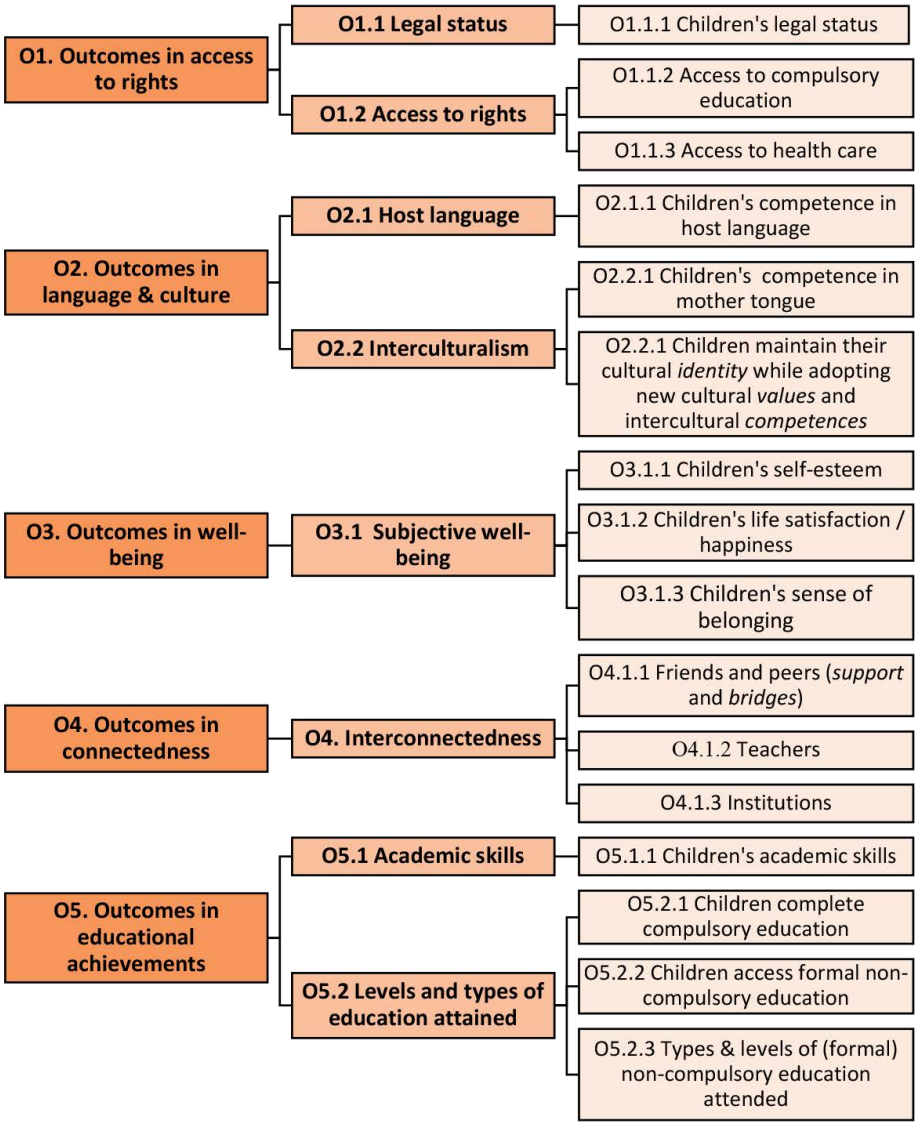
a. Micro level: the children and their families.
b. Meso level: whether physical or social proximal development environments. These can refer to the school, neighbourhood or the social groups to which the child belongs.
c. Macro level: large political, economic, and social systems that structure a given society.

IMMERSE's model operationalises the relationships between determinant factors (barriers/facilitators) and outcome factors (integration) and controls other intervening variables[12] that can moderate or mediate the effect that the determinants have on the future trajectories of integration of the children. Inside a multidimensional model, the factors represent hierarchically structured aspects of a construct that have a particular qualitative entity and can thus be conceptually differentiated. These factors are finally translated into measurable variables (the indicators) and are conceptualised as follows:

a. Outcome factors are the main components of the integration process. These outcomes are mainly observable at the micro level and belong to five key dimensions, for which we have identified eight key subdimensions shaped in turn by 16 factors.

12 These variables are explored to clarify and describe some of the relationships between determinants and outcomes. They are operationalised as known variables at the micro level (i.e. sex, age, etc.) that will be measured in the successive survey waves and taken into account as disaggregation variables at the data analysis stage. As IMMERSE aims to provide policy recommendations for the macro level (stakeholders at institutions, governance, etc.) and good practices for intervention at the meso level (stakeholders at schools, migration centres, etc.), these intervening factors at the micro level (family culture, individual dispositional traits, etc.) will be controlled during the data analysis but are not included in the model.

Figure 6.3. Hierarchical structure from dimensions to factors of migrant and refugee children integration outcomes



Source: Fernández García, Serrano, Ordónez Carabaño *et al*. (2020)

b. Determinants of integration are conceptualised as facilitators and barriers that enhance or hinder the achievement of the outcomes. These determinant factors are observable mainly at macro and meso levels, but some of them are multi-level intersectional factors observable at all levels of analysis.

Table 6.6. Clusters of determinants sorted by ecological level of observation

LEVEL	CLUSTERED DETERMINANTS
Multi-level	Negative attitudes
Macro	Political leadership Mental health services Learning support
Meso	School organisation and teachers Allocation of students Ethnic, cultural and linguistic points of support School segregation Foreign languages at school

Source: Self-elaboration based on Fernández García, Serrano, Ordónez Carabaño *et al*. (2020)

The definition of this model responds to a child-centred perspective, as it is conceived in terms of proximity to the child and comprises aspects that affect his or her future development. It also identifies levels of intervention significant for the stakeholders and for the elaboration of policy recommendations. Finally, the cross-cutting definition of the factors is applicable to different European contexts, easing comparability across them.

A limitation of this framework is that due to the project's aim to capture diversity, the wide scope adopted may disregard some specificities of minority groups within migrants. To address this limitation, further qualitative studies could be done to complement the findings provided by this framework, giving a richer representation of migrant children. Finally, more empirical studies that apply this framework and IMMERSE's dashboard of indicators need to be done to clarify its effectiveness.

Conclusions

Migratory flows of the recent decade have transformed European societies. However, the information about migrant and refugee children is still inaccurate or incomplete. The IMMERSE project originates in response to this problem by developing, co-creating and validating a dashboard of indicators about the integration of migrant and refugee children, aiming to provide disaggregated data in six European countries.

A literature review was conducted to identify core features of integration and socio-educative inclusion models. Based upon a systemic ecological paradigm that targets on child' micro, meso and macro levels of interaction and holding to the safeguarding of children's rights, the IMMERSE conceptual framework assembles interculturalism and socio-educative inclusion in a proposal of a model about migrant children's integration in Europe.

The proposed intercultural model identifies determinants and outcomes of integration at the three above-mentioned ecological levels, adhering to a child-centred and a whole-school approach that targets partnerships between schools, communities and institutions. This theoretical model serves as the basis for the dashboard of empirical indicators developed in the first year of the IMMERSE project.

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Chapter 7

Possibilities, Difficulties, Tensions and Risks in a Child-Centred Approach in Educational Research

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Introduction

The MiCREATE[1] project claims to employ a methodological research perspective called a 'child-centred approach' (Due, Riggs and Augoustinos 2014). This approach introduces the need for a series of deconstructions of the usual way of conducting educational and social research in order to consider more or less intensively the participation and interests of children. In this chapter, we ask about which tendencies emerge around the construct of a child-centred approach; how a process of researching under this construct takes place; and what are the connections between the child-centred approach and inclusive research. We analyse the proposal of MiCREATE and propose some questions, reflections and learning that emerge from our participation in the implementation as researchers. We inquire about the tensions, risks, threats and possibilities of this approach in educational research.

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The term 'child-centred approach' is used in a variety of settings and disciplines and therefore carries a wide range of uses, meanings and content. The complexity of its analysis is even greater when we become aware of the existence of related but different terms such as *the best interest of the child* (Kohm 2007) in the field of law; *research with children* (Black and Busch 2016) in the field of social sciences; and *child-centred pedagogy* (Chung and Walsh 2000) in the field of general education. While these terms share an interest in considering children, there are important differences – for example, in participation in decision-making. This interest in delving into the recognition of children and their agency is related to a significant shift in the movement toward a less adult-centred understanding of childhood and less adult-centred relationship with children.

The first significant shift of meaning is in the representation of children. According to Kellett (2013), we have moved through various representations of children throughout history (Ariès 1965; Higonnet 1988) and diverse cultural contexts – as adult in waiting; as innately evil, born with 'original sin' that must be purged through education, strict discipline and control; as a tabula rasa or a blank slate; as a time of innocence; as being born pure and naturally good; childhood as something to be enjoyed and protected; as important economic commodities and workers; as the future of the nation; as having a singular identity with physical, mental and emotional needs; as subjects of rights; as consumers, etc. (Buckingham 2011; Hernández 2012; Hernández and Cuadra 2018).

There is a long tradition of pedagogy in child-centred teaching and learning, from Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Montessori to Malaguzzi, among many others, who have in common putting children as learners and individuals at the centre of their methodologies and educational reflections. In their historical analysis of the period from the late 1930s to the 1980s, Chung and Walsh (2000: 229) uncover three major meanings of 'child-centred pedagogy': Fröbel's notion of the child at the centre of his world; the developmentalist notion that the child is the centre of schooling; and the progression notion that children should direct their activities (Langford 2010: 114).

Also relevant in recent times is the emergence of the children's right movements, a movement that has been criticised as adult-centred in its rights agenda and discourse (Reynaert, Bouverne-de-Bie and Vandevelde 2009), which has reached institutions of global influence such as United Nations in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, approved in 1989 (OHCHR 1989).

In the field of research, the emergence of what has been called the 'new social studies of childhood' (James, Jenks and Prout 1998) has introduced a critical discourse into research on children, promoted new perspectives on childhood and experimented with methodologies and child-friendly[2] tools in research. Under this approach, children are seen as social actors with legitimacy and experience to speak about their own lives (Morrow 2008). We also find another contribution in the 'inclusive research' (Nind 2014), more specialised in the field of educational improvement, from where the inclusion of the voice of students in the research is advocated (Susinos 2009).

Within this framework, we observe common relationships and directions among various reflective traditions around the construct of 'child-centred'. In this chapter, we will mainly analyse those authors in the field of social and education research who are located in the area of research with children or in the area of the child-centred research.

Thus, we consider it important to map and investigate some of the meanings of this construct and to analyse the problems, implications and tensions on a methodological and ethical level that emerge when guiding education research.

Perspectives on the construct child-centred approach in social sciences research

A review of the meanings and methodological and ethical implications of the child-centred approach has led us to investigate some academic publications. In a global look, the first thing that can be appreciated is that this term has been used in several fields of knowledge with different meanings and scopes.

According to a review and mapping of the publications by authors such as Bogatic *et al.* (2018), Due, Riggs and Augoustinos (2014), Henward, Tauaa and Turituri (2019), Hillier and Aurini (2017), Jung (2015), Martín-Alonso, Pizarroso-Fernández and Sánchez-García (2013), Puig-Teixidor and Mumbardó-Adam (2017), Putta *et al.* (2018), Rafeedie *et al.* (2019), Lal (2014), Sweeney and Landreth (2012), among others, we

2 Is it important to note that, in some cases, child-friendly is different from child-centred. Child-friendly is understood as respectful or adapted to a child. In contrast, some authors considered child-centred more radical, because it encourages children to participate in stages of decision-making, identifying problems, designing solutions and proposals, etc.

find the key term 'child-centred approach' articulated under four areas: (1) child-centred approach in research, which guides the choice and shaping of methods, perspectives, principles, tools and research practices, (2) child-centred approach in educational practices, which guides the implementation of teaching, learning and assessment practices, (3) child-centred approach in medical and psychological practices, which focus in therapies (medical, psychological), conflict mediation and/or interventions, and (4) as part of the discourse grounding some policies and reforms. In the present chapter, we are going to explore the child-centred approach on research, in order to have a framework that will allow researchers to orient their decisions on educational research.

Some authors also differentiate various kinds of children's involvement in social research. For Fargas-Malet *et al.* (2010), there is a difference between research *on* children, research *with* children and research *by* children.[3] *Research on children* means seeing them as objects to be studied, and *research with* signifies they are considered as experts in they own life and they start to get involved in the various phases of the research process in co-participation with adults researcher (Fargas-Malet *et al.* 2010). For Due *et al.* (2014), the child-centred research approach raises the need for 'research with' rather than research on others. This implies a research design that enables them to express on their own terms and to participate fully in the research process. According to Jung (2015), child-centred research is designed to generate 'authorship' (agency) and enable children to produce their own knowledge, which requires actively dismantling the authoritarian role of the adult researcher and adapting or innovating methods and research procedures. In a similar direction, Hillier and Aurini state: 'At the heart of these techniques is the notion that such approaches respect *children's agency*, defined as the capacity of children to act or choose in the research process' (2017: 2). Finally, Hagerman (2010) notes that the rationale behind this research approach seeks to build a 'child-centered research environment' (2010: 69) so that children can *express* their own opinions and perspectives.

We observe, from this review, that the foundations of the child-centred approach in research appeal to the participation of children, their agency and authorship in the creation of knowledge and their capacity to make decisions, act and express themselves within the framework of a research

3 Although we have not found a project with this kind of child involvement in the academic literature, we can imagine it as a hypothetical case – research done entirely by children. This would be the most radical form of participation where they have complete control of decision-making.

process. From these considerations we should ask ourselves how these meanings and approaches are carried out in methodological and ethical dimensions, within the framework of a society and academic culture primarily and mainly shaped by adults.

According to Morrow, in social research working with children, 'the range of methods has expanded' (2008: 49) and the debates on ethics have attracted a lot of attention. Several authors (Lahman 2008; Dockett and Perry 2007; Morrow 2008) argue that research with children involves methodological and ethical traditional questions[4] partly shared by any research involving human beings but also 'research with children does raise questions that require specific consideration, largely because of the way childhood is constructed and understood within specific cultural contexts' (Morrow 2008: 51). Based on Morrow (2008), we think these specific considerations include: (a) children's competencies, perceptions and frameworks of reference, which may differ according to a range of social differences (culture, ethnic background, age, gender, specific characteristics); (b) the vulnerability of children in relation to adults; (c) adults' legal and ethical duties and responsibilities; (d) the problem of interpretation and presentation of research results in the context of power relations between adults and children involved in the research; (e) the mediation of adults as gatekeepers for access to children, especially in educational organisations. Lahman also highlights a number of discussion nodes that emerge during the process of researching with children: 'ethical consideration, maintaining a reflexive stance, developing a sense of intersubjectivity, utilizing innovative research methods, treating children as the experts they are, and being with children' (2008: 290).

As for the methodological approach and research tools used under this approach, we find a great variety among the authors. According to Fargas-Malet *et al.* (2010), research with children requires methodological innovation, involving new 'participatory' research methodologies, adaptation of traditional methods and the development of multi-method approaches. Coad and Evans (2008) claim that there are research projects in which children have been involved in various tasks and stages of research – for example, in developing research questions, planning the methodologies, commissioning, collecting data, analysing data, drawing up recommendations, presenting and disseminating findings. Due *et al.*

4 According to Morrow (2008: 51) these questions consider "issues of appropriate and honest ways of collecting, analysing and interpreting data and of disseminating findings, as well as issues of protection of research participants".

(2014) have chosen to develop child-centred research under a hybrid methodological proposal that employs both qualitative and quantitative methods, which is based on the principles of giving children a large number of options to facilitate finding their preferred channel of communication, to allow the generation of data and to contribute to maintaining children's interest in the research process.

Following the line of the involvement of children with the data collection, several authors have raised reflections in relation to quantitative data and quantitative instruments. Due *et al*. (2014) state that it is a challenge for researchers working with surveys to ensure the understanding of the questions and be aware of how context affects the child's response. This also involves constructing the question item and spending time clarifying the child's understanding of it, which may differ greatly from the understanding of the adult. This positioning leads them to raise the need to carry out, for example, a pilot study to explore the different ways in which children might interpret quantitative questionnaires. It also involves adapting traditional tools, such as Likert scales. Due *et al*. (2014), for example, used a lolly jars scale:

> [T]hese jars were filled to varying heights with lollies, and similarly reflected a traditional Likert scale, with the first jar being empty, the second jar full to a quarter, the third three quarters and the final jar being completely full (2014: 217-218).

Scott (2000) suggests that research with children through large-scale surveys can be problematic. In a more recent publication, she argues that 'children have been usually regarded as out of scope and samples are usually drawn from the adult population, with a minimum age of 16 or 18' (Scott 2000: 87). The author states that the questions of large-scale studies are usually posed with adult-central bias (Scott 2000). However, the author suggests that quantitative information can also be collected through personal interviews, with the aim of clarifying the child's interpretation of the questions, but that this could lead to a problem of reliability. There is still little research on whether there are differences in reliability in the responses given by children and adults (Scott 2000; Due *et al*. 2014).

With regard to research methods and practices, Ebrahim used 'a broad perspective of listening' (2010: 294) that incorporates multiple techniques (stories, walks, drawings, photographs). Due *et al*. (2014) have proposed their research design based on a 'toolkit' of various practices that allows for the collection of diverse data sources and the carrying out of a cross-checking of results and data comparisons. Its toolbox includes

photo elicitation, other visual techniques and written activities with children's participation in their production. In connection with these multi-tool approaches, Dockett and Perry (2007) focus on the existence of a methodological tension between developing interesting methods for involving children and at the same time avoiding a 'gimmick approach' (2007: 50) where the tools have little relationship with each other and are based on possibly contradictory onto-epistemological foundations.

According to a review by Hagerman (2010), several sociologists (e.g. Golomb 2004; Bloustien and Baker 2003) have conducted qualitative studies with children using artistic methods that include drawings, photographs, cameras, computers and internet technologies. Kirova and Emme (2008) have used visual narratives, such as the photo-novel, to investigate 'with' migrant children.

Due *et al*. (2014) highlight the effectiveness and usefulness of a qualitative and quantitative design with an ethnographic component. In their view, the ethnographic approach means highlighting 'the importance of spending time with children participating in the project in order to build rapport and establish trust and feel that this is equally important with children aged 5 to 7 years' (Due *et al*. 2014: 213).

There has also been reflection on participant consent in research with children, an issue that is even projected into the legal frameworks of civil liability in the different legal codes of the countries. Here, Ebrahim (2010) proposes that consent is a process that involves parents or guardians on the one hand and the constant assent of the child on the other. Attempting to deactivate power relations is a relevant issue too. Ebrahim (2010) advocates a multi-role relational positioning of the researcher – that is, sometimes they are a learner, sometimes a teacher, friend or caregiver, depending on the situation and context in which they find themselves.

Connections between the child-centred approach and inclusive research

In this section, we discuss some of the similarities identified between the child-centred approach and inclusive research. Linking the two reflective traditions allows us to think that there is a similar intention – the intention to research with children and the intention to include children in inclusive research. In some ways, child-centred research seeks to specifically include the group of children in the process. While these are

perspectives have developed from different academic communities,[5] and inclusive research has a broader horizon of inclusion than the child-centred approach, they can be mutually enriching.

Under the label of inclusive research, we also find interesting reflections that can strengthen the child-centred approach. Parrilla states:

> [F]rom this perspective, questions such as the choice of the study topic; the protection of participants; or the use we make of the information obtained in our studies, become key aspects in guaranteeing the social justice and equity to which inclusive research must unquestionably contribute. (2010: 165)

From this perspective, there is a more explicit commitment to ideological, political and ethical framework such as equity or justice. We are invited to become aware of the dilemmas and tensions in the mediation of the researcher who sees, hears, selects and prioritises the lives of others (collectives, people) according to their assumptions and beliefs (Susinos and Parrilla 2013).

Within this framework, there is an area of inclusive research in education that is very interested in the inclusion of the voice of students, which has similarities with research that claims to be child-centred. This inclusive research approach transcends the view of the student as a 'source of data' (Fielding 2004; Susinos and Ceballos 2012) in which their participation is limited to answering questions (Susinos 2009). They propose a more participatory approach in which students become

> active builders of scientific knowledge in all its phases: design, information gathering, analysis and dissemination. Thus, students go from being the object of research to being active subjects in that process, and with this they fully exercise their right to participate and express their opinions. (Pacheco-Salazar 2018: 46)

In the same way, in inclusive research there is a call to 'investigate the research process' (Susinos and Parrilla 2013: 94) as a way of being that contributes to find alternatives to some of the dilemmas and tensions that emerge from the child-centred approach. Within this framework,

5 The term child-centred research is often used in English-speaking academic writings. However, it is rarely found in Spanish-speaking literature. On the contrary, inclusive education is a perspective with abundant literature in both Spanish- and English-speaking education research.

interesting questions are being asked (Parrilla 2010) that also make sense to ask from the perspective of the child-centred approach: Who benefits from the research? Who determines the rules of the research process? Who owns the research? If we add the word 'children' to these questions, we can imagine how they trigger an interesting field of reflection and experimentation in ways of researching with children.

Child-centred research in the MiCREATE proposal and documents

In this section, we consider the statements and intentions of the MiCREATE project. For this purpose, we have reviewed the proposal and other documents. In the second part, we reflect on our experiences of the implementation of the project's statements, which therefore has a more critical focus on these issues. At the beginning of this chapter, we mentioned that this revision of the child-centred approach arises within the framework of the European research project entitled Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCREATE). Therefore, it becomes fundamental to review how this construct is understood, how it is presented and what kind of notions are prevalent in the background to the project. As researchers participating in this project, we consider it interesting to critically analyse the child-centred perspective in the proposal and the possible tensions and possibilities, with a view to considering the implementation of the project in Spain.

In the project proposal, the overall objective is to stimulate inclusion of diverse groups of migrant children by adopting a child-centred approach to integrating them on the educational and policy level, as well as in research. The project, in its exploratory part, mainly involves a child-centred approach to understanding integration challenges, migrants' needs and their wellbeing. The main theoretical sources cited in the proposal are Mayeza (2017), Bhana (2016), Thorne (1993), Clark and Moss (2011), who use concepts such as a participatory approach and children as active participants, shifting the focus from the dominant adult-centric to facilitate childhood agency. Finally, the project outlines that participatory research with children must: (a) include representation of participants' voices; (b) consider their own views and meanings: (c) consider them and as social agents and experts; (d) and use multi-methods approaches for recognition of children's diversity.

This theoretical vision has been further specified in other documents such as the Detailed Project Plan or the Ethical Protocol Standard. We highlight some of the aspects of the proposal related to the child-centred approach. The Ethical Protocol Standard contains recommendations on adult consent and child assent as a procedure for making children aware and informed participants in research and its implications. It also establishes the best interest of the child as a criterion for resolving issues not considered in the application of the principle and commits research teams to follow national legislation and EU ethical directives and regulations. On the methodological side, it states the use of exploratory methodology based on art, storytelling, narrative interviews and autobiographical stories. It is also interesting to note the creation of a Child Advisory Board, which aims to be a space for the participation of children in aspects of research design, its application, proposed toolkits and policy recommendations. An Integration Lab has also been proposed to be developed in schools, which will be a space to support the inclusion and empowerment of migrant children and a way to motivate them to develop their own solutions.

Remarks from the Spanish implementation of MiCREATE's child-centred approach

But what does that mean and what are the potential tensions, risks, threats and possibilities involved? The MiCREATE project has allowed us to learn and think about the child-centred approach in different Spanish educational contexts. From our experiences as researchers in this project, we raise the following issues and questions:

1. **Colonisation of childhood:** Although it is true that that such research approaches contribute to make possible children and young people's participation in various contexts, such as family or school, their point of views may also oppose the prevailing views of adults (Clark 2011) and therefore their opinions can be either invisible or colonizsed. So, how can we minimise the differences between children and adults (Alanen 2005)?

2. **Children's skills for participation:** Also, recognising children as capable of expressing their views and capable of social action doesn't necessarily mean they will be able to act as subjects and agents in society. It takes much more; it needs to go a step further. The child-centred mode of inquiry acknowledges the 'agency of children' and recognises 'chil-

dren's voices', but it is also important to remember that power relations are everywhere so it is important to pay attention to the power relations between researchers and children, and to keep in mind that this capacity for agency is only feasible if we generate spaces and opportunities to make these practices possible.

3. **Participatory methods and decision-making:** In MiCREATE we are focusing on conducting participatory research based on the fact that children participate in research. While we found instances of children's participation in research, there are also other spaces where their creative participation in decision-making is less relevant. In-depth children's participation facilities such as the Child Advisory Board or the Integration Lab share spaces with activities that are primarily conducted by the researcher using methods such as questionnaires, organised from adults' categories. Although the project proposes to discuss all the instruments with children, it is not clear to what extent the feedback from children could modify the proposal of a survey already prepared and standardised, for all countries, as a totally legitimate instrument. Far from being critical, this allows us to think and learn that within a project based on a child-centred approach there is always a process of deconstruction of adult centrism and a permanent negotiation between the legitimate research interests of adults, in this case the generation of statistical data, and the legitimate interests of children. In other words, the interests and knowledge of children and adults enter into a complementary relationship, harmonising around research objectives and questions. In this regard, it is also worth asking what we understand by participatory research with children in every instrument or method used in the research. How are the legitimate spaces for research from adult interests and research from children's interests harmonised within projects utilising a child-centred perspective?

These tensions coming from MiCREATE cause us to think what the notions of childhood are for researchers in this project in particular, and in education in general. We find it interesting to discuss these emerging tensions, which may be relevant to our research project or to others, with authors who theorise about the conceptualisation of children, and therefore we pose two open questions: What are its legitimate purposes? What do we adults project on children's agencies? James, Jenks and Prout (1998, quoted by Morrow 2008) have identified four central theorisations of childhood in research, based on the combination of the notion of social competence and the status of children. These four theories are the developing child, the tribal child, the adult child, and the social child. According to James *et al.* (1998), the proposal of the developing child is rooted in developmental psychology that has

> tended to undervalue children's competencies, and when children's views and opinions are elicited, their words may not be taken seriously or even trusted. Methods range from experimentation to observation, and the power of the researcher lies in the interpretation of data collected. (Morrow 2008: 50)

The tribal child theorisation views children as competent actors inhabiting an autonomous world with its own rules and agendas. The adult child sees children as participants in a shared adult-centred world, which means they are required to participate in the adult's world of research. The social child model considers children as research subject-participants with equal status to adults but considers 'children to possess different competencies' (James 1995: 14). Within this framework, we consider it relevant that each research project claiming to be child-centred should make explicit a reflection on its own theorisation of childhood in their theoretical proposal.

On this topic, Lahman (2008) states that children are always 'Othered or unfamiliar in research' and therefore that Othered is recreated or reimagined through adults' childhood memories. This author notes that the positioning of the contemporary researcher moves towards a 'constant dance of reciprocity between adult and child as they negotiate their research relationship' (Lahman 2008: 289). We have observed that, in projects such as MiCREATE, this axis becomes even more complex when considering, for example, that in contexts of permanent transcultural migrant transits, visions of childhood and children also overlap, which enter into relation with culturally hybrid adults and cannot be essentialised. We consider that it would be interesting, as the fieldwork develops in MiCREATE, to gain a deeper understanding of the different visions of childhood that the families of diverse cultures project on their children, in comparison with the visions of childhood that the European Western school projects on to children.

Risks, tensions and possibilities of the child-centred approach in educational and social research

Children and adult relationships and their different interests is one of the first axes of tension that we observe in the child-centred approach in the Spanish development of MiCREATE. The normalisation and as-

similation of a social model has led us to think that adult centrism is the norm that, 'by common sense', should govern the asymmetrical relationship between adults and children. This situation can also be seen in the organisation of the school system, which is mainly based on the fact that childhood, adolescence and youth are stages of transition to adult life (Susinos 2009; Calvo, Haya and Susinos 2012). From a critical feminist viewpoint, it is proposed that the adult-centred patriarchy intensely influences school coexistence, building spaces of generational and gender subalternisation, which undervalue the experiences and contributions of girls, boys, adolescents and youth (Pacheco-Salazar 2017, 2018). This issue is being deconstructed and reflected by various authors from what is called educational research including the voice of the students, a methodological perspective committed to the principles of equality and inclusion in research (see e.g. Haya 2011; Susinos and Ceballos 2012).

From our experiences in the MiCREATE project, we ask ourselves: Where are the limits of this intentional adult authority deconstruction in a society, educational organisations and research projects shaped and designed mainly by adults? There is no simple answer. In the educational context, perhaps we do enough by aspiring to be aware of and transparently represent the conflictive dialectic between what we might call the child-centred and adult-centred poles during the methodological design and development and ethic of research (Morrow 2008). The transparency and detailed description of the type of relationship built between adults and children during the educational research process seems relevant in research that claims to be child-centred. This involves devoting time and resources to researching, reflecting on and communicating the processes of child–adult relational negotiation in which participants are affected.

It is also relevant to consider the role and influence of other adults, especially parents, in the educational research process involving children in schools. In this regard, Hillier and Aurini (2017) have investigated the dependence of their parents, especially those of a younger age, and how this affects, for example, data collection. Hillier and Aurini (2017) argue that the 'parenting effect' should not be seen as a polluting impurity to be isolated, but as an issue that sheds light on cultural norms in parenting and in the relational dynamics of parents/children. Considering and deepening this issue can also help to assess the exercise of 'Child Capital' (Chin and Phillips 2004, cited by Hillier and Aurini 2017), 'a term used to describe children's own sources of knowledge, social connections and ability to assert authority' (Chin and Phillips 2004, cited by Hillier and Aurini 2017: 3).

Another node of reflection in such research is the interpretation of data and the construction of instruments, such as surveys or interviews, and their relationship with children. Normally, these approaches are constructed, reviewed and validated by adults. What does assuming a child-centred framework imply in this area? Due *et al*. argue that 'interpreting data in ways that might not be congruent with what the students themselves meant is a risk when working with children' and, furthermore, 'it is important that researchers do not try to "interpret" data collected from children without clarification' (2014: 220).

From our point of view, an interesting starting point is to clarify what are the research spaces in which children have participated or will be allowed to participate. And there is also a need for a dense observation and description of the data collection process and the interactions between the children, the instruments and the researcher.

It is also interesting to explore power asymmetries in relational frameworks. This has already been done by several authors (Ebrahim 2010; Henward *et al*. 2019; Jung 2015; Rafeedie *et al*. 2019, among others) who explore the influences and particularities of the asymmetries of power in the relationships between the child, adult, researcher, caregiver and community. In this sense, it seems necessary to develop educational research focused on children that makes visible the relationships that are at stake (with researchers, the community, regulations, organisations, etc.) and the complexity that they entail. Approaching educational research from the perspective of situated ethics (Ebrahim 2010) implies paying attention to the subjective experiences of children and working with them in a participatory way that rescues their individualities. At some point, we may need to recognise and make transparent the limits of this perspective, especially in the implementation of a research process. As researchers, we have hard influence in terms of research design and its implementation but much softer and limited influence in terms of the adult-centred environment in which the research is taking place – for example, in the period of a school year in a public school.

We consider interesting an axis of epistemological approach that aims to value the knowledge, perspectives and opinions of children as generators of knowledge and know-how. In this sense, there is a bibliography that includes, as we have pointed out, the difference between research *with* and research *on*. This epistemological change is relevant because it makes possible other ways of learning and poses other modes of relationship with those who participate in the research (Hernández 2017).

With regard to methodological implementation, we observe that one of the main recommendations is to take the risk of testing various tools and research activities that make sense to children, that keep their at-

tention and that allow them to investigate their own interests. The most problematic challenge is to make progress in trying out more spaces for participation in decision-making on the research agenda, taking into account the adult-centred framework of research projects formulated in a very structured way in order to respond to the evaluation criteria of funding competitions. There is still a need to overcome the exclusion of children in research and to let them influence educational research projects beyond their participation as a source of data.

Considering the future development of reflections in the field of research with children, it is interesting to compare the different academic traditions and disciplines that have contributed to the subject of child-centred research and educational research that gives voice to students, children and young people – traditions which, from diverse academic communities, defend a common principle: to know more deeply and with less adult influence the perspective of children and students, giving more space for participation and decision-making in the design and process of research.

In this same direction, we also consider it important to be aware of paternalistic and colonialist positions. When we investigate the literature on this type of approach, it is common to find expressions such as 'allowing them to have a voice', 'giving them a voice' or 'empowering them'. Although we understand the background of these kinds of statements and it is possible that there is an honest intention to enable society (in this case children) to have different participatory spaces, we cannot fail to question such statements that have to do with the ability to 'give something to someone' – not only because of a semantic issue, but because of what these statements entail: a normative and paternalistic position with which we must be careful (Simons 2011).

Based on these issues, we want to share some questions to open debates and lines for research reflexivity in fieldwork: What are the social and academic cultural implications of assuming a radical position of child-centredness? Are we able to deconstruct the child–researcher asymmetries within the institutional frameworks in which educational research operates? What ontologies and epistemologies of knowledge emerge when researching with children? Does children's legitimacy and authorship (agency) imply a contribution to the process and personal development of the children? Does the knowledge produced *by* or *with* children have something to contribute to disciplines and policies made for adults?

Conclusions/findings

In this chapter, we ask what meanings emerge around the child-centred approach construct. Concerning this question, we have found that there are several nuances in research that considers children: there is a difference in adult and children relations and children's decision-making if we research *on* children, research *with* children, and in a hypothetical research done entirely *by* children.

The research process under the child-centred approach implies an openness to methodological innovation and the assumption of a variety of methods to facilitate children's participation and involvement.

There are relationships and commonalities between the research perspective of educational inclusion and the child-centred approach. Interdisciplinary dialogue can contribute to the complementarity of both traditions.

From our participation in MiCREATE and the implementation of the child-centred approach, we have been able to learn and identify some tensions, risks and questions that allow us to continue thinking about the child-centred approach in the context of educational and social research. As researchers, we have to be attentive to the colonisation of childhood, to the skills of children that are necessary for participation, and the harmonisation of adult and child interests in the choice of participatory methods and the configuration of spaces for decision-making.

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III. Migrant Children's Integration and Education

Chapter 8

The Challenges of Integrating Migrant Children into the Slovenian Education System

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Introduction

Slovenia has been a country of immigration since the 1970s, with the Yugoslav territory being the place of origin of almost all of the immigrants. Immigration was considered internal migration from the other republics of the common state of Yugoslavia before its dissolution in 1991. At that time there was no particular 'integration' of immigrant children since the languages spoken in the common country (with the exception of Kosovo) belong to the Slavic group and the Serbo-Croat language, the *lingua franca*, was taught[1] in Slovenian primary schools. The differences in languages, together with other social, economic and cultural differences, were ignored due to the political ideology of the 'brotherhood and unity' of Yugoslav nations and nationalities. On the one hand, immigration changed dramatically after Slovenian independence in 1991, with the immigrants instantly becoming foreigners and being perceived by society as 'the Others', but on the other hand, it remained the same: the countries from which most immigrants have been coming from are

1 In the 1950s, the Serbo-Croat language was taught for two hours weekly in all grades of Slovenian primary schools. From the 1970s until its abolition in the school year 1993/1994, it was taught only for a one school year, in the 5th grade of primary school.

ex-Yugoslav republics, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo. The numbers varied greatly, depending on the Slovenian economic situation and the need for foreign workers.[2]

The increased enrolment of migrant children in the Slovenian education system, which many Slovenian schools have been experiencing since the beginning of the 21st century, is a consequence of an increased number of immigrants resulting from work permits being issued and the family reunification policy. We have to take into account that the number of work permits issued depends on the changing economic situation, such as the financial crisis in 2008, from which Slovenia recovered very slowly. In 2018, 28,455 people immigrated to Slovenia and 13,527 emigrated from it. Net migration in 2018 was the highest since 2008: 14,928 more people immigrated to the country than emigrated from it. Most of the foreign immigrants came from Bosnia and Herzegovina (49% of all foreign immigrants); countries of previous residence also included Serbia, Kosovo, North Macedonia and Croatia (SORS 2021a). The representation of immigrants by country of the first residence varies from region to region. The Central Slovenian Region and the Coastal Karst Region have the highest percentage and the most diverse immigrant population. As a result, some educational institutions are more heterogeneous and diverse than others. In the school year 2019/20, 11,860 pupils without Slovenian citizenship were enrolled in primary school (6.2%), most of them from Bosnia and Herzegovina (5,497) and Kosovo (2,230) (SORS 2021b), and 5,253 children in nurseries (5.9%), most of them also from Bosnia and Herzegovina (2,654) (SORS 2021c).

Although the number of migrant children in the Slovenian education system has increased in recent decades, we cannot describe it as intercultural or inclusive. The concept of inclusion embedded in the education system must apply to all children, pupils and students: not only to those with different learning needs or disabilities, but to all those who, for whatever reason, are socially marginalised and excluded (Lesar 2019). In this notion of inclusion, we also place the principle of interculturality in education, which is built on interaction, cooperation and the principle of exchange, based on openness, acceptance and respect for the different cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious backgrounds of children. At the

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level of the educational system, a complex support mechanism must be developed and the policy of integration and interculturality must be integrated into pedagogical practice.

In the Slovenian education system, some foundations for the development of such a mechanism have been laid, in particular since 2007 with the adoption of documents such as the Strategy for the Integration of Immigrant Children, Pupils and Students in the Education System in the Republic of Slovenia (2007), the Guide for the Integration of Children of Immigrants in Nurseries and Schools (2011, 2012), the Rules on Slovenian Language Courses for Secondary School Students (2018) and the Rules on Norms and Standards for the Implementation of the Primary School Programme (2019). Although new documents adopted in 2018 and 2019 contribute to more effective language learning, many challenges remain. In this chapter we will highlight the main issues related to the integration of migrant children into the Slovenian education system observed and identified while conducting a 16-hour training for teachers in a seminar entitled Intercultural Relations and Integration in Education Practice. The research showed that the education system does not offer comprehensive support to either pedagogical workers in education or to children and their parents who have immigrated to Slovenia. The outcome of the research is significant for educators, policy and decision makers in the field of integration of migrant children in education, as well as for curriculum developers of teacher training institutions.

Methodology

The goal of the research was to explore the experiences and challenges that teachers face in the context of integration of migrant children into the Slovenian educational system. The research was conducted during the 16-hour seminar in two nurseries, nine primary schools and two secondary schools between 2018 and 2020. The seminar is part of a five-year teachers' professional development project entitled 'Only with Others Are We'[3] – part of the larger project 'Strengthening Educational Staff's Social and Civic Competences', funded by the Slovenian Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, and the European Social Fund. Since 2016, we have conducted our seminar in more than 30 nurseries, primary

3 Only with Others Are We

and secondary schools in different Slovenian regions and trained more than 1,000 educators.[4] The seminar was based on an egalitarian dialogue between lecturers, researchers and teachers with the common aim being to improve pedagogical practice, inclusion and migrant children's/students' achievements and wellbeing. The egalitarian dialogue linked theories, academic knowledge, previous research findings and interpretations and generalisations that teachers made based on their daily experiences in the classroom. It enabled new knowledge to emerge, which forms the basis for making recommendations for educational policy changes, which we communicate to the decision makers in various ways.

The research was conducted in the manner of a critical communicative methodology (Gomez, Puigvert and Flecha 2011). The communicative approach includes three qualitative techniques with specific communicative features: communicative daily-life stories, communicative focus groups and communicative observations. In the research, all three techniques were used: teachers shared their family life stories on migration, communicative focus groups analysed the daily challenges in classes and schools, and communicative observations were made, in which lecturers and researchers shared their own experiences, dilemmas and confusions with teachers.

The dialogue, based on participatory mutual learning, provided an insight into the social climate in nurseries and schools, the way educators act and react to children of different nationalities, the attitudes of educators towards diversity, multilingualism and multiculturalism, examples of good practice and the challenges faced by educators in integrating migrant children. The issues in the collected data were many but we will only present the following: the policy of direct school entry, insufficient hours of Slovene language lessons, imprecise regulations on the assessment of migrant students, unsuccessful communication and cooperation with parents, and the absence of the topics about multiculturalism and inclusion in the teachers' professional training.

4 The preschool and school system in Slovenia: nursery (age 1–6), primary school (age 6–15), secondary school (age 15–18/19).

The main challenges of migrant children's integration

The policy of direct school entry

The integration of migrant children and students into school is a complex process, which aims to give children and young people access to quality education and offers them all the linguistic, learning and social-emotional support they need. This includes helping them to adapt to their new school environment and ensuring that they make good progress in learning (Banks 2015; Vižintin 2017).

Once migrant children and students are enrolled in the education system, they may be placed in different settings. In Slovenia, newly arrived migrant pupils and students are immediately placed in classes alongside their native-born peers for all lessons at all levels of education, without considering whether their Slovenian language skills are good enough to follow the curriculum.

During our discussions, all teachers highlighted that pedagogical work with migrant children is very difficult due to their non-proficiency in the Slovenian language. Teachers, especially in the upper classes of primary and secondary schools, pointed out as problematic not only a language deficit but also a knowledge deficit, which makes the pedagogical process even more difficult. Moreover, migrant children are coping with the new social environment, learning unfamiliar content in a different educational system. All these deficits and the often insufficient support increase the risk of school failure. School failure, however, is one of the most threatening factors in a child's psychosocial development (Knaflič 2010).

In most European countries, newly arrived migrant pupils and students with lower-level or no skills at all in the language of instruction are usually placed in preparatory classes or lessons (e.g. in Belgium, Germany, France, Finland, Austria and Italy), also referred to in some countries as reception or transition classes (Eurydice 2019). In preparatory classes, newly arrived migrant children are provided with intensive language teaching and, in some cases, an adapted curriculum for other subjects with the intention of preparing them to integrate better into mainstream classes. There are generally three ways in which these classes are organised: (a) students are placed in mainstream classes for most lessons but take some lessons in separate groups; (b) students are placed in separate groups for most of their lessons and join mainstream classes for some lessons (generally sports, arts and music, where they can estab-

lish contacts and participate in classes even with limited language skills); or (c) students are placed in separate groups for all their lessons (ibid.).

Most teachers who participated in the research suggested that a one-year Slovenian language learning education programme should be offered to newly arrived migrant children to familiarise them with Slovenian social life and the education system, but, most importantly, to develop the language skills necessary to join mainstream classroom learning. Preparatory classes can provide more time and space for the teaching and learning of the language of instruction than full integration into mainstream classes from the very beginning (Koehler 2017). Nevertheless, preparatory courses are often criticised for causing segregation and for being too focused on the acquisition of the language of instruction. Different views on students' placement in the education system raise the question of what causes more segregation – preparatory classes with the support of an intensive language course or placement of migrant children and students in mainstream classes with lower-level or no skills at all in the language of instruction?

International comparative studies, such as PISA (OECD 2020), PIRLS (IEA 2020) and TIMSS (NCES 2020), provide a credible insight into the background of student achievement and statistics that explain the differences across social groups between countries. The results of these studies show that migrant children in Slovenia achieve lower results than children born in Slovenia. Studies have shown that second-generation migrant children (born in a test country) are more successful than first-generation children who arrived as migrants. Slovenia is one of the countries in which the share of first-generation migrant children who do not reach Level 2 is higher than the OECD average (OECD 2013). The Slovenian education system, with its policy of direct school entry, does not promote equal opportunities in spite of its declared goals and intentions. Migrant children and students are faced with the Slovenian language as a teaching subject, the language of instruction and the language of the environment.

Successful integration of migrant children is evidenced by Australia, Canada, Ireland and New Zealand, where immigrant achievement is above the OECD average. It should be noted that in all these countries the language of instruction is English, and their greater integration performance, at least in part, might be attributable to language proficiency upon arrival. This is one of the pieces of evidence showing the importance of language proficiency in integrating into a new environment. Proficiency in the language of instruction is essential for children and students to follow the school curriculum and to benefit from the learning opportunities offered by schools.

Language learning support

Newly arrived migrant children in the host country face specific challenges. One of them is learning a new language. The process of learning the language of a new environment is not easy for most learners and takes several years – oral proficiency takes three to five years to develop, and academic language proficiency can take four to seven years (Cummins 2006). The actual length of time necessary to learn the language of a new environment depends on many factors: prior knowledge, linguistic distance,[5] knowledge of mother tongue, an individual's ability to learn languages, personal motivation, support and opportunities for learning the language, and also the age of children when they immigrate and enter the school. For successful language learning, children and students need appropriate language support that is planned and systematic (Vižintin 2019).

In Slovenia, there are different, unstandardised ways of learning the Slovenian language in schools, and the number of hours financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport is insufficient. In education legislation, different numbers of additional hours of Slovenian language lessons in primary school are set. Until September 2019, when the Rules on Norms and Standards for the Implementation of the Primary School Programme was adopted, migrant children had a maximum of one hour of additional Slovenian language lessons per week, up to a maximum of 35 hours per year (see the Strategy for the Integration of Immigrant Children, Pupils and Students in the Education System in the Republic of Slovenia 2007). There were similar conditions for migrant students at secondary school level. In accordance with Article 16 of the Rules on Norms and Standards for the Implementation of Educational Programmes in Secondary Education (2010), students whose mother tongue is not Slovenian were entitled to additional hours of Slovenian language lessons. The criterion for group formation was the number of newly arrived students enrolled in each secondary school: from 35 hours for six students to 70 hours for 16 students.

5 For example, learning the Slovene language is less demanding for Slavic than non-Slavic speakers. In the case of immigrants from the republics of the former Yugoslavia, who represent the highest proportion of immigrants in Slovenia, learning Slovene is less demanding for those who migrated from Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, North Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina than for immigrants from Kosovo who speak the Albanian language, which is not part of the Slavic language group.

In September 2018, a new document was adopted, the Rules on Slovenian Language Courses for Secondary School Students, which provides for an intensive Slovenian language course in the first half of the school year. After completing the course, the students perform a Slovenian language proficiency test at A2 level according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. The Rules determine the number of hours of the course according to the number of newly enrolled migrant secondary school students: 120 hours for 4–6 students and 160 hours for 7–12 students. If there are more than 12 new migrant students enrolled in the secondary school, 15 hours are added to the total number of 160 hours for each student.

One year later, in September 2019, the Rules on Norms and Standards for the Implementation of the Primary School Programme were adopted. This document requires that during the first assessment period, primary schools organise additional hours of Slovenian language for newly arrived migrant children in accordance with the following criteria: up to four pupils: 120 hours; for 5–8 pupils: 160 hours; and for 9–17 pupils: 180 hours.

While these new documents may contribute to more effective language learning, many challenges remain. The number of hours of Slovenian language lessons depends on the number of migrant children enrolled in each school. Our research showed that schools organise Slovenian language lessons differently: some schools organise them before or after classes, some schools also during classes, and according to the availability of the staff, not taking into account pupils/students' age, mother tongue, prior knowledge or linguistic background. Since there are limited numbers of language teachers available, most schools form heterogeneous groups with Slavic and non-Slavic speakers, which proved to be less effective, since non-Slavic speakers require much more time to learn.

Teachers pointed out as a challenge not only the lack of hours of Slovenian language teaching, but also the lack of relevant teaching materials (textbooks, workbooks, manuals, computer programs) and teachers suitably qualified for teaching the Slovenian language as a second language. At the primary school level, migrant children are usually taught the Slovenian language by teachers who are not qualified to teach the Slovenian language as a second language. Most often, they are taught by teachers of the Slovenian language or by additional learning support teachers. Teachers highlighted the difficulties in teaching children who come from a completely different language environment (e.g. Arabic, Albanian or Chinese). In such cases, teachers ask for help from other migrant children who are fluent in that foreign language and in Slove-

nian, or they try to communicate in a third language (English) if the migrant child speaks it. In cases where they cannot communicate in English and the school does not have migrant children who could help with translation, the teachers suggested that the school should cooperate with a cultural mediator or translator who would translate and help migrant children in the first steps of integration, especially in learning Slovenian language basics.

The research showed that the most important first step in the integration of migrant children is to provide an intensive Slovenian language course, which would enable them to become actively and successfully involved in mainstream class and social relations in the classroom and in the school community as soon as possible. In accordance with the findings of researchers, pupils in the last three years of the nine-year long primary education should achieve at least general language proficiency in the language of schooling at B1 level (according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages), and secondary school students at B2 level, which means that they should be exposed to at least 500 (to reach B1 level) or 1000 (to reach B2 level) hours of systematic Slovenian language lessons (Moe *et al.* 2015; Rutar *et al.* 2018).

Imprecise regulations on assessment of immigrant pupils and students

In accordance with the Rules on Knowledge Assessment and Grading and Students' Progress to a Higher Class in Primary Schools (2013), migrant pupils in primary schools are entitled to assessment adjustment for two years. Article 15 states the methods and deadlines for assessment and the number of grades to be adjusted. Article 28 of the same document declares that migrant children are allowed to be exempted from assessment in some subjects at the end of the first school year and still be promoted to the next higher class. Decisions about promotion are made by a pedagogical body in each primary school.

In secondary school, migrant students are able to have adjustment in assessment in accordance with the Rules on the adjustment of school obligations for students in secondary schools (2018) with an individual education plan. It determines the rights and obligations of the student and the school, student's period of compulsory attendance at classes, methods and deadlines for assessing the student's knowledge, the period of adjustment of school obligations, etc.

The teachers involved in our research understood the adjustment policy as a positive contribution to facilitating the integration of migrant

children, but it is too general, and is therefore understood and implemented differently. The teachers faced the dilemma of finding the proper methods to assess the level of knowledge of a child who was not fluent in the language of instruction. As noted by Peček and Lesar (2006), many teachers have practised lowering standards of knowledge and learning requirements rather than using different teaching approaches, which has a negative impact on student performance in future school years.

The schools in which we conducted the research have introduced various guidelines for knowledge evaluation. In most cases, migrant children are not assessed during the entire first year of school after enrolment in primary school. In the second year of school, there were only a few adjustments in assessment; in other schools, there was more flexibility in assessment. Most of them allowed oral assessment at an agreed date, assessment with additional sub-questions, a lower number of grades, assessment in different parts of the lesson and additional instructions in examinations. Some of the teachers allowed extended assessment time in written exams and checked understanding of the instructions. A few teachers also implemented the policy by assessing only the basics, preparing teaching sheets, providing additional explanations and, if necessary, supplementary lessons. Only a few schools provided adjustments in assessing for the whole two years or even longer while migrant pupils and students had an individualised programme for each subject. They were assessed in an agreed manner – by written or oral exams. There were fewer grades and individual progress was assessed. The research also found that some of the teachers did not make any special adjustments for migrant children. They focused more on assessment and less on a personalised teaching approach and assessment according to the learner's personal progress.

The Rules (2013) on a two-year adjustment period in knowledge assessment and grading in primary schools and the Rules on the adjustment of school obligations for students in secondary schools (2018) with an individual education plan help, but due to impreciseness, they are understood and implemented differently. We believe that a clearer regulation on the assessment of migrant pupils and students at the national level is needed. The rules need to be specific and concrete about providing adjustment in assessment in the first and second school year after enrolment. The research showed that two-year adjustment period is too short for some migrant children, especially for children whose mother tongue is not Slavic, so we propose that this period be extended to three years.

Communication and cooperation with parents

The cooperation and successful communication between educational organisations and parents brings positive effects for children, parents, nurseries and schools. Therefore, schools need to plan possible ways of working with families and involve them in order to support their children's learning process. By quality cooperation between schools and immigrant parents we mean a detailed discussion at the first meeting, providing parents with information about the Slovenian educational system and the support they expect in integrating their child, working with a translator as needed, participating in individual parent–teacher meetings and parent meetings, bilingual invitations and announcements for parents, providing information about Slovenian language courses, networking with organisations and associations in the local environment (Vižintin 2017).

Kalin (2009) cited that cooperation between teachers and parents is complex. The integration of a migrant child is faster, easier and more successful if parents provide information about their child's educational background and achievements, learning styles, and strengths and weaknesses in the learning areas. Experience has shown that children of parents who feel welcome in school are more easily integrated. Parents project their feelings on to their children, making them feel safe and accepted. The school gains the trust and support of parents by providing useful information regarding involvement in the local environment through openness, friendliness and respect for their culture and language. The most standard forms of engagement with parents are individual parent–teacher meetings and parent meetings. If necessary, the school should provide translation (other immigrant parents or members of immigrant societies). Teachers and parents can also communicate in other different ways, with notebook messages, written notices, telephone conversations. There are many options and ways for the school to engage with migrant parents, but the research showed that they are not very often used.

Teachers who participated in the research claimed that migrant parents are inclined not to be keenly involved and engage in interaction with their children's schools. Parental unresponsiveness to invitations and notices was particularly stated as a problem in most nursery and lower classes of primary schools, where cooperation with parents is even more important. The teachers pointed out that most migrant parents cannot speak, understand or read and write Slovenian sufficiently to manage written communication or to participate in parents' meetings. The dialogue with teachers, school and nursery heads showed that some

of them were not able to communicate and cooperate successfully with migrant parents, which made the process of integrating their children more difficult.

The lack of communication and cooperation with parents, teachers claimed, can be attributed to the lack of interest in education of some parents on the one hand, but also to a lack of pedagogical education in the field of integration of immigrant children on the other. As the research showed, in order to implement the principles of inclusiveness, the Slovenian education system needs appropriate legislation and regulation at the systemic level to promote inclusiveness. However, special attention should be paid to the formal and non-formal training of teachers in the field of intercultural education and cultural diversity, in which they would be trained how to communicate and cooperate successfully with migrant parents.

Teachers' professional development for cultural diversity

Teachers from Slovenia and across Europe seem to experience personal and professional challenges in working with culturally diverse classes (Zembylas 2010; Fine-Davis and Faas 2014; Eurydice 2019). Studies and projects consistently suggest that teachers' professional development is needed on the issue (Medvešček and Bešter 2010; Skubic Ermenc 2010; Lunder Verlič 2015; Vižintin 2017; Lesar, Majcen and Podlesek 2020). The task of the teacher is no longer limited to imparting knowledge to students, but in order to ensure the principles of justice and equal opportunity, it is necessary to impart knowledge in accordance with the students' learning particularities, abilities and needs. Teachers should be able to use different approaches to teach children with different backgrounds, prior knowledge and needs. They also should be able to teach the language of instruction as a second language, which would provide appropriate support for migrant children in all subjects, but, as we have already pointed out, they are not. It is also important that teachers be well trained for cooperation with parents. They should be familiar with the culture, history and life of the migrant family, making it easier to understand and work with the migrant child. In order to meet these challenges, teachers should develop intercultural competencies during their pedagogical studies.

The Slovenian educational policy recognises the need for adequate education of pedagogical workers in the field of work with migrant children, as stated in the Strategy for the Integration of Immigrant Children, Pupils and Students in the Education System in the Republic of Slovenia (2007). However, studies (Čančar and Drljič 2015; Lunder

Verlič 2015) have shown that the teacher training institutions in Slovenia do not provide development of intercultural competencies because the curriculum does not include topics such as intercultural education, integrating cultural diversity in the curriculum, teaching Slovenian as a second language or the integration of migrant children. A survey of 144 Slovenian teachers by Čančar and Drljič (2015) showed that 76 per cent of them were not exposed to content relevant to working with migrant pupils during their studies; 57 per cent of the teachers answered that their knowledge of intercultural education is not good enough to be able to work with diverse classes.

The research of Lunder Verlič (2015) showed that intercultural content is not included in the compulsory programme at any teacher training institution. This content is also rarely presented in the form of an elective module. In addition, our research showed that the majority of teachers did not receive any education on culturally and linguistically diverse classes during their initial teacher education. Due to the lack of intercultural competences and knowledge on diversity, inclusion and multiculturalism, teachers do not feel competent to teach in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms. There is a perceived need for training on cultural and linguistic diversity in teachers' learning, and most teachers have revealed their need and willingness to learn in order to better respond to this situation. Some schools and individual teachers who have worked with migrant children in the past have gained experience, which they use to design new curricula, teaching materials and content for migrant children. However, most teachers have had to use their ingenuity to meet the challenges of working with migrant children. In our opinion, one of the prerequisites for an inclusive school is a well-trained and qualified teaching staff that has a positive attitude towards the particularities of individuals and has sufficient knowledge to respond constructively to them.[6]

Many teachers noted that they have been mainly learning through practice, by teaching in different schools and classrooms throughout their careers and by participating in the school context, interacting with

6 In the recent research project (Milharčič Hladnik *et al.* 2019), we found that there is little or no content about Slovenian emigration in the Slovenian education system. The knowledge of our own migration is, in our opinion, essential for understanding migration in general and for sensitisation of both teachers and students. For this reason, part of the seminar Intercultural Relations and Integration in Education Practice is about Slovenian migration from a historical perspective. We teach this history through discussion with the teachers about their own migrant family stories and experiences in order to raise awareness about the present immigrants and their trajectories.

pupils, students and their families. Many teachers felt that non-formal learning by teachers, at least in terms of awareness-raising, is inevitable and necessary due to the diversity of students. Even more worrying, however, is the result of a study (Lesar *et al.* 2020) which points to a relatively high level of negative attitudes of teachers, educational staff and pedagogical students towards immigrant children and their relatively conservative attitude towards cultural diversity. We assume that their negative attitudes are formed in their working environment and are due to the lack of intercultural competences that should be acquired during teacher training.

Conclusion

The context of integration of migrant children in the education system in Slovenia is the policy of direct school entry. Newly arrived children are placed in classes without considering their Slovenian language skills. There are unstandardised ways of learning the Slovenian language in schools, and the number of hours of Slovenian language lessons is insufficient. The rules of a two-year adjustment period in assessment of migrant children are unclear and are therefore implemented differently. Some teachers seem to experience personal and professional dilemmas regarding the cultural diversity of classrooms because there is a lack of intercultural content in their professional education. This is also reflected in less effective communication with migrant parents. At the level of the declared goals and pedagogical principles, the education system and policy do promote inclusiveness. At the level of implementation and support, however, the system and policy are inadequate and generate many challenges and problems in everyday school practice. Migrant children account for only about 5 per cent of children in preschool and primary school, but this should not be a reason for insufficient systemic support for integration. The education system should be intercultural and inclusive for all members of the school community regardless of linguistic, cultural, religious or economic background, learning ability or the number of children who constitute the diversity.

The collected data show that there are many schools, head teachers and teachers who understand this school imperative and put it into a practice in their daily work. We have collected many examples of good practice innovations in schools aimed at addressing the shortcomings of the integration system. In one primary school, 'welcome days' were introduced in the week before the start of the school year. All newly en-

rolled migrant children and their parents are invited to visit the school and familiarise themselves with the teachers and the new environment. The idea was accepted by some other schools and even put on the website of the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport. Regarding the number of hours for learning the Slovenian language, many schools have managed to find more hours inside their yearly working plan than were designated by the authorities. In the discussions with the teachers, it became clear that in most cases this means additional unpaid work for them and that this cannot therefore be a permanent solution. The teachers mentioned other practices that were invented and materials created. Some of them wrote their own dictionaries (e.g. a Slovenian–Albanian dictionary), translated the menu in the school canteen into different languages or put the pictures next to the names of the food and dishes. To promote an intercultural atmosphere, some schools hung signs, greetings or slogans in different languages and writings on the walls or in the entrance halls. At the entrance of one school there was a world map with the countries marked on it, showing where the children attending the school came from. Some teachers used multicultural and multilingual quizzes where children had to cooperate in order to solve them. In one nursery, children learned to sing the 'Happy Birthday' song in all languages of the children in the group. In one primary school, fairy tales were read in the children's mother tongue with the participation of parents and grandparents. We found out that many events in several primary and secondary schools included performances that showed and celebrated the linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversity of the children and students.

However, in order to improve the integration of migrant children in the Slovenian education system, changes are needed at the level of educational policy and legislation, as well as professional teachers' education and training. We propose preparatory classes for newly arrived migrant children in order to develop the necessary language skills and familiarise them with the social life in the new environment. After completion of the preparatory class and entry into the mainstream class, we suggest that the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport provide a sufficient number of Slovene language lessons. We also propose a clearer regulation for the assessment of migrant children. The rules must be specific and concrete. We recommend extending the adjusted assessment period to up to three years. As the research results show, formal and non-formal training of educational staff in integration and intercultural skills is crucial to achieve changes in the integration of migrant children in the Slovenian education system. We propose that teacher training institutions that train future teachers offer intercultural content in their compulsory programmes. In addition, future Slovenian language teach-

ers should be trained to teach Slovenian also as a second language. The consideration of these proposals would ensure changes in the field of integration of immigrant children into the Slovenian education system, which are urgently needed.

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Chapter 9

Integration of Migrant Children in Spanish Schools: Policies, Practices, Tensions and Challenges

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Introduction

Although in Spain the phenomenon of migration is not new, the conditions and circumstances in which it has occurred have changed over time. In this way, the government and local administrations have tried to respond as much as possible to migrant communities' needs with several policies and practices. However, migration is a very broad issue. Therefore, this chapter[1] will focus on education, exploring current national, local and schools' policies and practices of migrant children's integration in education. According to the European Commission:

> Students with a migrant background often face difficulties in adjusting to a new learning environment. Education and training practitioners can benefit from guidance and the sharing of good practices to be able to address the learning needs of students in increasingly diverse and multilingual classrooms. (EC n.d.: para 1)

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The aim of the chapter is to identify those policies and practices related to the integration of migrant children in the Spanish educational system and look for tensions and challenges for the educational community, practitioners and policy-makers. The information gathered for this chapter is based on the European research project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCREATE) and, specifically, the fieldwork carried out with the educational community. In this way, the chapter draws up a map of Spanish practices and programmes that, following different methods and strategies, try to better integrate migrant children into schools.

It starts with a description of the fieldwork carried out with 15 Spanish schools. It follows with a contextualisation of the Spanish background of migration and migrant children's integration, and national policies and programmes in education. The chapter continues with an explanation of practices and strategies in the school sample and a section that explores its tensions and challenges. Finally, the chapter ends with reflections about the integration of migrant children in the educational community relating the research to other studies highlighting the most urgent challenges for schools and administrations regarding this topic.

Migrant children's integration in Spanish schools: introducing the research

Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCREATE) is a European project (Horizon 2020) whose aim is to study the possibilities for the inclusion of diverse groups of migrant children and their integration processes in education in EU countries. This project runs from January 2019 to December 2021 and is conducted by 15 universities and organisations in 12 EU Countries. The findings of this chapter related to the fieldwork with educational communities in the Spanish context from July to December 2019. The main aims of the fieldwork were: to analyse the relationships between members in the educational community and migrant children, including educational staff attitudes, their knowledge, perceptions and opinions regarding the topics related to the dynamics and processes of the integration of migrant children; and to evaluate the practices that they implement to stimulate the integration of migrant children in educational systems – focusing on how

they apply multicultural education, address the issues of intercultural coexistence and organise everyday school life.

The research was carried out in two stages. In the first stage, 15 interviews with school representatives (school principals and management boards) were carried out. In a second stage, six of the initial 15 schools were selected for more in-depth analysis. In each of these six schools, two focus groups and individual interviews were conducted with key stakeholders, including teachers, parents, counsellors, social workers and other members involved in the educational community. The criteria for selecting the sample of schools were schools with a high level of cultural, religious and linguistic diversity, trying to balance: (1) public/private/semi-private schools; (2) primary/secondary schools; (3) schools in cities with higher migration rates; (4) schools located in different parts of the country.

To identify schools that matched these criteria, in the case of Spain, researchers first contacted the management teams of schools they had already worked with before. As we still needed to recruit more schools, we asked our network of contacts for suggestions. All participating schools were public, since 'immigrant students in Spain are concentrated in public schools' (García, Rubio and Bouachra 2015: 41). There were nine primary schools (coded as S1, S2, S6, S8, S10, S11, S12, S13 and S14), five secondary schools (S3, S4, S7, S9 and S15) and one primary and secondary school (S5). With the exception of the Basque Country, the rest of schools are located in those Autonomous Communities of Spain which: (1) have a higher percentage of migrant population (Catalonia, Madrid and Andalusia) (Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración 2014: 46); and (2) had a higher than average percentage of foreign students enrolled in general education during the academic year 2018–2019 (Catalonia, Aragon and Madrid) (Ministerio de Educación y Formación profesional 2019). The six schools studied in depth are from Catalonia, in order to facilitate the second phase of research with the educational communities.

The aim of the focus groups and the interviews was to explore how the educational community perceives migrant children's integration and diversity and how they respond to it. The main topics were: (1) how the members of the educational community perceive migration and cultural and religious pluralism; (2) how they live and manage it in the school environment; (3) where they see obstacles, limitations and problems or ideas for doing better. In addition to this, the strengths and weaknesses of the policies and practices adopted by the educational community to address the challenges related to migrant children's integration were also examined. They consisted of one- and two-hour face-to-face meetings, audio-recorded, transcribed into text, anonymised (all the names of the

informants that appear in this chapter are fictitious), themed and collaboratively coded. For the sample, we identified possible research participants (including principals, counsellors, school psychologists, teachers, school custodians, external advisers, members of the parents' association, instructors, etc.). Usually, we asked the management team of the school for potential informants. In total there were involved: 26 teachers from managerial teams, 55 teachers, 23 parents, and 18 members from the educational community such as social workers, facilitators, NGO workers or professionals from other institutions collaborating with schools. The purpose of the analysis strategy was to identify common themes and also specific issues in each school.

Historical and social context: migratory flows, educational systems and public policies

Between the late 1990s and early 2000s, Spanish schools underwent a structural change and the educational system was significantly affected: the applicable General Law of Education 14/1970 (a law created during the dictatorship and applied since then) was replaced by the General Organic Law of the Educational System 1/1990 (LOGSE – its acronym in Spanish). Fifteen years after the dictatorship, the educational law changed for the first time. According to LOGSE, Secondary Compulsory Education (ESO – its acronym in Spanish) replaced the Unified Polyvalent Baccalaureate (BUP). The approval of LOGSE sets a change for the secondary school's structure: BUP was optional; in contrast, ESO is part of Spanish compulsory education. Moreover, the age of first-year students changed from 14 to 12 years old. With this, the baccalaureate's teachers had to relocate into the secondary teaching workforce without any specific training for approaching these meaningful changes in the students' profile. This significantly disrupted the pedagogical logic, relations and structures in Spanish secondary schools.

Meanwhile, in the 2000s there was an increasing presence of migrant populations in Spain coming mainly from the Maghreb and North Africa. According to the National Institute of Statistics (INE 2020), the number of migrants from countries of the European Union grew between 1998 and 2011, and its percentage in total migration increased from 6.6 per cent to 21 per cent. In one of the interviews conducted for this research, Joana, who is a long-term teacher from a public secondary school (S4) in Catalonia, expressed:

> I think I had my first Maghrebian student in the 2000–2001 school year. Since then, the migration rate has increased … The implementation of ESO and all those migrant families arriving meant a radical change for the educational system. Many public schools that since then had a very well-organised programme and had a good reputation in their areas, became unstructured institutions with not enough resources or training for teachers to approach this new scenario.

The intensity of new migratory flows and the necessity to guarantee the right to education for all children involved new challenges for the educational system concerning migrant children's integration and diversity management. Some years later, those challenges would be politically carried by the Spanish public educational system (Tort and Simó 2007). Within this new situation were needed both new specific settings and resources for teachers and a structural change in schools' organisation. Tort and Simó argue that 'the success or collapse of the educational politic has to do with the endowment of economic resources and the mobilisation of other settings to determine the implication of the schools in its double role of social promotion and integration' (2007: 130). Nationwide, the modification of the Organic Law on freedoms and rights of the foreigners in Spain and their social integration (4/2000–2/2009) fully recognises the right to education of foreigners until the age of 18, including access to a basic, compulsory and free-of-charge education. It also decrees the right of resident foreigners to 'access post-compulsory education stages, to obtain the corresponding qualifications, and to access to the public scholarship system under the same conditions as Spaniards' (Art. 9 Ley Orgánica 2/2009).

However, these well-intentioned laws conflict with the schools' enrolment system. In Spain, the enrolment system allows families to choose the school for their children (the criteria vary depending on the Autonomous Community). Months before the academic year ends, families choose in which schools they want to enrol their children in the next school course. However, all schools have a ratio of students per classroom assigned by law. The most popular schools have filled all their school places at the beginning of the school course. This means that the schools with vacant places must accept all those children who arrive in the middle of the academic year or those whose families could not 'choose' a school because they did not know the process or because they were not in the country during the pre-registration period. Consequently, the schools with a high percentage of children from migrant families enrolled, since they are not the most popular with local families, usually ended up with many more migrant pupils. This results in an uneven

spread of the types of families and children in schools, more evident between private/semi-private schools and public schools, and depending on the location of the school.

In our sample, there are two schools from peripheral districts in Barcelona city (Catalonia); three schools located in peripheral areas of different towns in the province of Barcelona (Catalonia); one school from a town located in the periphery of Girona city (Catalonia); one school situated in the suburbs of a city in the region of Tarragona (Catalonia); and another school from a town located in the periphery of Madrid city. Moreover, our study includes three schools located in working-class districts of Barcelona city's port-area (Villar 1996); one school located in an industrial peripheral area of Granada (Andalusia); one school in a peripheral district of Sevilla (Andalusia); another situated in a rural area close to Donostia (the town with the highest migration rate in this region); and, finally, one school located in a peripheral district of Zaragoza (Aragon). As a result, our research includes a sample of schools from a wide variety of peninsular regions.

Migrant children's integration practices in compulsory education

In this section, we consider the relationship between policies and practices in terms of structural processes, institutional conflicts and from the action and ideology of the different groups that participate in society from different interests and actions (Rivas 2004). In this way, we explore how schools receive and understand national, government and local policies, how they translate them into school's integration approaches, and which practices are implemented in trying to respond to them or compensate for their shortcomings.

How schools understand integration

The Organic Law of Education 2/2006 (LOE – its acronym in Spanish) 'encourages collaboration between family and school, promoting a greater involvement and responsibility of students and families' (Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración 2014: 161). In this way, some schools understand integration in an expanded meaning. For example, school representatives from S5 understand that migrant children's integration also includes children's families. And the head of S10 considers that migrant

children's integration cannot be focused only on children, but it has to be thought of in a more integral way, working also with teachers, families and professional support in both a social and educational orientation. Another school also includes the neighbourhood, thinking of school 'as another cultural facility within the neighbourhood' (head of S2).

Other schools with long experience in diversity don't make a differentiation. They 'live' diversity and integration in a very 'natural' way. According to a school representative from S4, 'as the students are diverse then they are welcoming. They have grown with diversity.' Another from S3 comments: '[O]ur school has always been diverse … We talk about student support, not diversity or integrative policies … we think in terms of equity: that all students have the same opportunities.' Similarly, informants from four schools talk in terms of coexistence. For example, the head of S12 claims: '[I]ntegration does not mean that they have to be like us, but that they feel at ease and respect a series of rules for living together.' The head of S8 thinks of school as a children's 'second home', and for the head of S10, it is important that migrant children 'do not lose their roots'. Thinking about integration as a conjunction of cultures, the head of S14 shows their will to avoid an attitude of colonisation: '[I]n everything we do at school, everyone should feel represented.' The S14 management team understands integration in school as a space of accompaniment, protection and a place to think together, and the head of studies from S11 considers integration as a 'catalyst for migrant communities'.

In addition, school management teams from four schools highlight the humanitarian, affective, respectful and empathic attitude of teachers and school staff for a better integration of migrant children. For them, a personalisation of attendance, to give as much in terms of facilities and information as possible to migrant families and children, and maintain an attitude of openness and flexibility are also strategies of integration.

Reception Plan

Although all schools have more or less explicit policies and practices for migrant children's integration, not all of them have a Reception Plan. In fact, only five of 15 schools have it and three have this documentation in process. In the case of S5, according to the head of school, they are redefining this document 'in a desire to design and create it from a collaborative and co-creative view'. In the case of S11, this plan is in process in order to have a document which compiles all the policies and practices that are already being implemented.

Despite having (or not) an official Reception Plan, there is a differentiation among schools between academic reception and affective reception. Academic reception refers to those practices that help newly arrived migrant children to feel integrated in school subjects and disciplines. Usually, it involves language courses, level tests, etc. On the other hand, affective reception is more focused on making these students feel welcome in school – that is, feel that they belong to the school community, have friends there, and know that they can trust teachers and schoolmates with any problem or conflict, as we will explain later in a subsection.

In most schools, the first meeting is academic and affective. Usually, the management team, the head of school or/and the reception class teacher, meet with the new arrived family and explain the functioning of the school and how they work, give them a tour of the school and show them the class where their children will go. After this meeting, the management team analyses each case and decides which practices are most suitable for each newly arrived child. Usually, if children do not speak the host language, they go to the reception classroom. The reception classroom is a proposal that comes from local administrations. Depending on the number of newly arrived migrant children, the socioeconomic status of the school's neighbourhood, and the school assignments in the district, a school can receive the resource of a reception classroom, which consists of specific funding to hire a reception class teacher (Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Educació 2009).

Usually, the aim of the reception class is that newly arrived children learn as quickly as possible the host language. In the case of Spain, this is Spanish and Catalan in Catalonia. However, each school adapts this resource to their policies and organisation. Many schools combine some hours in the reception class and some hours in an ordinary class. This allows children to receive more personalised accompaniment and learning without losing the relationship with their long-term migrant and local classmates. However, this entails some tensions. The head of S5, for example, comments:

> The reception class is the retreat. All newly arrived migrant children have the same need and concern. But they also have the class group … then there is a crisis in both directions, in which some children do not want to go to the reception classroom because they think they are missing class (there are even parents who do not want their child to go to reception classroom) and the one, usually more introverted, in the reception classroom finds the refuge and would be there all day …

There are also schools that do not have a reception class because the teacher accompanies migrant children inside the ordinary class. However, in any case, for better accompaniment, both the teacher from the reception class and the teacher of the ordinary class are very coordinated. In addition, some schools complement this support with an Individual Plan (Plan Individualizado). Thus, migrant students are able to have specialised assistance according to their needs. This action enables individualised student knowledge. According to a teacher from S2, 'it is important to know each child individually. To show interest about his/her life and background.'

In addition, in order to facilitate conversation between teachers and migrant families who don't speak the host languages, schools use different techniques: hiring a translator, inviting mothers who can speak both languages so they can translate everything, inviting intercultural mediators, inviting social integrators, counting on the help of students who speak the language, etc. In certain cases, the school decides to translate some documents into the most spoken languages of the school. In S5, some members of staff have started Arabic lessons taught by unaccompanied minors so they can communicate in one of the most spoken languages of the school. In some Catalan schools, free Catalan lessons are offered by retired teachers. Families can practise Catalan-speaking skills in a natural and relaxed environment. This is important because, as a teacher from S1 points out, 'this communication is basic, so that they can integrate into the neighbourhood, help their children, even feel part of the school'. Two Catalan schools are also promoting a similar project, where language pairs are organised between student volunteers and mothers to teach Catalan or Spanish.

Affective integration

There are several strategies that schools put into practice to receive and accompany migrant children. One of them is related to mentoring and support from adults. Some schools have counsellors or social workers that attend and follow children during the day or in very decisive moments, such as helping them to prepare exams or apply for some grant. Sometimes children and their migrant families trust external professionals more than teachers, according to the head of S4. Moreover, migrant children are also mentored by their peers. Depending on the school, these mentors accompany migrant children during the first weeks or months (S14), during the whole school year (S9), or as long as necessary (S1, S2). They help them to understand how the school

functions, to make friends, to work as translators when required, and accompany by any difficulty.

Some schools also present practices of migrant families' affective integration. Two schools, for instance, in the classroom of three-year-olds, allow families to be in the classroom with children during the first hour of the morning. This creates a better transition to leave children at school and also a space of community, where families can get to know and interact with each other. Another school (S10) offers language courses and other workshops for families so that school and families work together and in line with children's learning. Another two schools organise affective meetings with families with the aim of creating a space of trust, confidence and sharing among families from different countries.

Trying to communicate with more than words is essential to address the language barriers of migrant pupils. In this way, several schools propose arts-based projects. For example, S1 has carried out projects from different perspectives (body, music, art). During *Projecte Psicomotricitat* (Psychomotricity Project) children have the opportunity to use their own body. According to a teacher of S1, 'if the word is not there, there is the body. And through the body children can communicate, do and think.' Another example is a music project where they try to celebrate diversity. S2 has one project called *Creart* carried out with an NGO, where through art they explore issues such as social justice, conflict resolution or peace. S10 is working on a dance project approved and partly funded by the provincial service, by the Department of Innovation, Equity and Participation. According to the head of school, this project is a different way to work on inclusion, on emotion and on expression:

> We have realised that everything that is development and body expression in this innovation plan helps a lot. Because our body is also a language that they [migrant children] have to know. So, it is a moment of union, of expression, of coexistence, we are all equal.

Finally, S6 also has an arts-based programme which includes different projects depending on the students' course. In this way, during the schooling period students have worked in theatre, music, dance and visual arts. The head of school highlights a recent project called *Con Arte* (With Art) in collaboration with a big cultural festival in the city called *Temporada Alta*. This project combines theatre with audio-visuals and cooperates with external teachers and professionals. The head of the school points out that these kinds of projects help children to gain self-esteem.

Understanding cultural integration in a 'folk approach', some schools organise intercultural events in which both children and families can

share with others their cultures, meals, traditions, dances, etc. For example, in S12, there is a project proposed and organised by families themselves.

In order to promote peaceful spaces and ensure more inclusive institutions, in some cases schools carry out projects addressed to conflict prevention. These 'Coexistence Plans' are executed in primary and secondary schools. For instance, S2 carries out a workshop of 13 sessions, where they study the mediation process, the conflict, how to prevent it and how to solve it. S4 is implementing a similar project; its main aim is to propose actions and protocols in order to solve conflicts generated from coexistence and to address the inevitable tensions of everyday life. Finally, S9 has a 'coexistence committee' which offers training and activities for teachers and students.

Lastly, there is a school (S15) with a programme to accompany young students in their transition between leaving secondary school and entering the labour market. It is called *El Far* (The Beacon) and it is implemented with the support of the city council. It is a programme in which the school looks for companies in which these students can combine class time, with morning hours outside the school, and develop a work task.

Tensions and challenges in the educational system

Which challenges and tensions can be found in the educational structures and their environments, including neighbourhood, families, partner institutions and administration? Which limitations could be found in the pedagogical and affective integration practices implemented by the schools, being aware of intrapersonal relations, flows of power, culture shock and intolerant behaviours? During the interviews conducted and focus group sessions that we have moderated for this research, members of different educational communities have reported urban deficiencies in the districts where the schools are located and have agreed that public services are worse in their areas. Zaida is a social educator working in a public secondary school. During a focus group she revealed: 'In this neighbourhood there are no banks or supermarkets. Some days ago, I was discussing that with my students. They even asked me why streets around the school are much dirtier than in the city centre.' Moreover, her colleague, Maria, has identified their district directly as a ghetto: 'This is

a ghetto. There's a feeling of abandonment; and when you feel abandoned, you just don't care about anything.' She added: 'We're just segregated. We're working hard to solve it out, but we're already segregated.'

The majority of our informants have expressed perceptions and impressions related to *inequalities*. Inequalities are perceived not only in urban deficiencies and geographical segregation, but also concerning the political management and distribution of resources between public educational institutions. In many cases, members of the educational communities identify social inequalities and severe differences between schools located in the same city or district, in relation to the migration rate. While some public schools have no migrant pupils, other schools absorb all the migrant population. This became problematic because the high-complexity schools do not receive enough resources or training to manage it. During one of the focus groups, Maria noted: 'In this city, there are schools where all the students are Catalan native speakers. In contrast, we have at most two Catalan native speakers per classroom. Neither of these reflects the reality of our city.' This is not the only case. Similarly, the principal of S5, which is a high-complexity public school, explained to us during an interview: 'There are two public schools in this neighbourhood. Neither of those reflects the neighbourhood's real population: we absorb all the *Gitano* and migrant population, while in the other public schools all the students are Catalan middle-class.' In the case of S4, this structure is maintained: 'Last year we had 60 per cent of migrant students, and in the school next to us they have only 10 per cent. Something's wrong…'

Moreover, some informants have directly identified this inequality as a form of ghettoisation: 'While this school gets more ghettoised, the other one [another public school located in the same district] has obtained better and newer resources and facilities and it is filled up with middle-class students.' Another participant, who is both a teacher and a parent at a public school, noted: 'Even if they're from this neighbourhood, [Catalan] people don't want to bring their children to our school because … well, because it's full of migrant children. And they want their children to interact with people most like them.' A teacher from another public school expressed: '[G]hetto-schools are an absolute mistake. Why are there some schools that have 80 per cent of immigration rate and others have 1 per cent?'

There are many political and contextual factors that blur the integrational and cross-cultural possibilities of educational communities: institutional overflow, lack of resources and the impact of the economic crisis of 2008 that still hits the public sector. In this respect, indignation was the most common feeling expressed by the teachers and school staff

during one focus group conducted in a public secondary school from the province of Tarragona (Catalonia). A social educator participating in this focus group said: 'Society changes happen overnight. The institution can't manage all these changes. There are not enough resources and we must be very flexible to address these issues.' Another participant expressed: 'I think all schools should be in full equality conditions. In that sense, local and regional policies are not contributing.' Along the same lines, some teachers have noted the impossibility of putting into practice regulatory decrees strictly connected with inclusivity: 'I think all schools should be in full equality conditions. In that sense, local and regional policies are not contributing … Inclusivity is a fundamental right, and it's decreed by law. But how do I put it into practice if I have no resources? The inclusive school decree is a high-level decree designed with a very low budget.'

Precarity becomes a common experience in the different educational communities. Many informants have reported that the schools participating in this research have high ratios of pupils per classroom (between 25 and 30) and frequently only one teacher per group. This added significant difficulties to accompany the students' learning process. In order to approach this, some institutions are reorganising their lessons to adopt a co-teaching model, by having more than one teacher per classroom. Mario, who is an emotional mediator, affirms that this practice allows teachers to deal better with the learning process and the teaching practice in a diversity context. According to Cook and Friend (1995), co-teaching involves two or more teachers providing significant and stimulating experiences of learning for students in the same physical place. Along the same lines, Crow and Smith (2005) regard co-teaching as an opportunity to develop a reflexive practice and collaborative learning by interlacing professional experiences and knowledge between teachers. Moreover, co-teaching provides more adapted and personalised resources to the pupils' needs and, in general, a more individualised accompanying process (Graziano and Navarrete 2012).

Many of the schools participating in this research offer 'live enrolment' – meaning year-round enrolment. In Catalonia, this phenomenon especially affects the province of Barcelona, an area that underwent a progressive urbanisation of rural zones and population loss in the central area of Barcelona (Carrasco *et al.* 2012). This measure guarantees the right to schooling for pupils moving from other schools and countries; but it also adds difficulties, challenges and tensions for the structural management of the schools. Therefore, mobility is not usually conceptualised as a process connected to current social and economic dynamics, but rather as a problem essentially tied to

cross-national mobilities and their educational and political management (Carrasco *et al*. 2009).

Moreover, this directly affects the social life in the classrooms and the organisation of academic content. Many newly arrived students do not speak or understand any Spanish or Catalan. According to the teachers and school staff involved in students' reception and mobility, there is a lack of translation resources which reinforces the language barrier between teachers and students/pupils, and which ends up generating forms of segregation. These processes directly affect the conditions for opportunities constructed by the students, and, finally, also to their social and academic identities (Carrasco *et al.* 2009). In addition, in all the interviews and focus groups there arose common issues related to the students' complicated life out of the school and the families' socioeconomic difficulties. A teacher from a primary school explains to us that her students often experience complicated situations at home and carry difficult life backgrounds. All these factors contribute to low self-esteem and low future expectations (Carrasco *et al*. 2009). In this sense, academic opportunities and trajectories (both real and perceived) and intercultural contacts between children in the schools are closely connected to the school's organisation.

Clara, who is a social integration technician in S5, noted that teachers in her school are working hard to tackle school dropout and truancy, especially from *Gitano* pupils in secondary. A report by a Roma foundation in Spain revealed that only 20 per cent of *Gitano* students successfully finish secondary school (Fundación Secretariado Gitano 2013), which was confirmed by some informants from schools with a very high rate of *Gitano* pupils. Clara explains to us that when students grow up and approach 16 years of age, most of them stop going to school, especially girls. Some family structures establish other priorities or needs (such as getting a job or getting married), rather than continuing with an academic trajectory. In Clara's opinion, the educational system is an institution created by and for *payos*, and does not consider other life forms and sociocultural structures. For that reason, this school has a scholar promoter, Jason. His main purpose is to mediate different conflicts between families and the school, and to motivate and engage *Gitano* pupils to continue with their academic paths, by showing them examples of recognised Roma academics and Roma people with successful paths. Jason explains to us:

> I'm *Gitano* and I mainly work with *Gitano* pupils. It is not easy to work only with *Gitanos* and to make them understand that we are not different from the others. *We are not.* I have two daughters, I'm studying in the Faculty

of Law and on Saturdays I work in the *mercadillo* with my father. I have to make young people understand that going to college doesn't mean being 'less *Gitano*'.

According to some of the teachers interviewed, the curriculum and educational structure are generally Eurocentric; meanwhile, cultural elements, historical perspectives and social realities from other continents are mostly exceptional. For instance, in an interview with a mother from S2 and in observations in history lessons in a school (S4) the 'discovery of America' by Columbus was mentioned, instead of conquest/invasion. In this sense, some teachers, such as Clara, suggest working on inclusion by thinking about how to reconcile the school with the realities of non-dominant cultures and the possibilities of introducing a *cosmopolitanist* perspective in the pedagogical curriculum. If communitarianism is based on the idea of solidarity across a given community (Etzioni 2004), then, according to Rizvi and Beech (2017: 127), 'cosmopolitanism appeals to solidarity and belonging along the whole cosmos or the universe'. Nonetheless, cosmopolitan learning is not based on a fixed and universal set of values and knowledge; rather, it emerges from the local and situated interconnection of individuals with a cross-cultural context that goes beyond the local culture and traditions (Popkewitz 2009). Thus, 'cosmopolitanism should not be understood as an attribute of the individual, but has to do with individuals in context' (Rizvi and Beech 2017: 132). In that sense, cosmopolitanism is not a fixed recipe available for systematisation; rather, it works as a *rhizomatic* network that interconnects different realities through a contextual perspective. According to Popkewitz (2009: 392), 'cosmopolitanism, then, is a strategy to historicize the present and explore the cultural theses about modes of life formed and the changing patterns of power embodied in the modern school'.

Some informants stress the lack of time and resources that makes it difficult for them to put into practice new innovative approaches and perspectives to improve inclusion processes in the school, as well as to include cultural materials in order to design a less Eurocentric and more cosmopolitan curriculum. In this respect, Laura, who is a social worker, proposes to generate a *slower* and more holistic approach to inclusion processes for not only the new arrival pupils' reception but also the whole community. She adds: '[T]his is a challenge that we have in multi-ethnic societies.'

Conclusions and discussion

Schools are well aware that language immersion does not mean integration. There are many more factors in the act of integrating. There is an emotional dimension to feeling part of the group and the community. And that means not only taking into account children but also integrating families. Schools with a high percentage of migrant children are aware that they have a community where different cultures come together, with different legal and socioeconomic situations, but also different ways of understanding education. This calls for a highly sensitised teaching staff and social collaborators, who seek out ways to accompany both children and their families, to guide and support them academically and relationally, affectively and emotionally, and both as a collective and as individuals.

Many schools therefore propose strategies and practices that are not only focused on language learning but also on feeling part of an educational community that in some cases extends beyond the school, establishing affective networks and in collaboration with organisations and institutions in the neighbourhood. And here some schools are committed to including artistic practices as a strategy for integrating oral and written languages. In this way, schools are not thinking and acting in a compartmentalised and linear way, but viewing education as an entanglement of complexities and multiplicities. For instance, the interviewed schools put the focus on live enrolment, as a tension and challenge. However, Tort and Simó (2007) note that it is important to attend not only those children that enrol in school when the academic course has started, but also those that abandon school. It is as important to welcome a child in the middle of the course as to prepare him/her for departure.

However, at present there are no nationwide decrees nor specific national plans for migrants' educational integration. The last official national plan was published in 2014. This is the Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration (2011–2014), an integration model that considers education a right for *all children* and 'a vital element for the construction of a cohesive society' (Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración 2014: 8). Nonetheless, this plan sets a very generic political framework that does not introduce the specific conditions, practices, resources, challenges or tensions that each local scenario involves. Who does *all children* refer to? Popkewittz (2009) argues that the idea of an inclusive society spoken about in contemporary European and North American policies as schooling for *all children* is a seeming universal set of values that forgets the characteristics of each local context and its specific background, and furthermore may exclude minority groups and non-dominant cultural communities.

> The 'all' is to signify the enlightened unity that transcends human differences. The gesture about the 'all' of humanity, however, is not universal, but particular. It embodies exclusions: processes of abjection that cast some qualities of people as outside of the spaces of 'reason' and inclusion. (Popkewitz 2009: 392)

Catalan and Spanish societies have received different waves of migration during the second half of the 20th century and the 21st century. Beyond that, their history (and histories) is made up of commercial, cultural, linguistic and knowledge interlinkages between Mediterranean countries and cultures. In this respect, our societies should interlace linguistic and cultural elements, displacements and knowledge in a heterogeneous, complex and cross-cultural common network, rather than reinforcing cultural, political and interpersonal borders in terms of the ones who are part of a regulated society and *the Others* who come from outside. In this sense, a mother participating in our research expressed: 'Schools should always be like that. Because if I take my son into a classroom full of white children, he's going to ask me: "Mum, where are the other black kids?"' Halberstam (2013) suggests a new way of thinking about diversity, whereby dichotomies such as regulated zones and the outside, order and disorder, we and Others are suspended: 'there is not simply the leftover space that limns real and regulated zones of polite society; rather, it is a wild place that continuously produces its own unregulated wildness' (Halberstam 2013: 7). And adds:

> *You are already in* … you are always already in the thing that you call for and that calls you. What's more, the call is always a call to dis-order and this disorder or wildness shows up in many places: in jazz, in improvisation, in noise. The disordered sounds that we refer to as cacophony will always be cast as 'extra-musical' … precisely because we hear something in them that reminds us that our desire for harmony is arbitrary and, in another world, harmony would sound incomprehensible. (Halberstam 2013: 7)

Finally, another common and urgent concern in schools is how to avoid a colonial attitude through curricula. Some informants were aware of the contradiction between trying to build a multicultural educational community and teaching the contents of curricula either from a Eurocentric perspective or reproducing ethnic and cultural stereotypes. They asked for more tools and training to integrate multi- and cross-culturalism in teaching materials and the curriculum itself.

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Chapter 10

Cultural Disadvantage and Immigrant Students in Spain: Current Issues and Proposals for Improvement

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Introduction

The purpose of our chapter is to review the educational situation of immigrant students in Spain, specifically the achievements and challenges in the school setting, with a view to proposing possible solutions. We have based our analysis on a review of the specialist literature and the main research carried out on this subject: the major issues present in the school reality of these pupils, profiling the pillars upon which educational measures to attend to culturally disadvantaged students should be based in order to lead them to achieve the same educational milestones as their peers. In our chapter, we review the pillars on which compulsory education is based in Spain and, in particular, on educational measures for culturally disadvantaged pupils. We then proceed to analyse the challenges facing to foreign students: educational schooling processes, the difference in their academic trajectories compared with native students, vehicular language learning programmes, active methodologies of learning in the classroom, teacher training and the role of the language of origin in learning. Working on interculturality seems to be the best way possible: it teaches us to see the other person from a different perspec-

tive, to understand how the other thinks and feels. This approach to the other will afford us new views about ourselves that will help us foster inclusion.

This type of learning is positive for all students, both indigenous and migrant. It involves learning to understand and manage diversity in our lives, seeing each other in terms of what we each contribute, of wealth and not of deficit.

Compulsory education and cultural disadvantage

Education is an essential right for any child, regardless of their cultural, economic or social origin. This is enshrined in the different legislation in force in the current Spanish educational system. But do all children equally reach the same educational achievements? Although not the only determining factor in educational success, the pupil's social origin is a determining variable (Fernández, Mena and Riviere 2010: 35) and 'the probability of access to higher education is six times higher for middle-class children than for those of the working classes'. In fact, the European Commission (2006) urges member countries to implement educational policies that improve the academic results of culturally disadvantaged pupils, based on the evidence highlighted by the scientific research carried out in the area. As a result of this idea, the INCLUD-ED Report (2011) was published. The aim of this programme was to identify educational actions that made academic success possible and promoted the social inclusion of all pupils in compulsory education. The report brought to light important conclusions regarding the pillars upon which to base educational measures designed to achieve improvements in the entire student body. First of all, it proposes increasing the learning time and the development of inclusive educational policies, encouraging the participation of families and the rest of the educational community in school. The type of pupil grouping is also put forward as a determining factor in achieving the educational success of disadvantaged students.

If we review the results of the scant international research conducted into the effectiveness of educational policies developed for the prevention of school failure and inequality in school (Cox and Schwartzman 2009; Marchesi, Tedesco and Coll 2009; INCLUD-ED 2011; OECD 2012), we find some clear recommendations in this regard. The first is the proposal to move on from the markedly segregated actions of Compensatory Education and Special Education models to more inclusive ones. Second, the homogenous grouping of pupils by level of compe-

tence and performance designated 'tracking' or 'streaming' is found to have negative effects on their academic outcomes (Bauer and Riphahn 2006; European Commission 2006; Brunello and Checchi 2007; INCLUD-ED 2011; Valls 2012). Ultimately, these research works propose the path of educational inclusion as a real formula to enable the educational success of all students and improve coexistence in the school.

These recommendations led us to take a critical look at the educational measures developed to address immigrant students in Spain under current education legislation, the LOMCE (2013). The aim of the different educational activities proposed in the law is none other than to help ensure the educational achievements of all students, but do they really make school success possible for all students - and particularly for immigrant students? Do they contribute to development of the same opportunities for educational achievement in the entire student body? Do they ensure equality of opportunity and fairness? Are they really achieving the educational inclusion of all pupils? Throughout this chapter we intend to respond to these questions.

Educational challenges facing immigrant students in Spain

Immigrant student schooling processes: artificial vs. natural concentrations

An initial issue of influence on our study subject is the schooling process of immigrant students. In 2009, the State School Council issued a warning to the different educational administrations of the Spanish educational communities, alerting them to a failure in the schooling processes for immigrant pupils in certain schools, generally those which were publicly owned. In addition, the Council recommended the drafting of a report by the Schooling Commissions recording the criteria whereby a greater number of foreign students were assigned to state-run schools rather than private ones. The reality generated was that in those schools a problem arose where the immigrant pupil population was much higher than the real percentage in that territory. This process has been designated 'artificial concentrations' (Carbonell 2002; Navarro and Huguet 2005). This actually reveals a failure in the schooling processes of immigrant pupils, which favours a greater concentration of these students in certain more disadvantaged schools. On many occasions, the

high number of immigrant pupils is perceived by the education community as something that lowers the quality of education, an idea often shared by immigrant students and their families (Arroyo 2014; Arroyo and Berzosa 2018; Martín 2007). The final consequence of these processes is segregation, giving rise to two parallel school networks: schools for the better-off and schools for the disadvantaged sectors. The final problem is obvious: the school stops being a resource to escape exclusion and marginalisation, and in the end, as many authors have denounced, reproduces the same original social situations of the pupils (Arroyo and Berzosa 2018; González-Falcón 2018; Vila 2016).

Difference in educational trajectories between native and immigrant pupils

Another important issue involves determining to what extent immigrant pupils are achieving the same educational accomplishments as their peers in compulsory secondary education. The answer is clear: this group does not achieve the same outcomes as their native counterparts, although it is difficult to find these data in official statistics (Fernández *et al.* 2010; Serra and Palaudàrias 2010). When reviewing the results of international research into the difference in outcomes between the immigrant and native populations, we find, first of all, a great dearth of statistics that take these data into account specifically, although the PISA report (2017) effectively stated that few European countries manage to get immigrant students to reach the same academic level as native students. Outside Europe, Australia, New Zealand and Canada are cited. The report concludes that those countries accustomed to high percentages of immigrant children in their classrooms are managing, especially outside Europe, to narrow and, in some cases, entirely close the gap between students: such is the case of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United States, Switzerland and Germany. However, countries that have experienced a sharp rise in immigrant students, with no prior experience as receiving countries of immigration, are witnessing the difference grow: Spain, Ireland and Italy illustrate this situation. The report emphasises socioeconomic class in the scores of immigrants and natives, but this would explain only half of the difference. The rest depends on whether the pupils are speaking the language of the school at home, or if they are first-generation immigrants.

We also found other Spanish and international studies on the reasons for the worse results of immigrant students in compulsory education (Alegre *et al*. 2010; Arroyo 2014; Castilla and Rubio 2012; Cebolla and Garrido 2010; Dronkers, de Heus and Levels 2012; Fernández *et al.*

2010; García *et al.* 2007; IOE Collective 2003; López 2015; OECD 2012; Schnepf 2007; Serra and Palaudàrias 2007). The answer, as is almost always the case, appears to be multicausal. Ogbu (1991) and Dronkers and Robert (2008) cited the following factors:

- Personal, such as origin, gender, personal history, ethnic background, language, personal expectations, motivation and self-esteem.
- Social and family factors: the length of time residing in the country, the language spoken at home, socioeconomic and cultural level, family education level and family expectations.
- School factors: the type of school (state or private education), how it is organised, differences in the initial and continuous training of teaching staff and concentrations of immigrant pupils.

Carbonell (2003) stated that family expectations are a determinant variable in the academic trajectories of pupils. For example, one of the main aims of migrant families is to access greater wellbeing for their families and translating into a better economic status. Thus, it is not only the school system that determines pupils' school trajectories, but also the schooling expectations of the families. In the same vein, the Defensor del Pueblo Report (2003) points out differences according to the origin of the pupils, found to a greater extent in Latin American families than in African families. The enrolment rate is twice as high where the parents have an academic and professional qualification, compared to those with only low-level schooling. Another variable that influences the enrolment rate is whether the family is reunited or not (IOE Collective 2003). The data provided here would explain some of the differences found in the academic and social trajectories of immigrant pupils, but what is really becoming evident is a problem of adjustment or adaptation between the pupils and the school institution. We can see how our educational system, with the current educational measures and pedagogical mechanisms, is insufficient to compensate for the difficulties of origin of these pupils. In the end, the important thing is that school failure is determining their subsequent life and social trajectories (IOE Collective 2003).

Educational measures for the educational compensation of disadvantaged pupils: vehicular language learning and subsequent educational supports

The first learning that pupils from other countries have to face is that of the vehicular language. Language learning is the first great hurdle to be overcome in our education system, as the language will serve to commu-

nicate in school, but it is also the key that will enable migrant students to access the rest of the learning experience and attain the same academic achievements as their peers. So, the way we organise this learning is no minor issue, as it will have great importance on the subsequent learning of these pupils.

In general, the educational measures developed for language learning in Spain have been the host classrooms or language immersion classrooms. The aim of these classrooms is that the children who attend them should acquire minimal communication resources to join the majority group in the shortest possible time. The reality is that these initiatives have left no one indifferent. Teachers believe they are necessary, while the debate with the scientific community is open, as they are not deemed the most appropriate procedure for teaching Spanish to new pupils. In addition, the use of these resources and their segregating nature are questioned (Vila *et al*. 2009; Fernández and García Castaño 2015; Arroyo 2014). Likewise, the educational legislation governing these programmes, characterised by the diversity of designations, organisational approaches and content, has also been criticised. This regulation was enacted between 2000 and 2008 in response to the important demographic thrust of foreign populations arriving in our country (Fernández, Kressova and García 2011; Grañeras *et al.* 2007). Therefore, urgency prevails in the normative development analysed, as well as the lack of deep reflection on the ultimate meaning of the resource, its objectives and structure. The differences between the linguistic initiatives rolled out in each Autonomous Community are notable: different objectives to be worked upon in them, with no clear definition of the final linguistic level that students must acquire, and a lack of inclusive philosophy or clear educational models that support the programmes (Fernández and García 2015; Arroyo 2014; Grañeras *et al.* 2007). Questions have also arisen regarding the sociolinguistic assumptions that sustain them, their assimilating nature (Broeder and Mijares 2003; García Castaño, Rubio and Bouachra 2008; Martín Rojo 2003), and their usefulness for student integration, considering that they lead to educational exclusion in the same pupils (Ortiz 2005, 2008; Martín and Mijares 2007a; García *et al*. 2010). What we are missing in these research works is a reflective view of the teaching staff at the forefront of these programmes, as part of the academic success of any initiative. Vila (2000) calls them 'linguistic submersion' programmes, as they do not take the pupils' native language into account or have bilingual teachers, unlike the bilingual initiatives hosted by the school. In short, only marginal consideration is given to teaching of the second language, which is reflected, among other aspects, in that any teacher can take on this task

with the sole requirement of being native, as there is no specific design for the Spanish curriculum (Villalba and Hernández 2004). The main consequence of this is the absence of a theoretical framework in which to place and organise the work of teaching Spanish to immigrants (Villalba and Hernández 2004).

We consider that the numerous research works on bilingualism that have proliferated in recent years can also shed light on the design of these initial educational measures of vehicular language learning for late-starter pupils, defined as foreign pupils joining the school system later than their domestic peers and lacking knowledge of the language of instruction. In general, these initiatives are based on the participation of specialist teachers, a well-developed curriculum and sufficient material and personal means to take it to fruition. The reality is that immigrant pupils are rarely seen as students with the possibility of becoming bilingual, as stated by Martín and Mijares (2007b: 226):

> Bilingualism is not identified with these children, because unlike those who use English or French in their homes, those used by students of foreign origin are too reminiscent of poverty, disintegration and school failure.

The next question would be what kind of educational help these students will require once they have achieved the communicative rudiments in the vehicular language. We must bear in mind that Spanish, in addition to serving as a communication instrument, has another function, which is to serve as a support for access to other scholarly disciplines; in other words, it is a language of instruction. At this point, it is worth recalling the debate in the specialist literature regarding the time taken to learn second languages and the time that late-starter pupils usually spend on it. In general, it is usually admitted that, at the end of a school year, two at the most, the majority of foreign students reach an acceptable level of general communicative competence in the new language. The main problem consists of deciding whether that level is sufficient to participate actively in all school dynamics or provides only basic communication scaffolds. The educational system must anticipate the difficulties that these students will face when they leave language immersion programmes if they are to be able to study all school subjects. This is the point at which debate arises on the issue of setting the minimum level of the language of instruction necessary to achieve proper understanding and use of classroom and school tasks (Pastor Cesteros 2006; Villalba and Hernández 2004; Barrios and Morales 2012). For example, let us review the classic research carried out by Collier (1987) in Canada which showed that, despite being able to communicate in the new lan-

guage, pupils find it difficult to respond to the demands that crop up in school. In the same vein, Cummins (2002) concludes that achieving the linguistic knowledge of their peers takes a minimum of five years. So, if foreign pupils do not have sufficient knowledge of the language, they are unable to access the curriculum, and therefore cannot take part in what takes place in class. Moreover, in many cases the subject teachers do not know what adaptations they need to make in their course material so that these students can follow the classes.

The classroom as meeting point: new learning methodologies

As we discussed at the beginning of the chapter, all international education standards advocate the inclusion of immigrant children in the group classroom for as long as possible (INCLUD-ED 2011). The justification is that they all belong to a group and should therefore be able to learn within its normal lifespan. This involves conceiving the classroom as a community of learning and coexistence, where the pupils see that everyone can learn, each with their own style. This is especially true of language learning: the language is learned with those who speak it.

New learning methodologies can make notable contributions on this issue. The first is that they help to change the established school culture, where the teacher is the only mediator of learning. This will have clear consequences on the pupils: they will be responsible for their own learning, natural support networks will be encouraged, and they will be able to work through cooperative learning, with support within the classroom, where the whole group benefits from the joint work of two teachers working in the same classroom in a coordinated manner in order to better attend to pupil diversity.

The issue consists of overcoming the reticence of many teachers towards working with several teachers in class. It seems appropriate to provide pedagogical models that sustain practice, and several studies have identified three ways of grouping students and distributing resources in each one, which we apply in our work: 'mixture', streaming and the inclusive model (European Commission 2006; Valls 2012). The 'mixture' model defines traditional classes where all the pupils are with a single teacher. It sets out from the premise that all pupils must receive the same education, regardless of their individual characteristics. As mentioned earlier, this model has shown serious difficulties in attending to diverse students, which makes it convenient to seek other models. In turn, the streaming model makes reference to adapting the curriculum to different pupil groups based on their abilities within a school. According to the Council of Europe (2006), it is the response given by some educa-

tional systems when the previous modality fails, as a way of attending to the diversity of the pupils and learning levels present in the classrooms. It consists of separating the pupils by performance levels (into different classrooms or within a class, in some or all subjects). The level of human resources needed to attend to this group also increases. We see how this educational approach has become common practice in Spain, despite the fact that the regulations promulgated advocate inclusion. In most schools, the Compensatory Education support system and attention to students with educational needs are based on this model. Spanish teaching for foreign pupils is also frequently based on the streaming model. The results of the different research works on these practices have found negative effects of streaming on the quality and equity of teaching. Thus, students in lower-level groups tend to see fewer hours spent on teaching activities and receive less stimulation to think critically. Moreover, they are also systematically exposed to less content and to lower-level skills. In conclusion, they receive an education of inferior quality, their self-esteem is reduced and their likelihood of dropping out of school increases (Braddock and Slavin 1993). The outcome is that instead of accelerating the learning of these pupils, it hinders them and enhances the inequalities between groups. This report shows how pupils who attend schools in which separation by levels is practised achieve worse results than those who attend a school where they do not apply.

The alternative to all of this is the inclusion module, which considers alternative educational measures to the two previous options. This model is not based on adaptation of the content at student level, but focuses on providing the necessary support in a shared environment and with the same learning content, in order to make the ordinary curriculum accessible to all pupils. To this end, aids are introduced to facilitate their follow-up, ranging from teacher support, peer support, volunteering and other resources designed to provide better attention to the whole student body (Landone 2004; Barrios and Morales 2012; Breidbach and Medina-Suárez 2016).

Teacher training: a key factor in pupils' educational success

Teacher training is another aspect that needs to be addressed in order to improve educational attention to late-starter pupils. Rather than the formative proposals of the administration that seek homogenisation, it is urgent to rethink teacher training and adapt it to the real issues in schools, always encouraging group work in schools and allowing each context to suggest new organisational formulas to manage the diversity that concerns them. We are aware of the need to develop training activi-

ties so that teachers can adapt to the new challenges currently demanded by diversity in the classroom (Vila 2000). Moreover, authors such as López (2002) have identified a series of problems in teacher training, taking the presence of diversity into account. In many cases, teachers are not familiar with the origin of students or with the community in which they live, training programmes have not been focused on sensitising them to their own prejudices and values, and, in addition, teachers lack the necessary skills to perform in class (intercultural, language…).

Rodríguez-Izquierdo (2009) insists on the need for research into good intercultural practices in school so that teachers can count on reference models. Other very useful resources in this field are groups reflecting upon their own practice and networking among teaching staff, as they can provide resources and tools that facilitate the task of educating in culturally diverse classrooms.

What the pupil provides: language, culture and family

The importance of the mother tongue in second-language learning is primarily manifested through affective factors, such as self-esteem or self-confidence (Huguet 2006; Pérez Milans 2007; Mijares 2007). This was confirmed in studies carried out in Catalonia (Bernaus, Moore and Cordeiro 2008; Huguet, Janés and Chireac 2008), from which it was further deduced that those who feel more valued and socially integrated develop more favourable attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish, an aspect with repercussions on their language learning. Studies carried out by Vila *et al.* (2009) and Siqués, Perera and Vila (2012) in the reception classrooms for immigrants in Catalonia show the positive relationship between school integration and knowledge of Catalan. In short, when the language and the culture of origin of immigrant pupils are present in the classroom, it has a considerable influence on their later learning. The problem is that languages of origin are not generally present in the classroom (Mijares 2007). In many cases, the intention is not to use them during the learning period of the new language, as it is considered a hindrance to learning. The idea holds sway that it is necessary to abandon the language of origin to learn the new one (Martín and Mijares 2007).

We find the same issue with the cultures of origin that have an 'anecdotal' presence in school life, which often further increases the distances between native and foreign pupils (Carbonell 2000; Carbonell 2002). As stated by García and Goenechea (2009: 212):

> The culture and language of these pupils do not usually have a place in school beyond some posters in different languages or a multicultural con-

ference that shows the cultural diversity in the school, although often in a folkloric way, in what has been called a 'couscous curriculum'.

Considering the original language and culture at school is not only important because it reinforces and formalises mother tongue acquisition, but also because of the reinforcement of the pupil's self-esteem and identity that takes place, as what they bring to school is valued. This also helps bring the school and family environment of immigrant pupils closer, as their presence in the school is often minimal. Another quite common reality is the scant presence of these children's families in the day-to-day life of the school. Our efforts must also focus on achieving greater participation of these families in the everyday life of the school. We must not forget that the school models in their countries are far removed from our own. The INCLUD-ED report (2011) also cited the benefits to pupils' academic performance of their families' presence.

Understanding diversity as positive: the road to interculturality

The key question in all this is whether the educational attention to immigrant students in the education system should focus exclusively on learning the language. Obviously not – the concept is too reductionist in terms of the problem – but it is true that learning a language entails an approach to the culture, its values and beliefs. In addition, it involves a process of approaching other forms of life and thought, but it also entails the recognition and appreciation of the language and culture of the new learners. It is here where it is key that the starting point for language teaching should be interculturality. This will involve not limiting our intervention to integration of the immigrant population in the host society, but making possible an education dedicated to the population in general. This is therefore where intercultural education makes sense: it involves teaching the public to look at the other person from a different perspective in order to understand how they think and feel. So we are not going to focus exclusively on a set of educational objectives and strategies referring to those schools that educate pupils belonging to cultural minorities. Intercultural education, equality and diversity are two sides of the same coin and their focus in the classroom must take into account the 'what' to be taught, making reference to contents and curriculum, and 'how to do it', with reference to classroom organisation and intervention (Sabariego 2002). The aim is thus to incorporate new ways of teaching and new spaces for learning from the standpoint of interculturality.

In this sense, the school becomes a privileged framework for dealing with cultural diversity, in pursuit of the development of social cohesion (Lluch 2002). Social and cultural diversity, besides being a complex issue, can be lived as a positive reality and an advantage for the school and thus for society.

Conclusion

The first conclusion that we can reach is the clear discrepancy between theory and practice. The educational legislation that regulates educational attention to immigrant students abandons diversity, as a challenge that clashes with the educational measures proposed, in many cases with a marked segregatory nature (Arroyo and Berzosa 2018; Arroyo 2014). The educational measures that are applied often create more separation than equality, giving rise to contradictory realities. Therefore, the first issue consists of reconciling the regulations enacted, which defend diversity as a challenge to be achieved with the educational measures that are developed, which resolve this diversity as a deficit to be compensated outside the classroom. Inclusion must be the fundamental basis of these measures, overcoming their often segregatory and assimilationist nature.

Another area with room for improvement concerns the schooling processes of immigrant pupils, ensuring that both native and foreign students can have the opportunity to achieve the same academic outcomes. The work involves the different school commissions from each city taking responsibility for avoiding these differences and guaranteeing equal schooling, avoiding the creation of ghettos found in some schools, where a high percentage of immigrant students is concentrated in the school.

At the same time, the administration can introduce measures that give prestige to schools with a larger number of immigrant students, as Martín (2007) pointed out. Among other bilingual learning initiatives, these include educational innovation campaigns, lowering the ratio of pupils in class and, finally, providing schools with greater material and educational resources. This way, the return of the native population to their schools of origin would be achieved, balancing the population percentages in those territories.

The issue of different educational trajectories for immigrant pupils is a question that must be addressed. To do so, it is necessary to work on expectations and their influence in the determination of academic behaviours and achievements, which Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968)

highlighted with the Pygmalion Effect, whereby teachers' expectations may determine pupil performance. It is important to work on teachers' expectations, as well as those of families and the pupils themselves, through positive experiences and successful educational activities with immigrant pupils that can serve as an example to be emulated.

We have seen how the linguistic policies of different Spanish educational administrations vary depending on whether the pupils are native or foreign (Villalba and Hernández 2004). For the former, bilingualism is proposed, or even multilingualism from an early age, with trained teachers and material resources, whereas the latter are offered 'language submersion programmes' (Vila 2000), which involves avoiding the language of origin, with few resources and untrained teachers. The research works cited above have provided us with clues as to how to propose these processes, bearing in mind that we are facing a special case of language learning. Key aspects to consider in these programmes are the presence of the pupils' mother tongue and motivation. Once the basic communication aspects have been achieved, work on the language of instruction begins – in other words, the language linked to the school content of each study area: working on the vocabulary and linguistic expressions of each subject, from a specific curriculum of Spanish for immigrants.

Teacher training appears as another challenge. This training must be carried out in schools with the specific problems presented by each of them, encouraging teamwork and reflection on teaching practice per se. This way, we would guarantee the training of all teaching staff and not only of the specialists who occasionally work with immigrant pupils. Teaching staff are a key factor in pupils' academic success. The final idea is to provide teachers with different resources and strategies to approach classroom diversity as something to be managed from within and not outsourced. The classroom then becomes the workplace par excellence for all pupils. It is necessary to change the established school culture and rethink the roles of teachers and pupils. Active learning methodologies – such as cooperative learning, project-based learning – provide important opportunities to help all students, and especially those that present cultural diversity. They allow the pupil to become the active centre of learning with the teacher as mediator of learning, improving the linguistic knowledge of students who do not know the language.

This is where intercultural education makes sense: it involves teaching the public to consider the other person from a different perspective in order to understand how they think and feel, in order to be able to have new views about themselves. This learning of diversity is essential in school, if we are to conceive of more just and tolerant societies that help manage diversity positively, as an opportunity for all.

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Chapter 11

Education Policy in Intercultural Community Contexts

Maria Jesús Igual Calvo

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to summarise the thesis *Intercultural Community Education* (Igual 2017) which aimed to determine the extent to which practices reflect theoretical guidelines and policies and put into play the theory of intercultural education in the Catalan context. It also analysed the foundations on which intercultural education practices have been based over the past two decades. The study was carried out in two phases: the first was an exploratory approximation to the context and the second, during 2017, was a case study of different, previously defined, agents and institutions in the area (education centres, representatives of the local and regional administration, and third-sector organisations).

The main focus of the study was the question of how, through educational practices in the community, intercultural education is applied by the different agents, and what factors foster and hinder the social and educational inclusion of students from different origins and cultures. To what extent does the structure of the spaces around the school – or formal education setting – as areas for educating and promoting equal opportunities, facilitate the optimisation of socio-educational intervention aimed at intercultural coexistence? What are the education policies that determine the actions of inclusion for the population, and particularly for students, in a community with high levels of cultural diversity? What are the challenges for the inclusion of cultural diversity in a specific intercultural community context? What actions are introduced to respond to specific needs? What methodological changes need to be

developed? What conditions facilitate and hinder the management of intercultural education in the context of a city community or neighbourhood? How has the economic crisis affected the implementation of education policies in this context?

Research objectives

The purpose of the investigation was, therefore, an approximation to this study objective, based on qualitative research that focuses on the analysis of regulatory documents that guide education policies and actions, and how these regulatory guidelines are reflected in the neighbourhood of a city in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. A dialogue was established with educational professionals and education agents in the territory to understand how crucial socio-educational work and relationship practices with the agents are in the inclusion process in the community, with the purpose of:

1. identifying different problems and opportunities linked to intercultural community education
2. contributing to strengthening the intercultural community dimension.

The principal objective of the research was to describe the interrelations that arise between intercultural education planning and the community socio-educational work of professionals, services and organisations in the area, looking at how the cross-disciplinary network is structured, concerning theories, policies and practices on intercultural education.

The main objectives of the research were to:

1. Draw up a theoretical and methodological framework that characterises the theoretical and policy-making conceptions of intercultural education as a starting point.
2. Identify the presence of the intercultural narrative in regulatory documents that have guided the development of general and education policies for interculturalism in the schools and organisations of the case study.
3. Identify the conditions and actions that facilitate or hinder the planning and development of education resources for interculturalism and social and educational inclusion in the community.
4. Explain how the different public administrations and other agents in the community plan, in order to respond to the challenges and objectives of social and educational inclusion in the specific area-territory of the case study.

5. Put forward recommendations for the creation of processes that deal with social and educational inclusion and intercultural education in the education community.

The research was initially exploratory. In the opinion of Latorre, del Rincón and Arnal (1997: 67–68), exploratory research, descriptive research or both tend to be used to approach the reality of events and, based on the information obtained, formulate with more precision the hypotheses of subsequent research that will attempt to explain them. Based on the exploratory analysis, the case study was determined within a framework of qualitative research.

Initial considerations

Interculturalism, from a critical perspective, highlights how difficult it is to simply define the complexity of cultural processes in societies of today. Multiculturalism initially meant the defence of what was *different*, what had historically been excluded; it had its own language and was built on the fight for emancipation and against social exclusion. Multiculturalism is an educational proposal, a change of perspective in the pedagogical narrative and school practices.

Interculturalism refers to diversity, the difference between cultural aspects and the way that each person expresses (or is able to express) their identity within the society they are part of. Issues such as migration, racism, the radicalisation of identities and community demands underpin a wide-ranging debate on how to formulate coexistence and social cohesion in societies that are increasingly more fragmented.

Our societies have arrived at this situation of interculturalism through migration over the past several years. Initially, the intercultural programmes developed were structured as a service for the diversity and social integration of immigrants and their cultural differences, but this does not in any way exclude addressing proposals for building citizenship in general.

In Catalonia, despite the profusion of discussions, it wasn't until the definition of the first *Pla interdepartamental (1993–2000)* [Interdepartmental Plan] and the subsequent *II Pla interdepartamental (2001–2004)* that the results of these discussions started to be seen. Until then, specific interventions were typically improvised and there was a lack of economic, personnel and institutional resources.

Once the challenge to build intercultural citizenship was undertaken, all eyes turned once again to education as the essential tool to respond

to new forms of sociability and belonging. Education was one of the mechanisms for rebuilding ties between individuals and society and ultimately for proposing the type of teaching required to make possible social inclusion and participation once the inevitable diversification of societies, which were thought to be uniform, had been assumed.

To develop the framework that characterises the theoretical and policy-making conditions, an analysis of the context was carried out. This was followed by an analysis of the conceptual and theoretical considerations of intercultural pedagogy and intercultural education in community contexts, in relation to the policies designed for the social and educational inclusion of interculturalism in the community. The content of the plans and programmes based on the policy framework was analysed. Using the case study, the actions and conditions that facilitate and hinder the planning and development of educational resources for social and educational inclusion were analysed. In parallel to the theory of intercultural education, the following aspects took on greater importance when formulating the theoretical framework:

1. One of the basic tasks of education, before educational intervention, is the preparation of contexts – in other words, preparing the world for the new generations and preparing the framework for educational interventions in schools. The city, as a place where people's lives develop and where economic, social and relational interactions and transactions occur, must be a context where education relational interactions can come about. When interpreting the behaviour of others, humans invariably commit the mistake of overestimating the importance of basic character traits and of underestimating the importance of situation and context (Gladwell 2001: 167).
2. The approach to the concept of community, based on contributions by Beck (1998a, 1998b), Touraine (1995, 1999), Bauman (2003), Delanty (2006) and their guidelines for planning educational intervention in community contexts.
3. The repercussions of social and education policies on a newcomer population, positioning their origin and their connection to formal education institutions with other socialisation spaces.

For the empirical proposal, analysis was carried out in the territory based on the importance of the territory and family contexts in the education of children and young adults and on the need for their collaboration with educational centres. All this in pursuit of shared responsibility, between society and the contexts closest to students for their education, given that schools themselves cannot adequately provide quality educa-

tion adapted to the needs of every single student without the participation and support of the families and the immediate environment.

Theoretical starting point: policies for intercultural education

International migration has been beneficial for the capitalist system, and economies are aware of this. To think of immigration solely in terms of poverty does not facilitate the understanding of urban societies today. Migration processes are based on three interrelated dimensions: an economical dimension, a socio-political dimension and a cultural dimension.

Despite the existence of internal cultural diversity and the presence of historic minorities, the matter of cultural plurality in European states was not posed until after the Second World War. This is when significant migrations began (entry and exit), particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, which coincided with the reconstruction and industrial expansion of countries in the north-west of Europe and a fall in birth rates. The emergence of the debate was essentially caused by the presence of foreign migrant populations.

Ultimately, it is not borders or barriers that regulate immigration, but the labour market. If we take a look at other experiences that began earlier, we can see that the contemporary debate on the management of diversity began in the US and Canada. North American societies in these countries, characterised by the diverse make-up of their population and the existence of important ethnic and cultural minorities, are where this debate began in the 1960s, gathering momentum particularly from the 1970s.

In the context of Catalonia, the first *Pla interdepartamental d'immigració 1993–2000* [Interdepartmental Immigration Plan] was approved in 1993 and was the first experience of this type in Spain. The text provided instructions on the framework for action and defined what the coordination and participation bodies were to be in civil society. The second plan was the *Pla interdepartamental d'immigració 2001–2004* and its main objectives were prevention, mainstreaming, coordination, inter-administrative cooperation and co-responsibility with social and economic agents. This second plan highlighted programmes related to the area of education, culture and social wellbeing: institutional collaboration, sport and leisure, adult education, professional training, Catalan language and identity, displaced minors, awareness.

The third plan was the *Pla de ciutadania i immigració 2005–2008* [Citizenship and Immigration Plan] of 2006, which proposed a reduction of irregularities, the equipping of public services for the new situation, an increase in knowledge and awareness among the population in general, social promotion through inclusion and labour and social improvement, and the promotion of a sense of shared identity. The plan aimed to influence the concept of *citizenship*.

The National Pact for Immigration (PNI 2008) defined Catalan society as a diverse society and made a commitment to cohesion, resulting from the construction of a shared common project, stemming from the participation of everyone and driven by the defence of individual and collective rights. It established the consensus necessary for the management of immigration, the upholding of social cohesion and the improvement of levels of wellbeing for the entire Catalan population. It was structured around three basic pillars: the management of migration flows and access to the labour market, the adaptation of public services to a diverse society, and integration in a common public culture.

Following this came the *Pla de ciutadania i immigració 2009–2012* [Citizenship and Immigration Plan], detailing the measures and actions for the subsequent four years, already contemplated in the PNI, and grouping them into three main blocks: immigration policy, policies that foster equal opportunities and policies for integration and creating ties in the new society, aimed at fostering integration in a common public culture.

The *Pla de ciutadania i de les migracions: horitzó 2016* [Citizenship and Immigration Plan: Horizon 2016] placed emphasis on migration policies, emigration and the economic context along the following lines: identification–integration, coexistence and social cohesion, childhood and young people, and national transition.

The *Pla per la llengua i la cohesió social* [Plan for Language and Social Cohesion] was implemented in the 2004–2005 school year, with the creation of language and cohesion teams (LICs) as the main representatives of change in the field of education. One of the main focuses of the document was social cohesion, which resulted in the Generalitat's (Government of Catalonia) orientation from then on. Cohesion must emerge from the recognition of the existing plurality, from the desire to build links through solidarity and from the fostering of citizen coexistence following democratic values.

As a result of the *Pla de llengua i cohesió social*, educational environment plans were established, based on the promotion and dissemination of good practices, the improvement of teacher training and acceptance in schools, etc. The plan also highlighted the effect of the community environment on belonging as a variable to be considered, taking advantage

of the favourable aspects and prevention of elements that could make the integration of students more difficult, indicating that the environment has possibilities and disadvantages.

Community intercultural education

Culture, in urban societies of today, is one that is built and rebuilt at any given moment, based on the relationship and interaction between individuals (Castells 1998; Delgado 1999; Marí 2002). Culture is created and 'recreated' through the means and instruments used by people in their communication with each other. As stated by Maffesoli (1999), while developing his theory on sociability, communication among individuals when they interrelate and the interactive nature of social life are slightly more important, more truthful, than those objects we call *cultures*.

Culture cannot be understood as a finished product but a series of renewable conventions, a place for inventing and experimenting, but above all something that has no point of return (Bauman 2003: 74). In the technological and global urban societies of today, identifying different cultures as homogeneous groups that are differentiated from each other is difficult. Paraphrasing Todorov (1991), rather than hindering the path to what is universal, strong cultural identity is the main route. According to Maalouf (1999: 48–49), in the age of globalisation there is an urgent need for a new concept of identity:

> Everywhere, where today groups of humans that are different for their religion, colour, language, ethnicity or nationality live side by side, where, more or less remote, more or less violent, tensions arise – between immigrants and the local population, blacks and whites, Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Arabs, Hindus and Sikhs, Lithuanians and Russians, Serbs and Albanians, Greeks and Turks, English-speakers and Québécois, Flemish and Walloons, Chinese and Malaysians … everywhere, in each divided society, there are men and women who carry their contradictory belonging within, who live on the border between two opposed communities, people traversed, so to speak, by ethnic or religious fracture lines, or some other type.

'Border' identities – of birth, or the fate of a trajectory or even of deliberate choice – can have their influence on events and tip the balance one way or the other. Those who can fully assume their diversity serve as the 'link' between different communities and different cultures and will be the 'cement', so to speak, in the societies in which they live. In

contrast, those who cannot assume their diversity will end up, in some cases, on the side of the most virulent of identity-motivated assassins and will rage against those who represent that part of themselves they wanted to eliminate. A 'hatred against oneself' hasn't exactly been uncommon throughout history.

Rodrigo Alsina (2000) believes that multiculturalism should be viewed from a perspective of similarities, not differences. Indeed, every encounter is one in and with diversity, but in a multicultural project, on many occasions, the similarities are not visible whereas the differences are. The right to one's identity should not be based on the idea of difference, but on one of equality and citizenship as valid frameworks of reference for formulating a necessary and ever-changing diversity.

Identity is built on a specific social contact, in a complex and changing environment, based on constant relational interactions. The area of education must explain and know what interventions make this building of identity possible, one which is dialectic, harmonious, revisable and complex, as well as observe the possible crossovers and interactions that occur in our complex societies for the construction of positive, multiple and harmonious identities.

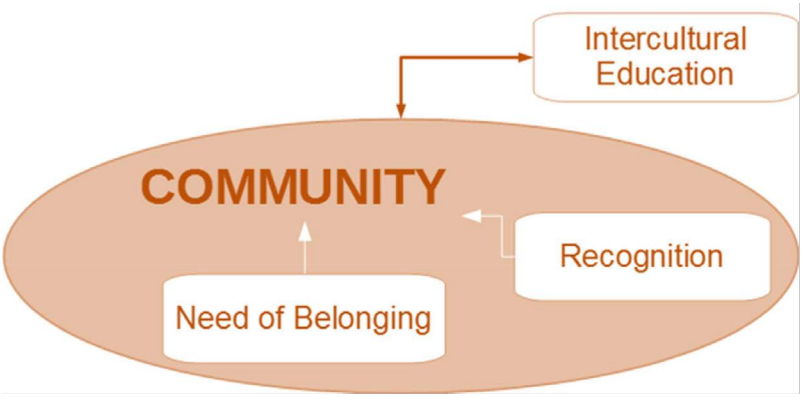
The publication of the book *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* by Charles Taylor (1994) gave considerable impetus to the issue by placing several central aspects on the table. Taylor is opposed to the classic liberal standpoint (assimilationist model) because, in his opinion, the state must recognise cultural identity, given that political identity must be based on a specific cultural identity. He suggests collective identity and its protection as being equivalent to a petition for collective rights for culturally defined groups. According to Cortina (1997: 181–182), clarifying what the relationship should be between different cultures, on a national and international level, is a matter of fairness for the identity of people, which is defined, among other things, by belonging to a culture. Cortina defends the position that multicultural problems are not solely an issue of fairness but also of human wealth. For Habermas (1981), democracy decouples the political from the cultural.

One of the main principles of intercultural education is the idea of a plural and diverse society, brought together through social and citizen participation, articulating at the same time the principle of equality and diversity (Marí 2007):

1. The principle of equality is based on the recognition of full citizenship regardless of nationality, as per the Declaration of Universal Human Rights and democratic values.
2. The principle of diversity is based on the recognition of plurality and of the right to the expression of identity.

Currently, these principles are shaped by the plurality of identities, beliefs and forms of culture that exist in our cities. The city is the immediate community of an individual who, affected by multiple connections of belonging and identity, moves through the space, not so much contingent on who they are but on what they do (Marí 2007).

Figure 11.1. Relationship between community, belonging and recognition



Delanty's theory (2006) is that a community can be considered communicative based on new types of belonging. Communicative connections and cultural structures of contemporary societies in the global age – unlike those of industrial or traditional societies – offer multiple possibilities of belonging based on religion, nationalism, ethnicity, lifestyle and gender. New kinds of community are more likely to arise in this plural world than in a closed one (Figure 11.1).

Social fragmentation has created conditions for the resurgence of community, both real and imagined, as well as communities that are territorial and post-traditional, virtual, ethnic, national, religious and of affection – Maffesoli (1999) believes in the value of communities of affection and new forms of voluntary encounters with or without intentions or common interests – which are formulated as creative forces of community.

How can territoriality lead to a change in intervention strategies for professionals who work in and from the community (teachers, social educators and workers, etc.)? This task requires considering community from a dynamic viewpoint, without the romanticism of the past and the required localisation. Communities are the product of communication.

Civís and Riera (2007: 22) propose social community pedagogy to move sector education projects forward towards community education projects, structured in and on the network, from and to the community, where global aspects guarantee a common educational basis and local aspects uphold the singularity and motivation of the sense of belonging and identification of educators and learners. A pedagogy founded upon the power of sharing the word from a dialogical perspective of education which, as suggested by Paulo Freire (1999), implies embracing the entire learning community comprising students, teachers, education agents in the environment, families, etc., making the reading, writing, narrative and dialogue of the community possible, in its broadest sense.

According to Puig (2003: 46–55), the difficulty of educational intervention in the education of values – to which education in general could be added – is the need to emphatically consider the role of the educational environment. Often education has been reduced to a job with individuals but these individuals are immersed in their sociocultural environment and little can be done to educate them without converting these environments into the object of study, into intervention spaces and, perhaps, into something that transforms education.

Trilla (1999: 22) notes the importance of the shaping effect of educational environments:

> It could be said that educators and education agents generally do two things at the same time: educate directly through a personal relationship with the learner and educate indirectly through the education-shaping effect of the environment, […] through what we could call *micro-environments* (a classroom) to *macro-environments* (a city) […] due to the decisions they take and the municipal policies applied to multiple areas, not only to those directly related to education and schools. These decisions, in one way or another, for better or worse, also shape the city as an educational environment.

Projects on knowledge about the environment, such as Educating Cities, are a good metaphor for the educational process and respond to community intervention proposals in the local environment for citizen projection and participation.

Currently, there has been a re-encounter of community, education and pedagogy as a space for opportunities, as stated by Delanty (2006). Considering socio-educational action from a community intercultural education perspective, as a vital community comprising agents who at the same time must be able to actively participate in community life, opens up a whole host of possibilities.

With this theoretical framework as a starting point, based on the principles of intercultural education and on the structuring of the community as a space of belonging, where individual and group socio-educational interactions occur, the approach for the territorial context was defined. Practices based on observation and dialogue among the different education agents were determined, in order to shed light – reflections and knowledge – on the comprehension of phenomena that occur in practice, bringing into play intercultural education in the community context and its convergence and interrelation with social and education policies.

Case study, procedures for information processing

Information-gathering techniques for the qualitative analysis included:

- Document analysis: analysis of documents on education plans and policies, documents that describe the lines to be followed for social and education policies, for identifying the relationships established between the narrative of social and education policies and the practices that are planned and developed.
- In-depth interviews: with representatives of the local administration, of education institutions, organisations and associations.

NVivo text analysis tools were used for the analysis of concepts that appeared in the documents of interdepartmental plans and educational environment plans, by categorising the paragraphs conditioned for an initial text analysis, which were subsequently defined as a category. Like many methods, the quantitative analysis of contents begins with the identification of the questions to be asked and with the criteria for creating a sample of texts to be analysed. Once the text has been defined, it is coded, in exclusionary categories. The frequency of concepts indicates their level of importance in the text data. The aim was to observe the conceptual evolution around the narrative on interculturalism and the correlation of use of the concepts in the language employed by the different agents in their practice (Table 11.1).

Table 11.1. Conceptual evolution of plans and policies. Prepared by the author.

Plan	Period	Conceptual evolution
First: *Pla interdepartamental d'immigració* (1993) [Interdepartmental Immigration Plan]	1993–2000	integration, interculturalism, mainstreaming, normalisation
Second: *Pla interdepartamental d'immigració* (2001) [Interdepartmental Immigration Plan]	2000–2004	integration, interculturalism, mainstreaming, social cohesion and coexistence
Third: *Pla de ciutadania i immigració* (2006) [Citizenship and Immigration Plan]	2005–2008	citizenship, reception and participation
Fourth: *Pla de ciutadania i immigració* (2010) [Citizenship and Immigration Plan]	2009–2012	integration, settlement, socioeconomic context (crisis)
Fifth: *Pla de ciutadania de les migracions: horitzó 2016* (2014) [Citizenship and Immigration Plan: Horizon 2016]	2012–2016	integration, return, training

Is there, at the same time, a correlation between the concepts used in regulations and policies and those used in practices by professionals?

Based on the conceptual framework, the approach was defined for the territorial context where the case study was carried out, a neighbourhood in a city within the metropolitan area of Barcelona, with a population of 24,677 people, of which almost a third are newcomers (around 23%), and with educational resources: nurseries, libraries, schools, sectoral primary care (camps, homes, playrooms), sports facilities, religious organisations and associations, among others.

Based on an in-depth knowledge of how formal education centres function, the aim was to discover how other agents coordinated their work around the education centre, and this was done by preparing different meetings. As stated by Latorre, del Rincón and Arnal (1997), 'whilst participating observers carry out their field studies in "natural" situations, interviewers carry out theirs in specifically prepared situations'. Once access to the field and discussions with representatives of the education community – school directors, representatives of associations and the area of local education management – had been arranged, contact with a sample of selected people began, negotiating the conditions of the meetings after

defining the dimensions and indicators of the interviews, which were held with 16 community education agents (Table 11.2).

Table 11.2. Preliminary dimensions and indicators of the interview.

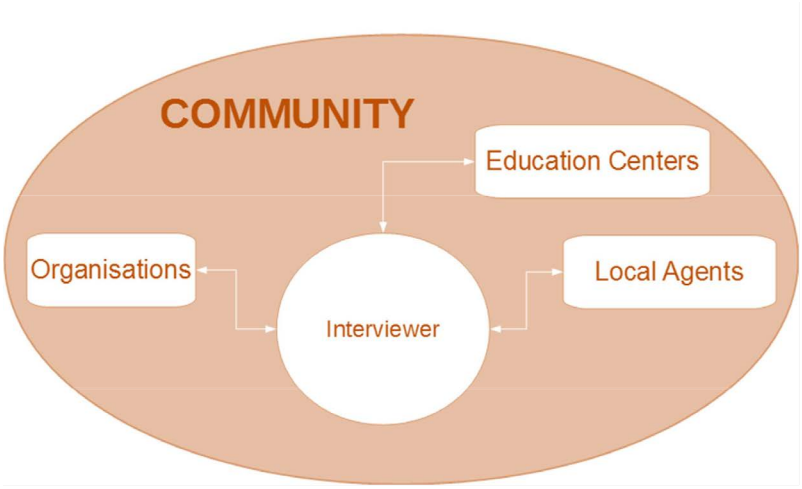
Dimension	Indicators
Challenges and objectives for inclusion	Consideration of the challenges and objectives for inclusion by agents who work in the area of education within the community, education centres (regional government) and local administration
Planning and definition of resources and services in the context	Definition of methodological changes Management of resources by schools, third-sector organisations and the local administration Management of community resources Consideration of the effects caused by the crisis over the last few years on the context and on vulnerability Awareness-raising of intercultural competences, needed for working in the community context, of people and professionals who develop their tasks Actions that facilitate inclusion Actions that hinder inclusion Conditions that facilitate inclusion Conditions that hinder inclusion
Theoretical and policy-making narratives on intercultural education	Awareness-raising of the contribution of the narrative to intercultural education Relevance of the narrative on intercultural education to the practice
Policies and strategic lines for intercultural education	Management of diversity Awareness-raising of the practices that have been built based on policy lines introduced to favour inclusion and intercultural education in the community context

From the interviews, the subjects and categories were defined and emerging subjects developed (Figure 11.2).

In the case of open research, to begin with, there may be no clear idea as to how to handle the data, as this depends on the hypotheses that emerge during the research and on the type of information gathered. The initial analysis allowed the definition of categories and sub-categories based on open coding.

Using the primary data from the transcribed interviews, the subjects were identified and coding was done using an inductive process, leaving

Figure 11.2. Education agents interviewed.



open the possibility of including new categories and emerging attributes, without establishing the structure of variables as a closed structure for each one of the interviews:

1. Education agents from the local administration: ADM16, ADM26, ESS16, ESS26;
2. Education agents from the regional government: EDU1, EDU2, EDUG2, EDU3, EDU36, EDULIC6, EDUTS6;
3. Civil society and third-sector agents: ENT16, ENT26, ENT36, ENT46.

In the second phase, coding was carried out and the comprehension of the subject of study and data interpretations were improved by refining the coding scheme and redefining, deleting or expanding categories organised on two levels:

1. Category tree (tree nodes). This structure was defined based on the categories extracted from the interview scripts.
2. Categories and sub-categories that emerged during the coding process (tree nodes), which were revised and relocated in tree nodes at different stages of the coding process.

Coding was a long relational process of the data and with the NVivo environment. Once the coding process (classification) was complete, another level of analysis was carried out based on the comparison of different nodes and sub-nodes (categories and sub-categories), to reduce the information and make it significant for the object of analysis (Table 11.3).

Table 11.3. Preliminary dimensions and indicators of the interview.

Categories	Sub-categories
Challenges and objectives for inclusion	Mainstreaming and networking Human and material resources: reduction Language and communication Management of intercultural education policies Training of professionals Intercultural communication Intercultural community action
Planning of resources and services	Methodological innovations Appearance of the third sector Use of spaces and equipment
Practical and support actions for inclusion in the community	Reception Extracurricular activities Participation
Intercultural education	Migration and immigration Intercultural narrative: virtues of the narrative, knowledge and recognition Culture and diversity Conflict and struggle
Education policies	Normalisation

Research results

The analysis of documents and the interrelation of different sources analysed for the research describe the conceptual evolution of plans for citizens and immigration, which are documents that stem from policies and at the same time are the models for policies implemented for the integration and inclusion of immigrants in Catalonia.

The socioeconomic and policy-making context and the adverse socioeconomic and political situation, with the application of economic measures by different administrations aimed at austerity, have aggravated situations of vulnerability. In the context of the case study, the different agents have had to look for formulas and collaborations to respond to the community, one where a large number of families live who have migrated in search of better conditions, and who in many cases were emerging from initial instability but have been unable to continue the process of economic, family and personal development.

> The impact of the [economic] crisis on management […] this is what I was talking about before, the budget was cut, funds from the Generalitat, at the beginning of the crisis there were a lot of funding problems, not only for the educational environment plan, but also for other types of programmes, and this affected […] (ADM26, local administration agent)

One hypothesis that has been built during the approach process to the context, in reference to vulnerability, is the increase in awareness and sensitivity among the at-risk population as well as among civil society. They have had to reactively generate and search for answers to make difficult economic and relational situations compatible, mobilising resources around the need for collaboration, aid and altruism, in the personal and institutional field, which has led to a certain level of cohesion in the intercultural community context of the neighbourhood and the city.

A significant number of activities, projects and proposals were mentioned as actions aimed at social and educational inclusion, which have been planned and implemented in schools and organisations and the community environment. The planning of these proposals is the result of teamwork, leadership, collaborative work and the involvement of the community, to respond to the educational needs within the framework of educational institutions and in the community. At the same time, these proposals are conditioned by the policies and lines of action for inclusion.

(a) Creation and continuation of educational activities for inclusion within the school setting and extracurricular framework. Extracurricular activities are an often-repeated reference by local agents and educational centres. Measures are carried out to foster the existence of alternative educational activities that are guided and voluntary. The activities mentioned in conversations with the different agents include activities to promote togetherness, mediation, intergenerational exchanges, work on knowledge about the mother tongue, recognition and building of identity, emotional education activities and other activities connected to the educational environment plan.

(b) Educational environment plan. In the context of this case study, there is a strong sense of teamwork that gives meaning to the practice and promotes collaborative working relationships. Management of the educational environment plan, since 2005, has had direct educational repercussions on the population. The plan is the basis for formulating contextualised actions.

(c) Educational management, co-responsibility and teamwork. Coordination and teamwork among the different players give meaning to

the practice. Within the cultures and professions of the different agents participating in the planning and development of education in a specific context, proposals, aims and objectives are shared. Despite the different cultures, responsibilities and professional positions, collaborative work positively influences the management of education policies in the territory.

(d) Involvement of the third sector. The joint commitment by the different agents has been to accompany and foster the planning and development of educational resources from a global community viewpoint, taking into account the reality of community.

(e) Continuing education. Austerity policies have affected basic aspects of the day-to-day work of teachers. For example, training has been neglected. However, despite this, teachers have resisted, and therefore it cannot be categorically stated that the neglect of this basic issue has had negative effects.

In the education context, intercultural education training has been given on reception, language learning, accompaniment, inclusion and transference. In general, people who work in education include in their practice the vision of intercultural training.

Following is a summary of the conditions that could hinder inclusion in the context of community and city. Some of the subjects and difficulties coincide with those mentioned in the *Report on the Integration of Immigrants in Catalonia 2015*, which is an exhaustive report created by academics and consultants on the evolution of the management of newcomer integration, which reveals the likely existence of a segmented integration process. This coincidence with the research results reinforces the validity of the data and the coherence of the approach, development and results of the study.

(a) Socioeconomic context. Poverty and inequality prevent economic development and destroy collective projects. Recovery is circumstantial and poverty and inequality are structural. Strong social policies are required of the administration (for redistribution of resources, approved guaranteed income for citizens, etc.), the third sector and committed citizens.

(b) Equal opportunities. Opportunity and gender equality. There are difficulties for achieving the conditions that allow a minimum situation of equal opportunities. The different agents refer to the concept of *ghetto* and the need to distribute students more evenly.

The problem of student distribution is not exclusive to the territory where the case study was carried out; the government has suggested guidelines and experiences for creating a more mixed distribution in all centres – public and semi-private. Addressing the redistribution of stu-

dents to reduce the concentration of pupils of different geographic or cultural origin is a task that is pending, also at an education system level.

Gender has conditioned equal opportunities twofold. In practice, there continue to be difficulties among the female collective, which could condition access to rights, ambitions and social and educational opportunities.

(c) Language, communication and intercultural relations. In the community where the case study was implemented, on occasion exchanges are controversial and problematic experiences. Proficiency in the language determines social participation. There is a need for meeting spaces, as these are potential spaces for cultural and personal knowledge and recognition.

There is also a need for imaginative proposals that foster language exchange and learning, without this meaning the assimilation or loss of basic aspects of identity, and encourage communicative exchange in different languages.

(d) Family. Building opportunities for encounters. So that communication difficulties do not hinder effective communication for understanding the meaning of education practices, comprehension, knowledge and dialogue with the family must be assured. The *Assessment of Educational Environment Plans 2005–2009* (Blasco and Casado 2011) stated the importance of bringing families closer to education spaces.

There is a need for methodologies and imaginative proposals to reinforce the accompaniment, presence and involvement of families. Knowing what is meant by *increase family participation* is necessary, as is working and creating reciprocal expectations in the school context.

(e) Global conflict and fear. Threats and fear have become global. Based on contextual situations and the threat of terrorism, the narrative of fear has emerged; the global conflict, in all its complexity, can condition coexistence. Within the framework of the multicultural narrative, referring to identity only makes sense if it is considered in terms of communication and exchange.

(f) Citizenship, coexistence and participation. From an intercultural communication viewpoint, there is a need to continue focusing on the importance of minimum mutual comprehension, which comes about in the different meeting spaces.

Reinforcing the sense of civil connection among citizens who share common projects, requires fostering ways to build participation, particularly among people and collectives with greater difficulties due to communication and language difficulties. Participation is learned through practice.

In general, the administration has applied policies for the integration and inclusion of the immigrant population following the regulatory framework and recommendations of different plans and programmes. It is also clearly willing to search for solutions and to provide resources for the social and educational inclusion of the population and students.

The policies applied have had a protective effect and have created actions and work methodologies that have continued to stimulate collaborative work for the promotion of conditions for educational inclusion in the intercultural community context.

Conclusions

Although generalisation cannot be made, as in any research of this type, the methodology used could be applied to another similar context or situation to adjust actions and emerging needs concerning education.

Education is still responsible for formulating contexts that foster the construction of processes for achieving autonomy and interdependence and inclusion in society, responding to the demands of a coexistence that isn't always free of complications and difficulties in the inclusion processes of people.

The collaborative work among different professionals is a dynamic element that benefits the community and creates feelings of belonging, building the community and giving meaning to the practice. Working as a team, the different agents become collaborators, or partners, forming a whole in the local education community.

Regulations and the building of policies for action have made the development of policies and actions possible, to respond to emerging situations whenever they occur. The plans include actions proposed for each stage, prioritising strategies and challenges and evolving on a formal language level, moving from talking of integration in the sense of absorbing, to using concepts such as inclusion, coexistence, social cohesion, citizenship and participation, which have a better sense of building community and belonging.

Interventions carried out through different social and education policies and by the authorities have clear repercussions on community cohesion. There is no doubt that understanding and building the community as a network of personal and professional relationships has its difficulties but the effort required to understand and make the model a reality

is proportional to the advantages of exchanges of culture, knowledge, of a common vision of educational activity.

Interculturalism, from a pedagogical viewpoint, has become one of the main challenges in education, linking theories to the act of living together. More than a finished model for an education on diversity and beyond the implementation of programmes that focus on diversity, interculturalism is a challenge as much as a dilemma.

Citizenship, in the broadest sense, is a competence of education, responsible for guaranteeing full access to the social space. An open pedagogy must be a bridge between different forms of local community and their overall universal relevance. This is an intercultural pedagogy of encounters because intercultural education must carry out a certain level of mediation between social spaces – between the city, areas of action and participation – and individuals – regardless of their cultural identity – making possible a permanent coexistence and construction.

To conclude, the level of effectiveness of intercultural education theories and policies can be determined by analysing the narratives on policies and the conditions that facilitate or hinder the management of inclusion and intercultural education, by considering the documents that represent them and the voices of the different agents who are involved in the day-to-day practice.

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Chapter 12

Migrants at School: A Critical Analysis of Educational Linguistic Policies and Practices in Brazil

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Introduction

The current Brazilian legislation can be seen as inclusive since it provides migrants (immigrants, refugees, stateless people and asylumseekers) the same access rights to states schools as Brazilians (Brazil 2020). In theory, this would mean facilitated school integration; however, that is hardly echoed in research on migration and schooling in different parts of the country. Focusing especially on educational linguistic policies, we discuss current constraints and challenges regarding the inclusion of contemporary migrants in state schools in Brazil.

Based on Spolsky (2016), Shohamy (2006) and Garcez and Schulz (2016), we define *linguistic policies* as decisions about the uses of a language (or languages) and its users in different domains, and it may be related to government regulations, whereas *educational linguistic policies* can be conceived as linguistic policy decisions specifically at the school level, such as the languages to be taught and used in that context (Bulla *et al.* 2017).

Drawing from our research developed in 2016 at a state school in the city of Porto Alegre, the capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, in the south of Brazil, articulated with research undertaken in different parts of the country, we highlight points of pressure calling for educational policy responses committed to realising the inclusivity advocated in the law. Before that, however, we summarise the migration history that constituted Brazil and present the current migratory scenario as a background for our discussions on educational linguistic policy for better inclusion of contemporary migrants in schools.

Migratory history and current scenario in Brazil

As a colonial national project, Brazil is a country of migrants. A primordial myth of the 'three original races' (Da Matta 1981) – the Indigenous, African and Portuguese people – metaphorically presented as three rivers that harmoniously mixed up to form the Brazilians (Martius 1956) set up in the very early history of Brazil an oblivion to the intrinsic differences among those people. Some had its land invaded, others were kidnaped and taken from their home to another continent, and others got to the ultramarine promised land in search of fortune or liberty, considering that most of the Portuguese contingent was formed by entrepreneurs and convicted criminals (Bueno 1998).[1] By calling everyone *migrants*, Brazil's official history could ignore the asymmetric conditions of its inhabitants, a practice that is still present in contemporary public policies.

When finally slavery was declared illegal in Brazil, in 1888, as a result of a long process of negotiation with the rural oligarchies and pressure from other countries, especially from England, a prominent commercial partner, another nuance was added to perceptions of migration: the preference for peasant migrants over enslaved workers. This notion was nurtured in the context of an attempt to modernise the nation through eugenic ideals with the 'whitening' of the population (Seyferth 1996; Schwarcz 1993), in substitution for the 'mingling rivers' metaphor. Thus, at that time, on one hand, those non-European lineages were seen as degraded, degenerated, lazy and prone to disease, and received no support from the state. On the other hand, mostly Europeans were

1 Historiographic data estimate that, during the Colonial period, between 500,000 and 700,000 Portuguese occupied the Brazilian territory (Ribeiro 2008), along with more than 5 million Africans kidnaped and forced to be slaves during the three centuries of slavery.

brought down with promises of fertile lands (although frequently frustrated), financial aid for settling, and tools for working the soil, in an effort to reorganise the rural working force in Brazil (Martins 1996) after the prohibition of slavery.[2] What happened instead was more like an overlay and a coexistence of different working forces, including illegal slavery and that of migrant peasants. The conveyed narrative, again, has worked as an attempt to ennoble the European migration and to frame this initiative as a business necessity, rather than a political choice.

The factual history of migration in Brazil should account for its impact in the several indigenous ethnicities throughout Latin America that were brutally murdered during the discovery/invasion/invention of Brazil, or that died from diseases brought by colonisers. It is not untrue to say that Brazil is a country of migrants (Da Matta 1981; Ribeiro 2008), but this statement must consider a variety of conditions implied in every migratory process. And what we want to discuss in this chapter is that educational linguistic policies grounded in an inclusion perspective should observe the implications of those various migration conditions in order to achieve educational quality and equity.

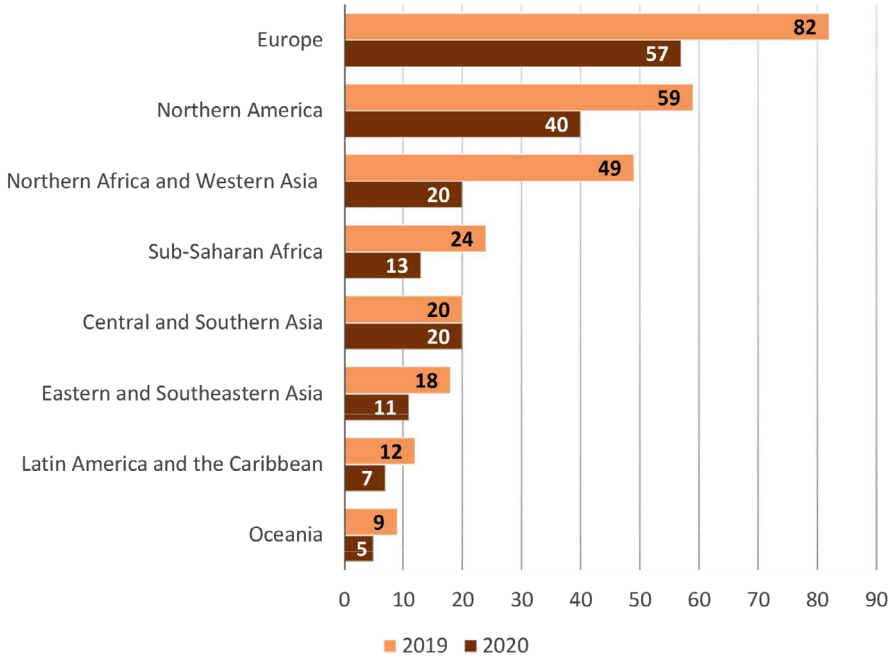
Thus, during the five centuries of Brazilian history, thousands have arrived with different languages and cultures, contributing to the construction of a multifaceted, multilingual, multicultural national context (Cardoso *et al.* 2015). However, several policies have been implemented throughout history that have tried to eliminate multilingualism from the Brazilian territory (in processes of establishing Portuguese as its official, hegemonic language – Faraco 2016), and there is still a lot of ongoing struggle for democratic multilingual policies to be implemented (Oliveira 2008; Morello 2015; Altenhofen 2017). At present, Portuguese is the only official national language (Faraco 2016); Brazilian Sign Language has been co-official also nationwide since 2002 (Morello 2015). Derived from extensive socio-political struggles, different cities around the territory have earned the right to make other languages co-official, such as indigenous languages (e.g. *Baniwa*, *Nheengatu* and *Tukano* in the Amazon state) and languages from early migration history, conceived as Brazilian Immigration Languages by the Brazilian Institute for Linguistic Policy Research and Development/IPOL (e.g. *Hunsrückisch* and *Talian*

2 In the 19th and 20th centuries, it is estimated that 40 million Europeans landed in Brazil (Oliveira 2002). According to the Brazilian State Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE 2007), 4 million migrants arrived between 1884 and 1939, among them 1.4 million from Italy, 1.2 million from Portugal and 500,000 from Spain. Outnumbered, but equally significant, Japanese, Syrians, Lebanese and Turks also arrived during that period (Oliveira 2002).

are co-official in cities from the provinces of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, which is connected to German and Italian early migration) (Morello 2015).

Moving forward to contemporary migration, our main focus in this chapter, Figure 12.1 reveals that the number of migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean almost doubled in the last 19 years, according to the International Migration 2019 Report, produced by the United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (UN DESA 2019) – although numbers are quite low compared to Europe.

Figure 12.1. Number of international migrants from 2000 to 2019 in millions (UN DESA 2019)



As stated in the same report (Table 12.1), most international migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean (73%) are from another country in the same region (in Brazil this is only 31.3%), indicating a significant tendency of south–south migratory flow. Another fact that stands out from Table 12.1 is the increasing number of refugees (from 5,000 in the 1990 to 35,800 in 2015, and to 96,000 in 2019), which is connected to natural and political crises in Haiti and Venezuela.

Table 12.1. Country profile – Brazil (UN DESA 2019)

	1990	2010	2015	2019
International migrants (thousands}	798.5	592.6	716.6	807.0
International migrants as a share of total population (percentage)	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.4
Refugees (thousands)	5.3	5.2	35.8	96.0
Refugees as a share of international migrants (percentage)	0.7	0.9	5.0	11.9
Females among international migrants (percentage)	46.6	46.0	46.0	46.0
Median age of internationa l migrants (years) International migrants by age group (percentage)	56.7	55.5	44.6	40.2
0-19	5.5	12.8	15.0	15.9
20-64	61.2	51.9	57.6	62.6
65+	33.3	35.2	27.3	21.4
Migrants originating from the same SDG region !eercentasel	16.5	31.0	31.3	31.3

According to the Brazilian National Council for Refugees/*CONARE* Report (CONARE 2018), with data from 2017, most refugees in Brazil were originally from Venezuela (61,681), Haiti (7,030) and Cuba (2,749). In terms of number of migrants, nowadays most still come from Portugal (274,924), and also from Japan (86,768), Italy (70,081), Spain (59,188), Argentina (28,630) and Germany (25,679) (UNDESA 2019 – data from 2018). These numbers reinforce the premise that migration is seen contemporarily by the Brazilian public as a social problem (with frequent cases of xenophobia reported in the media) only when it comes to the challenges regarding public policies for individuals with vulnerabilities, which is frequently associated with people from less developed countries such as Haiti, Senegal and Venezuela. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight that, despite all these numbers, international migrants currently accounts for only 0.4 per cent of the population that inhabits the territory (Table 12.1).

Considering migration and schooling in contemporary Brazil, the 2017 School Census produced by the National Institute on Educational Studies and Research/*INEP* (INEP 2017) demonstrates that the number

of migrants enrolled in the Brazilian school system[3] expanded from 34,000 in 2008 to 76,000 in 2016, with 64 per cent registered in state schools (UNIBANCO 2018). In the state of Rio Grande do Sul (RS) specifically, there were 1,717 migrants enrolled in 10,056 state schools in 2018,[4] which represents a low migration figure (0.21% of all students, Brazilians and migrants). Most of those 1,717 migrants were in elementary school/ES (53.58%), high school/HS (27.48%), and youth and adult education (*Educação de Jovens e Adultos/EJA*) (15.43%), and the majority were originally from Uruguay (28.30%), Argentina (16.30%), Haiti (10.30%) and Paraguay (8.50%). In municipal state schools in the city of Porto Alegre, where we developed our research, there were 251 migrants in 2019[5] (0.57% of all students). All migrants were enrolled in nine out of the 99 municipal schools, with a higher concentration in the northern city region – where there is a prominence of industrial plants, low commerce and cheaper rents. Most migrants were male (61.3%), from Haiti (76.89%), and enrolled in regular ES (48.20%) and EJA (41.03%). The concentration of migrants in ES at municipal schools is explained by the fact that legally the city is obliged to provide only up to this level of education. For this reason, just two out of 99 establishments offer high school. Despite the low figures, in the next section we explore current complexities of migrants in state schools in Brazil based on research.

Research on migration and schooling in contemporary Brazil

In order to discuss current constraints and challenges regarding the integration of contemporary migrants in Brazilian state schools, we summarise qualitative data we generated in 2016 through our action research

3 Roughly, the Brazilian school system is divided in nursery school (0 to 6 years), regular primary education (compulsory for children and adolescents in regular school age; provided by the government and tuition free; includes nine years of elementary school/ES, and three years of high school/HS), and youth and adult education (optional ES for students over 15 years old, and HS for over 18; provided by the government and tuition free).

4 Data on RS schools gathered by the RS Department of Education and obtained through a request (number 000025040) we made in February 2020 through the government website Transparency Portal.

5 Data on Porto Alegre compiled by the municipal Department of Education and also retrieved through a Transparency Portal request (number 0020432004, February 2020).

in a school in Porto Alegre (Bulla *et al.* 2017, 2019; Lages e Silva *et al.* 2018). We also articulate and expand our discussions with research undertaken in different regions of the country (Santos 2016; Sonai 2018; Neves 2018; Silva 2018; Greuel 2018) which, we argue, share similar limitations and demands.

While looking for a field in which to develop our research in the beginning of 2016, a municipal school contacted the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) asking for help with Haitians students.[6] The school reported that most migrants could not interact in Portuguese, and teachers did not know how to properly work with them in their classes, which had been always constituted by Brazilians who had been socialised in Portuguese and had lived their whole life mainly using that language, and with whom teachers shared linguistic repertoire that enabled them to establish intersubjectivity for educational activities to happen collectively. Considering the invitation for collaboration initiated by the school, we decided to develop our research there. This school had 21 migrant students out of the 77 enrolled in all municipal schools in 2016 (in 2019, they had 90 migrants out of 251), according to the municipal Department of Education. The school is located in the north region of city, where the majority of Haitians live, and it is around 12 miles from the city centre. It is an area with high socioeconomic vulnerability, with frequent drug wars between trafficking gangs.

During that school year, we participated in a few staff meetings with the school board and the teachers, and interacted with different teachers, school staff, pedagogical advisers and students (Haitians and Brazilians). We also taught Portuguese as an Additional Language (PAL) classes for beginners, who could not study elsewhere in the timetable, so were taken out from their regular classes twice a week for PAL. As other activities were happening with the rest of their EJA group (with Haitians and Brazilians) at the same time, concurrent PAL classes were cancelled after a month as students did not like being separated. We then started a curricular educational project on multiliteracies with a regular level-4 *EJA* group (also Haitians and Brazilians).[7] A few undergraduate trainees also developed their supervised teaching practice in regular classes with both migrant and Brazilian children during the day. Data was generated through fieldnotes, participant observation and reports.

6 This school offers only ES for children during the day, and EJA in the evening.

7 The project had to be interrupted due to aggravated violence related to drug wars in that area, which ended up being life-threatening in 2016.

Regarding school staff in 2016, we found out that PAL teaching and learning, multilingualism, and migration issues were topics rarely studied by the school board or teachers from various school disciplines, including Language and Literature. Neither their undergraduate and postgraduate courses nor their in-service teacher continuous education courses have ever focused on these issues up to that point in 2016. However, their willingness to develop work more relevant for the emergent context they were in was evident.

Focusing on their migrant children, we can point out cases of students in primary education who had never experienced any type of schooling in their life until around eight years old. They were initially included in their age-equivalent school grade, without teachers being aware of any information on previous school trajectories of their migrant students. Municipal schools have the possibility (although diminished by the current government) to acquire extra specialised teachers to integrate their school staff and work specifically with children with special needs,[8] but migrant children – as in those cases with lack of previous schooling experiences, limited literacy trajectories and scarce linguistic repertoire to establish intersubjectivity with the Portuguese-speaking school community – were not at that time understood by the Municipal Education Department as eligible for differentiated treatment.

Furthermore, migrant children repeatedly failed, which was mostly attributed by teachers to children's low proficiency in Portuguese, as compared with local students who were fluent in Portuguese. As a consequence, migrant preteens were about one to three years older than their classmates, which was attributed to the fact that young children could learn Portuguese faster than older ones. Some migrants were thought to have cognitive problems, although teachers were also aware that their students' migration trajectories could have been traumatic and may not have been dealt with in any way, that their families were often separated and living with high socioeconomic and psychological vulnerability (which is common also for Brazilian children from vulnerable areas like that one), and that no introductory PAL classes were ever offered.[9] Teachers from our research also reported cases of racism and xenophobia among children, and as a response started developing projects on

8 More information: here.

9 In contrast, we could allude to New York, for example, where the Department of Education provides English classes as part of their welcoming programme to migrants with few linguistic repertoires to participate in activities in English (García, Johnson and Seltzer 2017).

diversity and social inclusion, which consisted of investigating migrant children's countries and cultures, and comparing them with Brazil. Nonetheless, the lack of linguistic support for migrant children to be able to fully participate in school activities and go on to higher school levels along with their same-age peers was still the major concern for teachers and the school board.

Considering adolescents and adults who were enrolled in EJA at night, the temporary solution created by the school to deal with migrants' lack of proficiency in Portuguese was to take as a general principle enrolling everyone in the first level of their curriculum, regardless of their literacy and school experiences (some had completed more advanced studies abroad, and only one adult could not read and write in any language, and could only speak Haitian[10]). Therefore, students with long literacy and school trajectories in French and Haitian had to attend a class designed for Brazilians who could speak and comprehend oral Portuguese (depending on the discourse genre, obviously), but had to learn from very early stages the technology of writing. Therefore, lack of proficiency in Portuguese was understood as equivalent to low schooling, although the initial EJA stages are not aimed at additional language learning, but initial literacy.

We did notice from teachers' and students' perspectives that participating in classes for early literacy stages was unbearable for those who could already read and write in other languages, but wanted PAL classes as well as being part of an educational community that could provide them with opportunities of understanding facets of Brazilian culture through interactions with locals, which would also help them with their Portuguese, as repeatedly affirmed by students. Later that year, the school started enrolling migrant students at stage 4 (out of 6 from ES), which seemed to fulfil the students' learning wishes in general (Lages e Silva *et al.* 2018). Some students also participated in churches of different strands (regardless of the religion they practised before moving to Brazil – some would even go to two different churches in the neighbourhood) for those same reasons they applied to the school, besides emotional and psychological support and social assistance provided by churches, which were not provided by the school or the state.

10 According to Handerson (2015), the general Haitian population is primarily socialised in Haitian, which is used in family and non-institutional daily contexts, while French is usually learned exclusively at school. Although education is usually valued, fees are too expensive, thus education is not widely accessed.

Even though some had finished or almost completed primary education abroad before migrating to Brazil, another reason (besides language and community) for those students to apply for an optional school course as EJA was the possibility of having an education diploma that would be accepted in Brazil for professional purposes. Diploma validation procedures require original documents, which some students did not have due to their forced displacement or their home government's lack of means of providing them. Thus, besides offering free tuition, enrolling in that school was understood by those participants as extremely valuable for all the reasons we summarised here, evidencing the multifaceted role that school had for that migrant community.

Having summarised our research, we proceed to the discussion of other compelling investigations developed across Brazil. Although many cited specially in the next section could not be included in this one, considering space limits, the selection we made can be understood as representing different regions of the territory: the state of Rondonia in the north (Santos 2016), Distrito Federal (Sonai 2018) and Minas Gerais in the midwest (Neves 2018), São Paulo in the southeast (Silva 2018), and Santa Catarina in the south (Greuel 2018).[11]

Focusing on a state school in the city of Porto Velho, Rondonia, Santos (2016) shed light on early literacy teaching in multilingual classes composed of both migrant and local children. Data was generated through questionnaires with 15 teachers who had in their classes at least one of the 31 migrants (from Haiti, Dominican Republic and Bolivia) enrolled in the school in 2016. Questionnaires addressed issues including academic background (all had qualified as teachers), professional experience, and pedagogical practices for migrant children in early literacy development. The analysis emphasises that there is a huge lack of specific training for teachers who graduated to teach at nursery and ES levels: How does one teach written Portuguese to children who do not speak Portuguese? Teachers also argue that they do not know how to teach PAL,[12] and that they do not know their students' home languages, which for them makes the early literacy teaching task herculean.

Sonai (2018) also used to questionnaires to analyse teachers' perspectives on the integration of migrants into two state schools in the city of Taguatinga, Federal District. Drawing from answers provided by 16

11 We could not find literature on migration and schools located in the northeast.

12 Additional language learning is usually discussed at university level in Letters, not in Pedagogy. Conversely, early literacy teaching is not normally covered in Letters, only in Pedagogy.

teachers from different school subjects (English, Portuguese, Spanish, French, Mathematics, Physical Education, Geography and History), it can be highlighted that the majority of participants were unaware of any school adaptation for welcoming migrants and had no specific training for that. Participants also suggested the following public policy measures: PAL classes in state language centres for migrants; tablets or computers for translations in class; free additional language classes for school teachers; inclusion of PAL[13] in the curriculum; and also training of all school staff.

In a case study with an eight-year-old Syrian child enrolled in a 3rd-grade ES class in the city of Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Neves (2018) discusses linguistic policies implemented by the state school for migrant welcoming purposes. Data was generated through reports of PAL[14] classes taught by the researcher to the female child, and ten interviews with different members of the school community and the Syrian family. Data analysis demonstrated that specific school actions were crucial to her relationship with learning and her classmates. First, having a specialised inclusion teacher close to her was important to boost her self-confidence regarding interaction with her Brazilian peers. The 3rd-grade teacher referred to her as very introverted when she first arrived and attributed this to the fact that she could not interact with anyone in Portuguese. Conscious of the 3rd-grade teacher's lack of instruction on PAL teaching, the school also asked the local state university for help, as in our case in Porto Alegre. Although there were unexplained absences, which the researcher associated with communication difficulties between the school and the Syrian family, the child became engaged with their one-to-one PAL classes, with meetings frequently permeated by spontaneous reports on new words she had learned elsewhere. Therefore, PAL classes were considered another major school action to promote that child's inclusion.

Another case study was undertaken in a municipal state school in the city of Carapicuíba, São Paulo, focusing on five Bolivian-heritage bilinguals enrolled in two nursery classes composed of Bolivian-heritage bilinguals and Brazilian monolingual children (Silva 2018). The research aimed at identifying the sociolinguistic profiles of these children and their families, as well as analysing how teachers and school related to

13 Sonai (2018) refers to the discussion proposed by Grosso (2010) on Portuguese as a Host/Welcoming Language (Português como Língua de Acolhimnento/PLAc), highlighting particular facets of PAL teaching regarding migrant issues, such as survival and forced displacement sensitivities.

14 Neves (2018) also refers to PLAc (Grosso 2010).

those students. Data was generated through (a) semi-structured interviews with teachers and parents; (b) participant observation undertaken inside and outside both classes; and (c) audio recordings of a talk circle in each class, proposed and coordinated by the researcher (according to principles of multilingual pedagogies, discussed later on – García 2009; García and Flores 2012), which consisted of talking about one video and one written text in Spanish.

Data analysis undertaken by Silva (2018) revealed that the five students and their families were all multilingual: they used to speak at least one of the Bolivian languages (Quéchua or Aimará), as well as Spanish and Portuguese at home. Parents were engaged in developing their children's linguistic repertoires, arguing that all languages had importance in their children's lives, and were also keen on the idea of having Spanish, Quéchua and Aimará as part of their children's schooling. In contrast, teachers were found to believe that the students' multilingualism could interfere negatively with their Portuguese learning processes. They also seemed convinced that Brazilian schools should have Portuguese as their official language as a form of cohesion with the Portuguese hegemonic national linguistic policy, also linked with a stereotyped idea of true Brazilianhood (Faraco 2016). Therefore, the only acceptable language at that school was Portuguese (reinforced by teachers and students – even the researcher was reprimanded by children when interacting in Spanish during the talk circles), and the students' multilingualism was silenced and not enhanced in the classroom.

Going further south to the city of Blumenau, Santa Catarina, Greuel (2018) conducted an ethnographic study on language practices at a state school with four Haitian students, enrolled in two 7th-grade ES classes. Data was generated through participant observation in different disciplines (Geography, Portuguese, Physical Education, English and Religious Education), interviews, analysis of official documents, pictures and audiovisual recordings. The analysis demonstrated that even though the school evidenced a monolingual ideology, Haitian students experienced translanguaging practices in their school routines, such as recognising and making use of previous literacy in their home language and using technologies to translate from Portuguese to Haitian. Moreover, although Portuguese was in most cases the official language of the institution, the school community ratified and stimulated the German–Portuguese bilingualism connected to the maintenance of the heritage language in a region settled by previous German migration. Haitian–Portuguese bilingualism, however, was not valued by Brazilian students, suggesting there are preferred bilingualisms depending on the languages (Maher 2007).

Having covered different cases, we proceed to implications.

Educational linguistic policy for migrants' integration in schools

Based on our research and brief overview of other studies on migration and schooling in Brazil, we highlighted common challenges we believe can guide the design of educational linguistic policies for contemporary Brazilian schools that have migrants as part of their student body. In fact, there is an academic call in the literature (Andrade 2009; Magalhães 2010; Rosa 2016; Schmidt, Piccinini and Volkmer 2016; Bulla *et al.* 2017; Greuel 2018; Lages e Silva *et al.* 2018; Neves 2018; Bertiotti 2019; Pereira, Cotinguiba and Souza 2019; Sonai 2019; Suyeyassu 2019) for such a policy design, which we address in two facets: school management and infrastructure, and teacher education.

Concerning school management and infrastructure, the process of referring students to the most appropriate classes was pointed out as a challenge (Bulla *et al.* 2017). School boards nationwide do not have any equivalence between Brazilian and other countries' school systems as guidelines for more adequate inclusion. The age criteria seemed adequate for migrant children in the school in Porto Alegre, although providing a denser support system, approached below, appears to be crucial for decreasing their rates of failing. The same criteria, however, could not be applied for EJA students, because this programme is not organised by age. Considering all that the school in Porto Alegre represented for that heterogenous migrant community, literacy trajectories in the students' home languages could be a more sensible criterion, although it requires specialists for the production of literacy assessment instruments in different languages.

A more robust welcoming system for our schools in Brazil, considering management and infrastructure, could include:

- Extracurricular PAL classes (crucial for beginners and basic students who do not share the broad linguistic repertoire required to establish intersubjectivity with the Portuguese-speaking school community, in order to enable their full participation in school activities), but keeping migrants full-time in regular curricular classes with their peers (usually Portuguese-speaking Brazilians), as recurrently demanded as decisive for their integration by both children and adults in the school in Porto Alegre (Bulla *et al.* 2017), and also preferred in the school in Belo Horizonte (Neves 2018); for that, PAL teachers should be hired, and should work collaboratively with all the school staff (Bulla *et al.* 2017); PAL classes could be extended to students' family members as well,

which could also strengthen ties between school and students' families (Neves 2018).

- Home language classes offered as extracurricular activities to all school community (classes taught by hired language teachers or, considering the lack of resources for state schools in Brazil, organised by students and family members) or as a curricular learning project involving all school grades; either option has the potential to increase value and respect for the languages and cultures of school members, to promote additional language learning and multilingual awareness, and to foster collaboration and social solidarity among students (by participating in a class in Haitian, for instance, local students who usually share the linguistic repertoire to participate in school activities in Portuguese could empathise with Haitian peers with fewer resources in Portuguese).
- Revision of the school's Political Pedagogical Project and curriculum to enhance the welcoming of migrants (Suyeyassu 2019; Sonai 2019), valuing intercultural dialogue, linguistic and cultural diversity, and multilingualism (Bulla *et al*. 2017; Neves 2018).
- Literacy development and knowledge construction in the students' home languages (Neves 2018; Silva 2018), as a linguistic right (UNESCO 1998) – addressed also in teacher education.
- The possibility of appointing a special extra teacher to assist migrant students with special needs, such as those children in Porto Alegre who had never had school experiences before.
- School staff education for migrant welcoming (Greuel 2018; Pereira, Contiguiba and Souza 2019, Rodrigues, Ramos and Ramos 2018; Suyeyassu 2019; Sonai 2019; Pereira, Silva and Peters 2019), which may include the study of migration sensitivities, intercultural relations and additional languages.

Our second facet, teacher education, is another major claim in the literature on migration and schooling in Brazil (Pessini 2003; Andrade 2009; Bulla *et al.* 2017; Santos 2016; Azevedo and Amaral 2018; Lages e Silva *et al*. 2018; Neves 2018; Rodrigues *et al*. 2018, Pereira, Silva and Peters 2019; Pereira, Contiguiba and Souza 2019; Suyeyassu 2019, Sonai 2019), advocating for teacher education on PAL and migration studies. As demonstrated in our research and in Santos (2016), there is a huge gap in our teacher education graduate courses in Brazil considering migrants' integration in schools, and therefore PAL teaching/learning and multilingualism should be urgently included in all teacher education graduate

curricula (Bulla *et al.* 2017).[15] In-service teacher courses, multilingual education (Greuel 2018; Silva 2018; Bertiotti 2019) and translanguaging (Greuel 2018; Silva 2018) are also topics highlighted as crucial.

The *translanguaging pedagogy* can be understood as a multilingual pedagogy (García 2009; García *et al.* 2017) that recognises that every single student, in a multilingual context, forms his/her own linguistic repertoire drawing from all languages that he/she has crossed in life. García (2009) affirms that, from the epistemology of the bilingual child, it is natural to employ the linguistic repertoire of all the languages the child knows, even in the same sentence, for what matters is interaction, activities, affections and relations, rather than respecting traditionally defined languages. Therefore, García *et al.* (2017: 1) argue that 'a translanguaging classroom is any classroom in which students deploy their full linguistic repertoires, and not just the particular language(s) that are officially used for instructional purposes in that space'.

As translanguaging is inherent in multilingual contexts, incorporating these practices into schools with multilingual students means fostering students' inclusion, especially in migratory contexts where their home languages and cultures are usually minimised and silenced. Thus, translanguaging practices tend to enable students to break the silence and help them to develop themselves the new language, avoiding assimilationist teaching practices, as well as promoting social justice (García *et al.* 2017). However, considering our Brazilian context of a Portuguese monolingualism, successfully constructed nationwide as one of the essences of the nation state (Faraco 2016), we consider it to be crucial for educators to critically overcome the myth of a monolingual country that hovers in our society (Oliveira 2008; Morello 2015), as a step into reflecting upon translanguaging.

It is important to highlight that the discussions presented in this section should not be understood as final or absolute. Researchers and school communities around Brazil need to intensify their relationships and studies to contribute to the collective construction of possibilities for a more democratic integration of new migrants in contemporary Brazilian schools. Thus, further research must be undertaken in schools with migrants to broaden our understanding of interactional and educational practices in multicultural and multilingual communities, which can inform the architecture of educational linguistic policies that grasp the complexities and particularities of such contexts.

15 At UFRGS, since 2018, PAL learning has become a mandatory subject for all undergraduate students on Letters – Teaching major, although not yet in other areas.

Final remarks

As we have discussed, Brazil has in its history a denial of the complex migratory processes that have formed its population. In a colonial enterprise, Portuguese was politically and ideologically constructed as the universal language for Brazilians, regardless of the multilingual reality. Although many languages have already been co-officialised in different parts of the country, which implicates the promotion of multilingualism in their local schools, there has not yet been a national public policy for multilingualism in basic education. Considering new migratory fluxes in contemporary superdiversity (Blommaert and Rampton 2011), we have discussed the challenges faced by pioneer initiatives for the inclusion of new migrants in the state educational system across the country. Although mainly focused on educational linguistic policy issues related to schooling, the research discussed here also implies the role of the state facing contemporary humanitarian crises and human rights infringements.

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Chapter 13

The Local Dimension of Children's Integration in the Educational System in Poland

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Introduction

This chapter considers local dimensions of children's integration in the schooling systems in different parts of Poland.[1] Experiences and solutions from four different Polish cities are described, showing unique, local adaptations of educational schemes to the needs of migrant children[2]. All cities are capitals of regions and each has more than half a million inhabitants, so the outcomes represent only situations in so-called migration clusters. The main purpose of the chapter is to show how local governments are struggling with national educational policies that defer the integration of migrants or do not correspond to actual needs. These needs are also described in terms of the problems and challenges that migrant children face in Polish schools, from the first day of enrolment. We show how overcoming the identified shortcomings leads

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2 Migrant children are understood in this article as children who do not have Polish citizenship but also Polish children who had a migration background, including those who started education in different countries and returned to Poland.

to educational innovations at the local level that are shared between the cities and form good practices for others.

How migrants' education works in Poland

The Polish system of social and educational policy is driven by dualism between tasks performed by central and local government. This dualism, although quite well managed in terms of services provided for Polish citizens, creates problems when it comes to the application of certain solutions to arriving migrants. Migration policy had been always left to the discretion of central government even though it is obvious that foreigners settle in local communities and receive services from the local institutions. This disparity can be explained by the type of Polish migration policy that has always focused more on the control and management of the foreigners' presence than on providing them with adaptation services.

Integration, until very recently, was never an issue within the real-life migration policy. As we wrote back in 2013, the Polish approach to foreigners was always suspicious, with a tendency towards strict control over the migrants' stay. We called it institutionalised xenophobia and such an approach is still present in the legal solutions of the aliens' law but also in the symbolic narration of the current government (Bulandra and Kościółek 2014: 84–90). Currently, one more factor has been added to the picture of Polish migration policy and is strictly connected to the rapid rise of immigration from Ukraine after the introduction of the visa-waiver programme. As Klaus mentioned, such labour migrants had been quietly accepted, despite a visible and loud xenophobic discourse directed towards the irregular migration flows from Asia and Africa. As a result, citing Castels, Klaus believes that in contemporary Poland, "politicians publicly use anti-immigrant language but, at the same time, have a sort of hidden agenda, quietly implementing policies open to immigrants because employers demand they do so" (Duszczyk, Klaus and Pszczółkowska 2020: 15). The hostility of the discourse on migrants is clearly affecting the type of integration measures introduced either in law or in reality. Certainly, it also causes tensions dividing migrants into welcome and unwelcome groups on the basic of cultural proximity and the type of faith. Those who are perceived as different are included in the latter and are exposed to certain types of exclusion mechanisms and propaganda.

Access to education is a specific issue within this area. Since the joining European Union, the Polish education system does not discriminate in terms of school enrolment. This system is also driven by dualism between the roles of central and local government. The former shapes the structure of the educational system, creates the curriculum and supervises the schools; the latter runs schools, finances them and organises everyday school life. These systems affect one another and in certain circumstances could have a harmful effect on the process of integration. The lack of any anti-discrimination elements in the official curriculum base often prevent teachers from introducing such an agenda in their teaching practice, as they do not see that such topics are important for the growth and wellbeing of the children. Furthermore, principals are often afraid to set anti-discrimination classes, regardless of whether they are run by teachers or external activists, without direct consent from Supervisory Boards or the Ministry of Education (Chustecka, Kielak and Rawłuszko 2016: 230–233). For ideological reasons, presently such a type of education is suspected of being linked to liberal and leftist ideology, contrary to the official, conservative narration focused on traditional, Christian values. It is rarely observed that racial and ethnic equality is universal, clearly incorporated in most religions' core of values. Such values must be made familiar to children; otherwise, lack of tolerance towards otherness may disrupt the educational process.

It needs to be underlined that due to the specifics of the school enrolment process, migrant children in Poland are not able to create large, self-sustainable communities within the school and create less visible minorities. Nevertheless, all migrants present on Polish territory are subject to compulsory education between 7 and 18 years of age. The child must finish at least the basic stage of education. At the secondary stage there are four-year lyceums, five-year technical schools and branch vocational schools. Since 2017 there have been no middle schools in Poland. A child is enrolled in a certain school based on its inhabitance in the residential area where the school is located. As Polish cities do not have typical migrant districts, migrant children are dispersed between different schools. As a result, on average they account for less than 5 per cent of the school community. This can either ease or complicate integration. Small communities ease the individual approach to migrant children; on the other hand, less visibility of such children may cause them to be isolated and disregarded in the school environment. Almost all of the academic papers discussing the integration processes in Polish schools agree that this process depends more on the individual devotion and efforts of certain teachers or other school staff than on the systemic solutions prepared at the central level (Gębal 2018: 67–69).

Integration planned by central government vs. local government involvement: Major shortcomings

The systemic or structural solutions cannot, however, be ignored or underestimated as they establish empowering institutions important in the process of integration. The most important supportive tool is the provision of additional classes of the Polish language. For migrant children who are not Polish citizens, such classes are available throughout their presence in the school, and for Polish citizens who received the education in other countries' systems they are limited to a single school year. The government regulated that such classes must be provided for at least two hours a week but cannot exceed five hours. The extension of such support is decided by local governments and will be discussed further on. Language proficiency is one of the most important indicators of effective integration; however, this process cannot be limited only to language skills. Putting this truism aside, we must note that national language classes provide the perfect opportunity to introduce intercultural education in this specific context. As Gębal and Majcher-Legawiec argue, presently such potential is not developed and teachers of Polish as a second language are not in fact teachers due to the legal regulations of the profession (Gębal and Majcher-Legawiec 2016: 194). The development of this profession and its utility for schools is dependent on the will of local governments and efforts to establish resources for intercultural education in schools.

In particular, the process of teachers' education regarding their competence as teachers of Polish as a second language, based on an intercultural approach to language teaching, and setting this ability as part of a larger intercultural competence, includes: recognising the relationship between one's own culture and foreign cultures, cultural sensitivity and making the right choices within communication strategies and their appropriate use in contact with people from other cultures, mediating between one's own culture and foreign cultures, and dealing with intercultural misunderstandings and resulting conflict situations, and attempts to overcome stereotypes (Gębal and Majcher-Legawiec 2016: 197). We will show in the next paragraphs how such a framework is adapted by each local government to Polish language teaching for foreigners.

The additional language classes might be supplemented by compensatory lessons from certain subjects if teachers decide that a child with a migration background needs them in order to level out curriculum differences or catch up with the rest of the class. Such tutoring is also

organised locally and usually teachers' assistants are involved to help children in these additional classes. Assistants are also present in regular classes to help children with understanding the material. This support is, however, provided within the limited time framework of the single school year. Psychological and special assistance is available on the same terms and conditions as it is to Polish have, which is problematic as most psychologists in schools are not linguistically prepared to work with migrant children. The language barrier is also important in terms of exams and grading. Migrant children have the right to the adjustment of the form and conditions of exams to their language abilities; however, adjustments are decided by teachers who rarely consider the child's perspective (Pogorzała 2018: 167–172).

The final tool introduced by the government is the possibility of organising preparatory classes for migrant children. The first experiments with organising such classes took place in Poznań and Wrocław, before such a possibility had been legally regulated by the Polish central government. They were based on the German model of a welcoming class, which, unfortunately, was not adopted by the governmental model introduced for Polish schools. The preparatory class is presently organised by each school management for between one and 15 children whose language abilities does not allow them to join regular classes. The preparatory class is organised for the single school year (maximum 12 months) and after this period children must join regular classes. It is possible to gather children from different years form grades I–III, IV–VI, VII–VIII, and I–III in secondary schools in one preparatory class. This makes effective learning problematic for teachers who are obliged to teach the regular curriculum base. If classes are joint, several different curricula must be taught by single teacher, which is often futile. The reality of teaching a preparatory class is in contrast to its legal framework (Pogorzała 2018: 173–175).

Discrimination in Polish schools

There are several more problems that migrant children face in the school environment. One is structural discrimination. In theory, access to education is equal to all children present on the Polish territory. In reality, most of the integration programmes aimed at peer integration, intercultural teaching practices, anti-discrimination classes and raising awareness of the host society are financed not by the Polish government but from external sources, such as AMIF (Asylum, Migration and Integration

Fund). Actions arising from this fund are limited to the largest cities so migrant children in smaller towns are not covered by such benefits and do not take part in any integrative activities. The rules of AMIF financing discriminate against children of EU citizens who cannot benefit from such programmes. On the other hand, Polish children who are returning from abroad can benefit from the additional Polish language tutoring for a shorter time period than their foreign-born peers. It is also expected for them to know the Polish language which means they face cultural oppression in the school apart from regular problems with understanding the language of instruction. They are often expected to identify with Polish culture and heritage even though it is sometimes completely foreign to their actual cultural background.

In contemporary Polish schools, cosmopolitism and diversity are not prized attitudes and values. There is strong pressure in favour of an exclusionary patriotism and against all nations who made the Polish people suffer in the past or are seen presently as a threat to traditional Christian values. Such a nationalistic and homogenous approach to traditions and culture is also present in the curriculum base and followed in the manuals, especially for Polish language and history lessons. Officials usually support such an approach in their official statements. The new Polish Speaker for the Rights of the Children said recently that 'Schools must be free of the ideology that hides behind the tolerance' (Rzecznik Praw Dziecka 2019). In such a symbolic space, there is no room for anti-discrimination classes in schools. Almost all integration practices previously introduced and implemented by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been abandoned. There are no integration policies present on the national level. The recent development of the migration policy team in the Polish government presented the ideology of assimilation as a prerequisite for the migrants' presence in Poland (Zespół ds. Migracji 2019). Inhabitants of Poland, regardless of their citizenship, must accept and follow Polish values, traditions, faith, language and historical perspective. For that reason, the presence in schools of migrant children is largely ignored. Their diversity is not acknowledged. At the national level, there is even no firm data on the statistics and dynamics of the presence of migrant children in Polish schools. This hinders planning any reasonable solutions as a response to the developing needs of this group of students. There is also no aggregate evaluation of migrant children's achievements which could have allowed to see what are the major shortcomings or assets in school performance of this group of children. Many scholars have the impression that governmental solutions are created and implemented without proper assessment of the deficiencies.

How local government took over integration

In the absence of governmental activity, integrative actions are taken over by local governments. For many years, such engagement was not possible as the integration of migrants was not mentioned as a task assigned to local governments. This changed in 2015 when such a task was deliberately introduced as an assignment between local governments and NGOs. Still, however, such actions cannot be initiated and implemented by local governments alone. The cooperation between local governments and social organisations began in those communities where larger groups of migrants started to settle. It was driven by a natural conviction to take care of the problems and special needs of certain groups of inhabitants. The first attempts of individual integration actions or the early foundation of more complex strategies were first observed in Warsaw and surrounding communes, where large numbers of foreigners settle due to business activities. Some of the integration programmes, especially those implemented in schools, were also formed in towns and villages neighbouring the reception centres for asylum seekers. In both situations local governments were convinced by local activists that cooperation with the people's organisations will benefit the local community and avoid pressure on public services.

Organisations in Poland created many coalitions to elaborate the recommendations of effective integration of migrants in the cities. Such a coalition was formed in 2012 by NGOs in Warsaw, Lublin, Kraków and Wrocław. In one of the social forums that were organised by the coalition in Lublin in 2014, a set of recommendations for the effective education of migrant children was issued (Kawa, Kawka and Gulińska 2014). Organisations believed that one of the most important tasks is to map the competences in the area of foreign children's education. It is important to know who is responsible in the government for the policy creation and how they are prepared to do this job effectively. The research revealed that there is no separate unit in the Ministry of Education that deals with the education of migrants and different problems are solved by different departments, including the department of quality of education and department of education opportunities enhancement. The second recommendation of the coalition referred to the rise of the awareness of different stakeholders in the education system, especially teachers, custodians and administration staff. Presently, central governmental institutions does not feel responsible for the dissemination of information on the access and terms and conditions of the education of migrant children and such obligation is transferred to school management or NGOs. The third recommendation referred to better redis-

tribution of financial resources for the education of migrant children. Such investments are not monitored and, for example, money spent on additional language classes was planned according to statistical indicators gathered in previous school years, not based on the actual needs of children. The last recommendation discussed the demand for the greater engagement of intercultural assistants in the learning process in schools. When those recommendations were formulated, cultural assistants were employed experimentally, mostly by schools who accepted refugee children. There was no clear legal regulations in this regard but the evidence showed that such integrative support is effective (Bulandra *et al*. 2019: 71–94; Lachowicz 2012: 185–200).

Case study: Warsaw

Warsaw, as the city in Poland with the largest population of migrants, invested much in the development of different integration programmes, including those directed at schools. One of the first information packs for foreigners ever created in Poland was prepared by the city educational department, together with a local NGO, in 2011. It was followed by a practical manual with best practices for principals, teachers, pedagogues and psychologists (Bernacka-Langier *et al*. 2011). It discusses practices related to school enrolment, monitoring of the achievements, diagnosis of skills, education of the host society, and transforming the school environment and structure for intercultural work and teaching Polish as a second language.

Since then the awareness of the city had been rising. Finally, in 2018, the reinforcement of the intercultural programmes was incorporated in the city development strategy #Warszawa2030 (Warsaw 2030 Strategy 2018). The city was always concerned about effective cooperation with NGOs. It established a consultation body with the participation of 28 organisations dedicated to the problems facing foreigners – a Commission of Social Dialogue for Foreigners. Responding to the needs and demands declared during such consultations, the city began to support migrants through legal consultations, psychological counselling, aid to migrant families, financing additional language classes and school tutoring, intercultural counselling, anti-discrimination activities and supporting cultural projects such as Intercultural Street Party and many others. In the city's Centre of Social and Educational Innovations and Training, a contact point for foreigners were established, along with a team for teaching foreign students. This institution provides training opportuni-

ties for teachers who have migrant children in their classes and supports schools with educational materials, often available in foreign languages.

The greatest achievement of Warsaw's local government was establishing the Multicultural Centre in Warsaw (Warszawskie Centrum Wielokulturowe). The centre is entirely run by a coalition of NGOs, but financial support is provided by the city within three-year grants awarded in the open call. This mechanism of financing is important as it provides stability for the centre's activities. As well as its own projects, the centrre provides space for external intercultural projects, minority projects and migrants' projects, also by re-granting. This institution also organise Warsaw Diversity Days – a form of multicultural festival engaging migrant communities, including schools. Thanks to such activities and despite ongoing xenophobic propaganda in the media, Warsaw inhabitants year by year become more tolerant, as proved by the poll organised by the City Hall (Danae 2018, 2019; IOM 2019).

Case study: Kraków

Another interesting example of the local dimension of the integration of migrants comes from Kraków. The city's engagement in integration processes was shaped for many years and, as in the case of other cities, facilitated by NGOs, mainly INTERKULTURALNI PL Association, which formed a partnership with City Hall to build the strategy for the integration of foreigners in 2011. The strategy, finally implemented in 2016 as an official city programme 'Open Kraków', was based on the experiences and practices of other European cities that were collected during multiple study visits and then transformed to local situations. Within the framework of this strategy, the city offers support for external intercultural projects in schools. The city sponsored, for example, the publication of a manual for teachers *Lessons of Tolerance* about ethnic and national minorities, and also asylum seekers, and the post-conference book *Education in the face of migration* (Gębal 2018). There is also an opportunity for teachers to take courses in Polish language teaching for foreigners or working in an intercultural environment with 85 per cent of the costs reimbursed by the city. The city organises an annual competition for foreign-born children about the history of Kraków and for local children about interculturalism to facilitate integration projects in schools.

A unique solution was introduced by the city in 2017 when President Jacek Majchrowski appointed an Intercultural Counsellor whose duties were to provide aid and information to teachers, principals and

pedagogues in schools but also to parents of foreign children about school enrolment, rights of the children, the grading system and school achievements. After transferring this institution to the regional level, and not appointing one by the Voivod Piotr Ćwik, the city continued and even expanded counselling through the Special Psychological and Pedagogical Centre for Children with Educational Deficiencies. The work of the counsellor also resulted in an idea to invest more in cultural assistants – special social workers who provide aid to teachers and to migrant children in learning. Already in Kraków, there have been three cycles of training for such people organised with the support of the city and Academy of Intercultural Assistants and established as a project for more durable and permanent investment to raise intercultural competences of school staff. Currently, 17 such assistants are employed in Kraków's schools and another 15 have been trained to take such roles. This is a particularly important project as the legal framework of this profession is not set – the only requirement in terms of competence is bilingualism – and the conditions of work for this group are unstable and much worse than for teachers. The city's efforts made in cooperation with the local NGOs are about to change this situation and transform the assistance to become an effective integration tool and a new, practical profession in the field of social services.

It is worth mentioning that city partnerships in several international projects are aimed towards the development and implementation of best practices in education of migrant children and raising the intercultural competence of teachers. The most extensive of these was MURAL (Mutual Understanding, Respect and Learning), but there are also two ongoing Horizon 2020 projects – MiCreate (Migrant Children and Communities in Transforming Europe) and CHILD-UP (Children Hybrid Integration: Learning Dialogue as a way of Upgrading Policies of Participation). Each year the number of such projects is growing and NGOs are involved in the development of intercultural space directly by participation in the actions and on the level of planning through the consultation body established within the framework of the Open Kraków programme.

Case study: Gdańsk

The first city integration strategy was, however, adopted in Gdańsk, six months earlier than in Kraków, under the name of "Gdański model integracji" (immigrant integration model). This model was an accomplishment of cross-sectoral and interdisciplinary cooperation between

city institutions, NGOs and informal groups, including migrants who formed a special task force in order to assess the needs of this group in the local community (Matusz-Protasiewicz and Kwieciński 2018: 136). Ultimately, the model was developed as a joint effort of more than 150 people representing 70 different public institutions and representatives of Gdańsk inhabitants, including 20 of foreign origin. Among many solutions in the field of social policy. there were also several important shortcomings identified in education, resulting in development of certain integrative tools.

Lack of language proficiency has been identified as a key barrier to children's adaptation in the school environment, but it was followed by the need to see the situation of a migrant child in school as more complex and requiring a more holistic approach. It was important to ensure competence development for teachers in the following areas: methods of teaching migrant children, understanding of the psychological aspects of migration both for students and their parents, and the legal aspects of a foreign child's education; intercultural competencies; children's integration in different spaces of the school environment; culturally appropriate tools to support and motivate migrant students (Gdańsk City Hall 2016: 22–29). The model advised the enhancement of the contribution to educational tasks through a variety of educational activities in languages other than Polish. One such activity is represented by the so-called Intercultural Home settled by Chechen refugees (Alieva and Jaworska 2018: 448–449). The city also proposed the streamlining of communication between entities providing support to foreign students.

Implementation of the integration model in Gdańsk also created a space for organising workshops to pedagogical councils in schools, the introduction of intercultural training for teachers, workshops for parents, as well as events for families and the creation of a programme in schools to prevent violence and discrimination. Unfortunately, most of the activities presented in the model require external funding and the city provides only limited support to conduct them. One of the most innovative results of the consultation process in the model creation was the establishment of Creative Pedagogics Project for the exchange of best practices in the field of intercultural education. Teachers and experts, both academic and non-academic, are able to meet and discuss their experiences during conferences and workshops organised frequently within this framework. The city also appointed a coordinator for migrant children who follows up demands to organise preparatory classes or the employment of cultural assistants. A welcome package was sponsored by the city to include booklets containing all relevant information about

living in Gdańsk followed by other publications such as recommendations on working with migrant children. School pedagogical counsellors also receive a unified task list for the work in the intercultural environment and teachers are able to participate in studies reimbursed partly by City Hall. The city is sponsoring holiday cultural spots for children from ethnical minorities. The city also formed a coalition for the development of multiculturalism with other cities. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the European Centre of Solidarity plays an important role in multicultural education and providing space for such projects.

The Wrocław case and other cities

The specific situation can be observed in Wrocław. This was originally a non-Polish city with a long multicultural history including Czech, Austro-Hungarian and German heritage. It became a Polish city after a border correction resulting from the Second World War. Currently, Wrocław is a centre of Ukrainian migration to Poland with the strong representation of this community and the Ukrainian Centre sponsored partly by the city. Integration efforts as a mutual commitment of the local government and NGOs tightened in Wrocław around the conflict concerning an illegal Romanian Roma campsite. The local NGOs formed a coalition to protect the vulnerable group of nomads against the expulsion and started a long-lasting dialogue with city officials to resolve this particular problem. It also concerned the issue of access to education. After long negotiations, both parties formulated a scheme to organise the system of welcoming classes for minority and migrant children.

The Team for Foreign Language Students and Families had been formed to support migrants' education. NGOs were also involved in creating the city's Strategy of Intercultural Dialogue (Szarycz 2018). This scheme, part of the larger city development strategy, offered grant opportunities to NGOs or informal groups to conduct intercultural projects. The local government established consultation links with academics but also set up international cooperation with the Saxony region of Germany to share and implement effective practices in the field of migrant integration. In recent years, the integration strategy has become institutionalsed as the city has created multiple institutions serving this particular purpose: the Wroclawian Centre of Social Development, including the Team for Intercultural Dialogue, WroMigrant consultation points, the President's Plenipotentiary for the Inhabitants of Ukrainian origin, Social Council for Tolerance and Xenophobia Prevention.

As a response to problems in the field of education of migrant children, especially lack of institutional support, lack of manuals for teaching Polish as a foreign language, to fewer hours of additional language classes, difficulty of communication with migrant parents and low intercultural competences of teachers, Wrocław organised a network of schools with welcoming classes. These classes were designed as a model of preparatory class regulated by government. Children assigned to these classes may stay there longer – up to two years. A particular emphasis is placed on language teaching, but schools are promoting integration with Polish peers by organising joint classes in certain school subjects such as music, fine arts or gymnastics. The network of welcoming classes, relying on the German model, consist of seven schools – six primary and one secondary. In the sphere of cultural integration, it should be mentioned that Wrocław is a host of a unique international integration project – the Brave Kids Festival. The project's mission is to bring together children from all over the world in an atmosphere of friendship and respect for each other's cultures. It connects children in artistic experiences which aim to inspire them to imagine a better future for themselves and their communities, and provide them with tools to help realise their aspirations. The festival has been organised annually since 2009 and has become one of the most successful and internationally acclaimed art-based projects involving children.

The other large cities, such as Poznań, Lublin, Łódź or Białystok, do not have a complex integration strategies but provide separate integration projects that are worth mentioning. The Poznań municipality has a long history of cooperation with universities. Poznań University has one of the oldest and most experienced research centres on migration issues. Its experience is used practically in the work of Migrant Info Point – the oldest information and consultation centre in Poland. It has also the greatest and longest experience in organising preparatory classes. During the past decade, such classes have helped hundreds of migrant children to adapt to the local environment and gain educational qualifications. The city also provided an innovative institution – a Network of Multicultural Leaders who are movable consultants responding to problems arising in schools due to diversity among students.

In Lublin, we find a more holistic approach to diversity. The city tries to maintain the equality policy in the broadest understanding of this term. For more than 20 years, a refugee reception centre has existed in the city which has given inspiration to many integration projects. Finally, Lublin is a seat of the Homo Faber association – an NGO that is one of the oldest and most experienced organisation dealing with integration issues, the promotion of social diversity, the protection of

human rights and the promotion of ethnic and national minorities' cultural heritage.

Conclusion

In the paragraphs above, we have tried to describe the most important efforts towards the integration of migrant children in the Polish schools environment. Most were initiated by NGOs, but were supported by local governments. Intersectoral cooperation became both a model for and the reality of large cities' approaches to migration. The phenomenon itself began to be perceived more as a challenge needing special attention and sustaining solutions rather than a problem. The local governments' awareness of the importance of the issue became a milestone in the course of better integration practices. Nevertheless Poland is still in the development stage in terms of the successful inclusion of migrant children into the schooling system and the society at large.

Despite so many efforts and positive changes in local communities, the overall evaluation of the existing practices gives a mixed impression. Certainly, there are no national integration polices, a situation which restricts governmental funding for this purpose. The obsolete structure of the education system and legal obstacles hinder effective integration. The individual approach to children is hard to achieve due to overload of obligatory teaching tasks and other school duties. The intercultural projects are introduced in chaotic way without direct and deliberate strategic plans. The networking is still at the development stage, especially between the cities and NGOs working locally. The strategies implemented in many cities should be further expanded and provided with cost-effective but adequate budgets. Further research is needed in order to assess the actual needs of migrant children. Such an approach is evolving in many cities. Extensive research in the area of migration is provided by Poznań University, Warsaw University and, most recently, by Kraków University of Economics in the city-sponsored programme of Observatory of Mulitculturalism and Migration.

One of the most important problems to overcome on the way to the emergence of an ethnically diverse society, with a greater share of foreign immigrant population, is that often collective identity is built on mono-ethnic foundations, excluding strangers, closing in on diversity and tolerance. In local government policy, this approach can be manifested in the idea of a community integrating inwardly, defensively, defending against being lost and uprooted, with a clear separation between 'us' and

'them' (Sennett 1998: 138). Sennett noted that this kind of community is mythical, by defining belonging through an indefinite but unambiguous identity and at the same time different from the reference subject, where personal identity is only a desire for similarity and avoiding the need to look more closely at each other (Sennett 1996: 39). Polish society clearly suffers from this type of ailment, which has been manifested recently by numerous examples of resistance to cultural change and consent to a different point of view. It will be a great challenge for the activists and social workers of different types, including cultural assistants, to reverse such narration and create a space for the effective inclusion and integration of migrant children. Children are young citizens who create the future and they should have a clear path to personal development, well-being and empowerment.

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IV. Integration Practices for Migrant Children and Youth

Chapter 14

What Challenges and Opportunities Pertain to Introducing Philosophy with Children in Schools to Foster the Wellbeing of Migrant Children and Youth?

Søren Sindberg Jensen

Introduction

Education is an important factor in the wellbeing of migrant children (Newbigging and Thomas 2011) and an important arena for the integration of migrant children and youth into society. However, educational systems across Europe still struggle to break the integration code and ensure that migrant children or children with a migrant background leave school with equal opportunities.[1] First-, second- and third-generation migrants still underperform in the PISA tests (Schleicher 2019). In addition, when taking a child-centred perspective (Fattore *et al.* 2012), we see that migrant children and youth are likely to face adults in school who, in the terminology of Karin Murris, have an epistemic challenge of hearing their voice (Murris 2013), because monologic/IRE forms of teaching maintain to dominate primary education, despite decades of criticism (Alexander 2018; Dysthe 1997; Lyle 2008; Wilkinson *et al.* 2017).

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Given the current state of affairs, there is a need for considering a broad variety of educational programmes and practices in order to find new ways forward. In this chapter, I will discuss the potential of Philosophy with Children (PwC) with regard to fostering the wellbeing of migrant children and youth at school. The discussion will be twofold: (1) I will examine the reasons for considering PwC a promoter of the wellbeing of migrant children and youth at school; (2) I consider what challenges pertain to introducing PwC in schools. In pointing to the potentials and attention points pertaining to introducing PwC in schools, this chapter is relevant for researchers and school professionals who consider introducing PwC in school settings where migrant children and youth are present.

Before considering PwC as a vehicle for the promotion of the wellbeing of migrant children and youth, I shall introduce how we can understand wellbeing in relation to education. Second, I shall introduce what PwC is. Finally, I shall introduce to the Philosophy in Schools project at the University of Southern Denmark which is the research context for this chapter.

Education and wellbeing

Before considering PwC as a vehicle for the promotion of the wellbeing of migrant children and youth, a word is required about how we should understand wellbeing in relation to education. First, it is reasonable to distinguish between objective and subjective wellbeing (Hutchison 2009). The former refers to objective measures such as the 'percentage of 15- to 19-year olds staying on in education or training' (ibid.: 92) and 'level of wealth, provision of education and health care, infrastructure and so on' (Newton 2007, quoted in Hutchison 2009: 92). Subjective happiness, on the other hand, has to do with 'how people *feel* about their lives and experiences' (ibid.).

This distinction applies to the examples provided above; the wellbeing of migrant children and youth can be considered a question of to what extent they meet the *objective* standards of the educational system as attested in standardised testing, such as the PISA test, or it can be taken to be a question of the extent to which the educational system accommodates the subjective needs of migrant children and youth.

To what extent PwC is likely to promote the objective or the subjective wellbeing of migrant children and youth will be apparent in the discussion below, but first an introduction is needed about what PwC actually is.

What is Philosophy with Children?

Over the last four decades, Philosophy with Children (PwC)[2] has become a well-established field of research and practice. The field is rooted in Mathew Lipmann's Philosophy for Children (P4C) programme, which he developed in the US in the 1970s. Since then, P4C has been implemented in more than 50 countries (Daniel and Auriac 2011). As an educational programme and reform movement, rich in teaching strategies, discussions and empirical findings, PwC has been inspirational to practitioners or theorists of pedagogy across many different school contexts.

Despite differences in the aims and organisation of teaching activities, a number of features are prominent across different programmes and traditions in the field of PwC. Here, I shall focus specifically on shared features within approaches to PwC in schools, leaving aside the multitude of approaches and programmes that deal with other (educational) contexts such as museums, prisons, youth clubs, etc.

Often a facilitator initiates a dialogue among students with the help of a stimulus. That can be a story or a thought experiment, which the facilitator presents to the children – for instance, by reading a short story or showing sets of pictures or props. In some PwC programmes, the students also play games during the philosophy session. In many programmes, children are invited to partake in democratic decision-making procedures regarding what topics will be discussed and in what order (Lyle 2008). The role of the facilitator is different from that of a traditional school teacher. The role-shift from teacher to facilitator entails that the focus is redirected from teaching specific academic points towards underpinning that the dialogue among the students runs as unrestricted as possible and that all relevant questions and points are brought to light. As such, a core task for the facilitator includes distributing turns and asking questions (Cassidy *et al.* 2008). The facilitator role entails that the teaching allows children to do philosophy, rather than being taught about philosophers, philosophical concepts or traditions (Schaffalitzky 2013). Thus, the facilitator, ideally, initiates a philosophical dialogue that takes place between the students. During the dialogue, the job of the facilitator is to aid the students in that endeavour. The dialogue can

2 Throughout I refer to the field as 'Philosophy with Children' and its abbreviated form 'PwC' as it stresses the widespread tendency in the field of stressing student engagement and involvement. Other designators such as Philosophy for Children (P4C), though still widely used, connotates more that it is a certain type of philosophy – that it is for children – rather than the engaging aspect of the practice.

address a wide range of philosophical questions – for instance, 'What is hypocrisy?', 'Are we free?', 'What are numbers?', 'Is a there a difference between what is right and what is good?' and 'What is home?' The students often sit in a circle on chairs or on a rug on the floor. Here, they engage in a conversation on the philosophical topics with their peers.

Before, entering the discussion of why this teaching practice might be a promoter of the wellbeing of migrant children and youth, a final word of introduction is needed regarding the Philosophy in Schools project.

The Philosophy in Schools project

The project was launched in 2017 and headed by associate professor Caroline Schaffalitzky. To begin with, the overall aim of the project was to explore the impact of introducing PwC teaching in Danish schools. To this end, the project set up practice development activities and research activities. The PwC activities were developed in cooperation with the Philosophy Foundation in London, and books written by the CEO of the foundation, Peter Worley, have been inspirational for the development of teaching materials throughout the project period (in particular Worley 2011). To begin with, we developed a programme that aimed at training PwC facilitators. In the first round, the facilitators were mainly students in the university's BA and MA programmes. Later, the project started cooporating with the local municipality which led to a professional development programme where local teachers took part in an introductory course and in-school training in order for them to become acquainted with PwC facilitation.

As for the research activities, the aim was, to begin with, to pave the way for reproducing some of the international studies, which, based on large-scale designs of a semi-RCT nature, have indicated that PwC teaching practices might benefit the development of academic skills positively (see below). However, as we entered the school sector and gained first-hand and second-hand experiences with facilitating philosophical dialogues and conducted small-scale pilot studies in the form of interviews and surveys, our focus shifted to more context-sensitive issues such as classroom dynamics and the inclusion of minority students, to mention but a few. For me, the shift in focus particularly entailed a growing interest in and awareness of the intercultural pedagogical potential that PwC teaching might have.

The first pilot study indicated that PwC might have a positive impact on students with a migration background (Jensen 2021). As a first step in exploring this potential further, I gathered and reviewed relevant literature. In the following, I will present and discuss the results of that endeavour, occasionally in the light of the findings of the pilot studies of the Philosophy in Schools project.

To begin with, it should be mentioned that research in the intersection between PwC, intercultural pedagogy and migration studies is extremely sparse and largely theoretical in nature. Therefore, to broaden the scope of the literature review, it is not confined to research on PwC and migrant students, in particular, but it has also included studies that deal with PwC in connection to minority or minoritised students more broadly.

Reasons for considering PwC a promoter of the wellbeing of migrant children and youth

As we saw above, student engagement and participation are important in PwC. In theoretical terms, PwC revolves around the idea of perceiving the children, as a group, as a Community of Philosophical Inquiry (CPI), which, via Lipmann, ultimately builds on John Dewey's notion of inquiry as communal practice (Echeverria and Hannam 2017; Kennedy and Kennedy 2011). Moreover, PwC teaching is a dialogic form of teaching (Lyle 2008; Reznitskaya and Glina 2013), although PwC is arguably different from other kinds of dialogic teaching. As Baraldi has noted, in some sorts of dialogic teaching, although the epistemic status is upgraded,

> children's epistemic status is low, as they are considered 'learners', subordinate to teachers' guidance and in need of cognitive progress. In general, in educational interactions, children's agency is reduced or blocked, as children are not allowed to change the existing structure of epistemic status, which is based on hierarchical relationships with adults. (Baraldi 2015: 9)

What sets PwC apart from other kinds of dialogic forms of teaching is that children's epistemic status and agency are prioritised. As Karin Murris relates: 'The theory and practice of P4C challenges the hidden discrimination of epistemic injustice by making room for children as thinkers, and demands children to be taken seriously as knowers' (Murris 2013: 257). This means that the dialogic nature of PwC teaching implies that

the student voice is given immense priority, paving the way for hearing student voices which are normally excluded in the educational system, including the voices of students with a migration background. In terms of wellbeing, this is important, because, as has been noted by Alan Hutchison, 'Pedagogically, wellbeing education values the experiences of all pupils and students as a basis for educational practice; thus the voices of all learners figure centrally in such processes' (Hutchison 2009: 93).

It is therefore the dialogic, cooperative and communal nature of the PwC that, on a very general level, make it reasonable to consider PwC a mechanism for the promotion of the wellbeing of migrant children and youth. In the following, I expand the argument by reviewing the three different streams of research on PwC (see also Jensen 2021) that are most relevant for our discussion.

Improving academic skills?

Traditionally, within the field of PwC a lot of attention has been paid to whether PwC might increase the academic level of students (see Trickey and Topping (2004) for an early systematic review of this line of research). This line of research is quantitative in nature, using large-scale semi-RCT designs. The results of some of the studies in this tradition have been promising, indicating a correlation between PwC and the improvement of verbal and logic skills in children, which shows in Cognitive Abilities Tests (CAT in the British school system and CogAT in the American school system). The effect appears to be both short and long. We see this in Scotland (Topping and Trickey 2007a, 2007b) and in Texas (Fair *et al.* 2015a, 2015b), the latter being a modified replication of the Scottish trial.

None of these projects have been particularly focused on students with a migration background. However, given that PwC has had positive effect on the academic skills of students in general, PwC teaching might be helpful for migrant children and youth. As the last PISA report once again has documented, first- and second-generation migrant children are outperformed by their local peers in countries across Europe, which is highly problematic given that '[h]ow schools and education systems respond to the challenges and opportunities that arise with immigrant flows has profound implications for the economic and social well-being of all' (Schleicher 2019: 27).

If PwC teaching practices can help students, including immigrant students, improve academic skills, this would indeed improve their well-

being in objective terms (cf. Hutchison 2009). However, it remains an open question to what extent it would improve their subjective wellbeing. Moreover, it is an open question whether we can expect the same research results in non-Anglo-Saxon Europe, where traditions of examination and testing are different. A further matter to consider is whether the results turn out differently if the trials took the question of migration background into consideration.

On these grounds, it remains a rather speculative proposition to suggest that PwC helps to foster the wellbeing of migrant children and youth. In light of these reservations, I shall take two lines of research into consideration, which have more to do with the subjective dimension of wellbeing (cf. Hutchison 2009).

Improving social skills?

More recently, there has been an increasing interest in the possible correlations between PwC and emotional wellbeing. For example, one study has found indications of a correlation between introducing PwC teaching to children and an increase in the comprehension of emotional regulation strategies and an increase in the knowledge of conflict resolution (Giménez-Dasí *et al*. 2017). The study, which includes a pre-/post-trial conducted in Spain, focuses on emotional knowledge in Roma preschoolers. According to the study, a rise in emotion knowledge 'seems to be a good predictor of the quality of children's relationships during preschool and the rest of their education with their peers as well as their adults' (Giménez-Dasí *et al*. 2017: 3).

The rise in self-confidence of the participants in PwC teaching is another aspect of emotional wellbeing which appear to be involved in introducing PwC teaching. Thus, Lena Green reports from the South African school system, which is characterised by a high degree of inequality, that students gradually become more confident participants in the philosophical dialogue: 'At first learners were hesitant to express themselves but as they gradually realized that they could express an opinion without fear of humiliation they became more willing to contribute and eventually more articulate' (Green 2009: 183). Furthermore, the classroom dialogue took the form of student-to-teacher, and teachers had to encourage student-to-student exchanges: 'initially the children found this easier in small groups but gradually gained confidence' (ibid.). These observations go hand in hand with findings that we made in our pilot studies in the Philosophy in Schools project (Jensen 2021).

Here, the teachers were generally impressed by the high level of engagement that their students showed in PwC teaching conducted by trained facilitators, who were sent out by the project. One of the teachers, who works with students with a migration background, reports how introducing PwC teaching has had a positive impact on the students' self-confidence at school, as we see in this longer excerpt from an interview with the teacher. In the excerpt, the teacher describes how a girl in fourth grade, who at that point had only been in the country for a year and a half, enjoys taking part in the philosophy sessions:

> And there have been some of those somewhat weaker students who have been active, stating some viewpoints. Also, a student who is a refugee who has been here for a year and a half and whose language is very poor. And she really wants to participate, because she understands a lot and she is smart. Because she understands many of the words. And then she sometimes says that 'no, I cannot explain this' and then [name of teacher assistant] has stepped in and tried to help her. Then we have found an explanation together and then she grows with it. So everybody has wanted to participate and contribute with something. And that has been very cool to see. (Translated into English by the author)

These examples indicate that PwC requires adaptation and initial aid and support. Yet when students get acquainted with the form of teaching, their desire to participate, even their urge to participate, results in a growing self-confidence and courage to engage with others.

The research design in both Green's South African case and the Philosophy in Schools project's Danish case, it must be emphasised, is rather small in scale. However, the fact that a possible connection between self-confidence, engagement and PwC teaching has been found in both studies is interesting and is a good reason to suggest that further research and development of PwC-inspired teaching is both needed and relevant. What these preliminary findings, indeed, might indicate is that PwC creates a learning environment that is appealing to marginalised students, including migrant students, as it supports them in their strive for social wellbeing.

Transforming the whole school?

The third and last stream of research moves beyond the focus on academic and social abilities and competences. In this line of research, it

is suggested that PwC and dialogic teaching might have a potential for making a positive impact on class and school cultures more broadly. Or put differently: in research on PwC, we see that attention is being redirected from the assessment of changing skills in children, due to PwC practices, towards taking broader changes in the social dynamics and school cultures into consideration, when exploring the potential impacts of PwC practices.

In particular, in this line of research, the proposition that PwC might be a vehicle of inclusion and intercultural dialogue is being put forward. This line of research finds a powerful yet mainly theoretical point of reference in the anthology *Inclusion, Diversity, and Intercultural Dialogue in Young People's Philosophical Inquiry* (Lin and Sequeira 2017). A central idea across the contributions is that introducing Philosophy in Schools entails the potential of opening up a third space that makes the inclusion of marginalised voices, including those of immigrant students, possible. As Sequeira argues, '[s]tudents of immigrant and minority backgrounds constantly navigate various I-positions in their dialogical self that at times conflict with their intersectional identities. The community of inquiry does provide a safe space for navigating intrasubjective differences and individual agency' (Lin and Sequeira 2017: 34). The idea is that introducing CPI-based teaching can provide migrant children and youth with the necessary space for identity negotiating and reflection. The anthology offers a strong theoretical basis for linking PwC and intercultural pedagogy. However, its empirical shortcomings are symptomatic for this line of research in the intersection between PwC and intercultural pedagogy.

One example, which actually is empirically grounded, is Karin Murris (2013). In this article, Murris grounds the discussion in her experience with racist and discriminating attitudes towards black students held by their white teachers. Murris considers the possibility that that PwC can fundamentally change how children, in particular minority students, are perceived and treated in schools. In her view, PwC can be a means to counterbalance the epistemic injustice to which students are subject. Because children's own thoughts and ideas are prioritised in PwC, it can enable teachers to actually hear the voices of children (Murris 2013). As such, the merit of PwC is, in the perspective of Murris, not so much that it equips children with skills but that, by its introduction, it transforms schools to encompass the needs and rights of children to be heard.

Arguing along the same lines, Wilma Barrow points out that dialogic pedagogy has been identified as an approach 'which enables children to develop the skills required to participate as citizens in their adult lives' (Barrow 2010: 63), based on a Habermasian notion of communication

being central to a democratic society (ibid.). Yet, although Barrow does not seem to disagree with this idea, she argues, drawing on Bieasta's distinction between teaching *for* and teaching *through* democracy, that dialogic teaching is part of a democratisation of schools – here and now, in the present (ibid.). In general terms, Barrow suggests that PwC might function as a participatory mechanism in classrooms, and she suggest that participatory approaches, among which she counts PwC, contain a 'transformative potential' (Barrow 2010: 67). However, she warns against instrumentalising PwC, and calls for 'practitioner reflectivity', concluding: 'Where practitioners wish to use Philosophy for Children as a dialogic, participatory tool […] they must be able to tolerate perplexity and discomfort of genuinely open dialogue' (Barrow 2010: 68).

Barrow's discussion about the potential of dialogic teaching and reflections about the intercultural and transformative potential of PwC put forward by Murris and in Lin and Sequeira 2017 are valuable starting points for exploring how and to what extent PwC is beneficial for the subjective wellbeing of migrant children and youth in schools. However, because this line of scholarship to this day has been largely theoretical, there is a lack of an empirical basis for suggesting that the wellbeing of migrant children and youth increases due to the transformative nature of PwC teaching. This should not be an argument for not practically exploring the potentials of PwC as a kind of intercultural pedagogy. However, it should be pointed out that more research is needed in order to determine, for example, if introducing PwC in schools causes long-term changes and improvements, and which PwC practices are best implanted in schools, and how they are received by students, teachers and the leadership. It is hoped that future research endeavours will put us in a better position to answer such questions.

Bearing these constraints in mind, I will turn to some of the attention points that one should bear in mind when considering introducing PwC in classrooms in order to promote the wellbeing of migrant children and youth.

Attention points

Again, it should be emphasised that past studies have focused to a lesser degree on students with a migration background and have mostly been theoretical in nature. However, some empirical studies have been carried out, shedding light on some of the pitfalls that pertains to doing PwC teaching. In the following, I shall review some of the studies, extracting

what I hope are valuable recommendations as to what to be aware of when introducing PwC teaching in classrooms, including multilingual and multicultural ones.

To begin with, schools and teachers should be aware that PwC teaching appears to require more than just introducing new teaching materials and exercises. Being a kind of dialogic teaching, PwC teaching in many ways stands in opposition to prevailing trends in mainstream education (Alexander 2018; Lyle 2008; Wilkinson *et al*. 2017). As we have seen above, the epistemological status of children is prioritised to a high degree, leaving the adult with the role of the facilitator who frames the teaching with student contribution and engagement in mind, rather than a set of fixed learning goals. Such a reorganisation of the teaching is inevitably challenging. Our experience in the Philosophy in Schools project is that schools and teachers are prepared for making such adjustments, but it requires resources such as time for professional development courses and in-house supervision and training. A central aspect of the Philosophy in Schools training course is also colleague sparring, which is something that is highly valued among our participants, yet again something that requires extra funding.

But how do teachers who have started facilitating PwC dialogues experience changing their teaching? One of the pilots studies of the Philosophy in Schools project shed some light on this question (Jensen 2020). The study was concerned with teachers who followed the professional development programme established by the Philosophy in Schools project in cooperation with the local municipality. The result is based on an open-answers questionnaire.

Generally speaking, the teachers demonstrated great interest and engagement in conducting PwC sessions, yet the role-shift also occasioned a number of concerns in teachers:

- how to remain neutral as a facilitator,
- how to manage lack of control of content and course of dialogue,
- how to manage student behaviour as a facilitator.

What these points suggest is that what sets PwC practice apart from other kinds of teaching practices, the special role of the educator, is exactly what teachers appear to worry most about when starting to conduct PwC-inspired teaching. In a similar vein, Haynes and Murris (2011) have pointed out that teachers might face 'moments of disequilibrium' doing PwC teaching, meaning that teachers might experience one or more of the following difficulties:

- preparing for the unexpected,
- non-linear progression (in dialogue),
- the difficulty of asking philosophical questions,

- students' ownership of questions,
- epistemological and moral relativism.

Interestingly, Haynes and Murris indicate a variety of points of attention, ranging from certain skills (the art of posing the right question) that might cause problems to teachers to a general uncertainty as what to expect. A certain amount of uncertainty is, of course, built into any kind of teaching practice, but it is safe to say that PwC practice excels in uncertainty, given the high status that student input is given. This is something that needs to be reflected upon and addressed in professional development programmes and trained for. This means, in return, that successful implementation of PwC practices to the benefit of migrant children and youth requires resources, on the part of the school system, and the ability and readiness for reflection and failure, on the part of both local school authorities and teachers.

Choosing or developing suitable teaching materials is something that also calls for attention. Here, teachers and other practitioners face a difficulty in finding PwC materials that addresses issues of diversity, inequality, migration and the like. As Darren Chetty has demonstrated, even picture books that are seemingly anti-racist reproduce the narratives and outlooks of the white majority population (Chetty 2017). This means that finding teaching materials that raise questions that are particularly relevant for teaching migrant children and youth is more difficult than one would expect.

A more general point of attention is the danger of falling into the trap of instrumentalisation. Barrow (2010), drawing on Nancy Vansieleghem, contends that by approaching PwC instrumentally – that is, relying on PwC as a method – one runs the risk of 'los[ing] sight of the transformative value of experiencing the presence of the other' (Barrow 2010: 66). Karin Murris has voiced similar concerns, contending that there is a built-in risk in introducing PwC practice into mainstream education (Murris 2008). She states that:

> The question as to what extent P4C can also remain a critical, politically acute and moral activity when part of mainstream education has become an urgent one. The obstacles to adopting it as a critical and self-critical pedagogy are huge when it is increasingly under pressure from an educational system that values individual achievement over collaborative enquiry. As a practice P4C challenges much received wisdom about classroom size, epistemological expertise, the limits of scientific knowledge and who should ask the questions in class (see e.g. Benjamin and Eccheverria 1992). (Murris 2008: 672)

This is an important warning. PwC cannot be a vehicle of change if it is being implemented only as a teaching strategy while dominating societal and educational structures are left untouched. Such an implementation could be potentially counterproductive or dangerous if PwC is used as a democratic veneer to mask inhumane practices and policies. In particular, when considering introducing PwC practices into classrooms that have migrant students in them, it is pivotal that the reflexive space that PwC can provide is used not only to include the voices of migrant students but also to reflect upon, challenge and eventually change structures and barriers enstenched in the school.

Concluding remarks

It is hoped that this chapter has offered a fruitful overview that might be inspirational for researchers, school officials and educators interested in exploring new approaches to promoting the wellbeing of migrant children and youth at school. What should be clear from the discussion is that there are good reasons for turning towards PwC, in particular if the aim is to promote the subjective wellbeing of this group of students. However, what should be equally evident from the discussion above is that research that intersects between PwC teaching and the wellbeing of migrant children and youth of migrant students is sparse and largely theoretical in nature. What appears to be the case, however, is that PwC teaching can be a vehicle for change if its communal and reflective nature becomes one of the driving forces not only in the teaching of migrant children and youth but in the whole school. If that is actually the case, there is a dire need to explore the potential of PwC teaching even further, both in terms of educational development and as a subject for empirical studies. Some of the guiding question for these endeavours should be:

- What are the most suitable stories, pictures, questions used in PwC sessions targeting diverse classrooms?
- To what extent must PwC practices be introduced in schools to have a positive impact on integration of migrant children?
- What are the main obstacles for introducing PwC (inspired) activities in the local context?
- How can cross-European cooperation be used in the handling of local obstacles pertaining to introducing PwC (inspired) activities in schools?
- How do migrant children and youth receive and evaluate PwC teaching practices?

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Chapter 15

Refugee Hospitality Centre in Athens as a Case Study: Good and Not-so-good Practices

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Introduction: refugee flows in Greece

In Greece, 1.1 million refugees have entered the country since 2014 (UNCHCR Operational Portal 2020a). Since October 2019, approximately 9,000 children have been living at 28 refugee camps (called Refugee Hospitality Centres – RHCs) in mainland Greece.

Approximately 13,000 children are living in Refugee Identification Centres (the so-called 'hotspots') on the Aegean islands of Lesbos, Kos, Samos, Chios and Leros (Migrants in Greece 2019). Urban accommodation schemes include the ESTIA Accommodation Scheme managed by UNHCR (2019), which is residence in hotels. In addition, there is rented accommodation provides housing by the Ministry of Migration Policy and the IOM, hosting about 16,000 children in total (Reliefweb 2020). In other words, there is a total of 38,000 children, out of which approximately 4,500 are unaccompanied minors, living at one of the above schemes, with an additional estimated 1,000 unaccompanied minors either homeless or living in unknown circumstances (Bourdaras 2020; Zafeiropoulos 2020).

Specifically, 26,000 refugee children are of school age, out of a total of 39,000 refugee children in Greece. During the previous school year (2018–2019), 12,500 children were registered at Greek state schools, but their enrolment rates vary greatly according to the accommodation scheme. In brief, the school enrolment rate at the urban settings amounts to 70 per cent, whereas attendance at RICs within the islands is much lower (UNHCR Operational Portal 2020a, 2020b).

In this chapter,[1] we provide feedback from an RHC in Athens,[2] with special reference to the efforts and educational activities addressed to the refugee children implemented by international NGOs offered at the camp since 2017.

Skaramagas RHC: the setting for the study

Skaramagas RHC, a vast refugee hospitality centre in mainland Greece, has seen its population grow from 1,900 people to 2,500 in 2020. The community within Skaramagas Camp is very diverse, comprising people from different regions, of different cultures, languages and religions.

The majority of this population (i.e. about 40%) are children and adolescents. There are estimated to be approximately 700 school-age children within the camp. The main countries of origin are Syria (44%), Afghanistan (30%), Iraq (10%), other countries mainly Africa (16%). Currently, there is an increase in newcomers from Afghanistan.

In order to implement the preliminary study for the MiCREATE Horizon Project[3] in Greece, during July–August 2019, Hellenic Open University's (HOU) scientific team chose Skaramagas Camp as a representative place to meet the project's research aims (Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe).

The refugee hospitality centre (RHC) at Skaramagas dock in the Western outskirts of Athens was established in February 2016, as a response to the acute refugee crisis in Greece during that year. Since then, the RHC has been operating at full capacity and is considered to be the

1 The chapter is published with the financial support of the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation program under grant agreement No 822664.

2 Skaramagas camp, situated in Western Attica Municipality, has become home to approximately 3,000 refugees, mainly Syrian Arabs and Kurds, Iraqis and Afghans. For an introduction to the camp and a detailed description of the area, see: https://howmovementmakesmeaning.tome.press/chapter/introduction-to-skaramagkas-camp.

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largest RHC in Greek mainland. Skaramagas RHC functions as a short-term and mid-term hospitality centre, with the majority of inhabitants staying less than a year before moving on to rented accommodation within the urban setting, or, in most cases, relocating to other European countries. However, there are some people who have been 'trapped' at Skaramagas RHC for more than three years.

During the period September–October 2019, the Greek state started to organise a massive scheme targeting the relocation of refugees and asylum seekers into camps on the mainland so as to alleviate over-population on the islands. During that time it was predicted that the forthcoming new groups at Skaramagas RHC would change its ethno-cultural composition within the following months. The scientific team of HOU made its initial contact with the administrators of Skaramagas RHC in July 2019. Afterwards, a programme of continuous visits was planned in January and February 2020. Unfortunately, the COVID-19 pandemic that emerged in March 2020 caused the temporary cessation of the implementation stage of the project, which is related to the interviews addressed to refugee children (13–17 years old).

During this time, HOU's scientific team made contact with the NGOs, public officials and agents that are active at Skaramagas RHC. Here, HOU's scientific team was in contact with the school coordinators, the health services, psychologists and social workers at the camp. Representatives from the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) and FC Barcelona have been willing to cooperate and support the project's activities. For the purposes of this chapter, we will present some good practices as well as some not-so-good practices that are associated with the education of refugees in Skaramagas RHC. With particular reference to Skaramagas RHC, we will describe a few of the activities that were implemented within the camp by the different NGOs that offer their services in the frame of the non-typical education context, only indicatively, as good practices.

Methodology

Educational practices that have been implemented so far are:

- Interviews with Refugee Education Coordinators, the Greek state school administrators seconded to the camp for the purposes for enrolling refugee children in local state schools and linking up the refugee community with the local state educational community.

- Interviews with the major educational NGOs operating at the camp: DRC has undertaken supplementary education, as homework support at camp.
- Interviews with parents whose children (a) attend both state school and homework support classes at camp, (b) attend only state school, (c) do not attend any classes.
- Observation during homework support classes delivered at camp by NGOs.
- Short interviews (with parental permission) with students attending homework support classes.
- Interviews with NGO psychologists and social workers operating at camp.

To ensure that all aspects of the education of refugee children were examined, the MiCREATE team paid particular attention to find and interview parents whose children did not attend any classes and the reasons behind non-participation in school. Also, the opinions of students, parents and educational actors were constantly sought in order to work with them to design effective practices. Some key qualitative questions which were addressed to parents are as follows:

- Does your child attend any local Greek state school?
- Morning or afternoon classes? Which type of classes would you prefer for your child?
- How satisfied are you with the Greek state school educational provisions? In what way?
- Does your child attend homework support classes at the camp? If not, do you think that this kind of extra aid would help?
- What kind of improvements would you suggest to the educational provision for your children?

An overview of the history of educational activities at camp also follows, as offered by Refugee Education Coordinators and other educational actors, after personal communication with them.

Good practices for refugee children

Formal education and segregated afternoon classes

In order to meet the needs of the 700 school-age refugee children during the school year 2017–2018, eight special afternoon classes, called Settings for Support of the Education for Refugee Children (Greek acronym: DYEP) of primary school age, as well as two classes

for children of secondary school age were established at the neighbouring state schools. During the school year 2018–2019 these classes were reduced to six for children of primary school age and one for children of secondary school age. During the 2019–2020 only two classes are functioning for children of primary school age and none for children of secondary school age.

These afternoon classes were only for refugee children from the RHC and were divided in two grades, upper and lower. Refugee children were segregated from local children, but there was common time during breaks to play together.

Afternoon classes (DYEP) were reserved for newly arrived children with no command of the Greek language, and their aim was to help children learn the basics of the language, adapt (again) to school life and attend other subjects that are not heavily language-based, such as music, art, ICT, maths, sport. Segregated afternoon classes (DYEP) were successful as a first step to introduce newly arrived refugee children to the Greek state education system. It helped both refugee and local children familiarise themselves with each other and aided a smoother transition to integration with local communities.

Segregated afternoon classes (DYEP) were criticised by some educational actors as not promoting integration. Several parents stated they would prefer their children to register directly for morning mainstream classes. They complained that segregation with refugee-only classmates did not allow their children to mix with Greek children and learn the language. Additionally, parents whose children had some basic command of Greek complained that their children were held back by acute differences in students' levels within one class. Refugee Education Coordinators understood the difficulty but maintained that attendance of DYEP lasts only for one year and is a first step to integration, as students would otherwise find mainstream school attendance too difficult. Segregation to introductory afternoon classes is a matter of debate among educationalists (with pros and cons).

Most students who had attended DYEP for one school year move on to a morning mainstream reception class the following year. Additionally, most students do not stay at the camp longer than a year, so, according to Refugee Education Coordinators, DYEP was a suitable temporary provision, especially since neighbouring morning mainstream schools were not enough to accommodate such a sudden increase in the number of students.

Morning parallel classes in mainstream state schools

During the school year 2017–2018, no morning classes were held for primary school children, but there were two morning schools in which a small number of refugee children who had improved their level of Greek language during courses by NGOs at the camp were enrolled. Also, some teenagers aged 15–18 (non-compulsory education) were enrolled in local morning schools, although the rate of attendance was low, due to difficulties with the language and level of study. During the year 2018–2019, three local primary schools, three local lower junior high state schools and four upper high schools admitted refugee students. During the school year 2019–2020, nine local primary schools, four junior high schools and seven upper high schools admitted refugee students. So during the three school years from 2017 to 2020, there was a gradual shift from segregated afternoon education to local morning mainstream school education. Parents whose children moved on to morning schools agreed that it was a better and more effective educational provision for their children than segregated afternoon classes. However, some children had difficulties with keeping up with the work and there was a small number of dropouts for that reason. On a more general note, this gradual transition was important both for the children and for the educational system and local communities to adapt to the newcomer refugee student population. While not visible to parents or educational actors operating only at the camp, there was an initial reluctance in local school communities to accept refugee students when classes were already oversubscribed. The selection of schools was done on the basis of suiting student needs to local school vacancies, trying to avoid tensions with local educational communities.

In morning schools, refugee students would attend a 15-hour-per-week parallel class in the Greek language (reception class) and the rest of the time they would mix with their Greek classmates in common subjects. This proved to be an effective second step to integration in mainstream schools without making it too difficult for refugee students to attend. Reception classes help students improve their command of Greek very quickly, and most parents and students were satisfied with this provision. Without reception classes, it would have been too difficult for children to attend full-time mainstream school.

Transportation to and from school

A critical factor in making refugee education in Greek state schools succeed was IOM's transfer programme, in order to assist students to attend DYEP or reception classes at schools near refugee camps.

Many camps are outside the urban setting, with difficult access to common buildings and facilities, so provision of transportation was essential in getting children to and from school safely. Parents and students were satisfied by the provision of safe transportation with professional escorts who often spoke Arabic, Farsi or Kurdish. Many parents said that if transportation was not available, they would not send their children to school.

Non-formal education

International NGOs showed a great interest about the RHC such as Elix for educational activities for school-age children. Indicative material from the activities that take place within the camp will be presented at another future meeting of the MiCREATE project.

The British Council implemented important education projects for refugee children within the camp, for ages 12–18 (British Council n.d.), during 2016–2018. In this section,[4] we will refer to the Language for Resilience Report (British Council 2016) which is part of a wider global programme for language in fragile contexts.

The British Council completed all activities at the Skaramagas Learning Centre at the end of May 2018. The centre catered for children living at the refugee site since October 2016. The British Council's education programme (2016–2018) was developed in partnership with UNICEF through funding from ECHO[5] and consisted of many pillars:

- A protected learning centre within the Skaramagas refugee accommodation site (Delaney 2017) was provided for students aged 13–17. The education programme included English language, maths and science, arts, sports and micro-projects on music as well as coding.
- Training of trainers (resilience, child protection, child trauma).

4 For the presentation of British Council's activities in this chapter, there was personal communication between the Scientific Coordinator of HOU for the MiCREATE project and the Heads at the British Council.

5 The Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection department of the European Commission (ECHO).

- Teacher training for primary and secondary education teachers across Greece based on British Council material from the *Living Together* activities pack and presentations on resilient classrooms and child trauma led by our Child Protection Focal Point in Skaramagas.
- A centre for early childhood children to spend creative time with their parents while learning English (only in the first year of the project).

Diotima operated for the prevention of family violence and the International Federation of Red Cross/Red Crescent Societies provided psychosocial support activities for children until 2018.

Currently, the following NGOs are running educational programmes:

- Drop in the Ocean: sports activities and creative activities, with volunteer teachers.
- The Danish Refugee Council (DRC) is responsible for the administration of the camp, and also provides afternoon educational activities, especially in the form of homework support to students already registered in Greek state schools.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that all the heads, supervisors and personnel from the NGOs who work at the camp are experts, with high qualifications, committed to their work.

Parents found homework support and NGO educational activities helpful in assisting their children attend the state school. Initially, there was an overlap on educational activities and Refugee Educational Coordinators imposed (through Ministry of Education rules) that NGO educational activities should not overlap with mainstream schooling hours. Subsequently, it was agreed that no children would be allowed to attend in-camp NGO educational activities unless they had been registered in mainstream school first. This was to deter avoidance of state school education and further segregation. For students who did not enrol in any activities, most parents claimed that they would move soon to another country, so there was no reason to learn Greek or attempt to integrate into the Greek school system.

Also considered good practice is Metadrasi's translators' programme. Currently, there is a memorandum of cooperation between the Metadrasi and the Ministry of Education in order to support refugee parents and teachers' meetings at schools in their own languages.

Not-so-good practices

One of the main disadvantages of DYEP was the frequent change and replacement of teachers. Most DYEP teachers were employed as part-time teachers, with no specialised training in refugee education or the teaching of Greek as a foreign language. As the law allows part-time teachers to upgrade their status to full-time if a vacancy in another school arises, many teachers would not stay in the same DYEP for more than one or two months, creating instability and disruption in the children's educational and psychosocial processes until they were replaced. Students lamented the frequent change in teachers, with younger students having emotional reactions, and their learning process was disrupted.

A difficulty regarding IOM's transportation programme was that its contract would not cover the transportation of parents to and from school, so parent–teacher meetings could not be easily attended by refugee parents. Many parents, especially mothers, reported that they wanted to be able to visit schools and the teachers, but due to the location of the camp, this was logistically very difficult.

Regarding non-formal education, currently there is a reduction in the presence of NGOs at Skaramagkas RHC, as many NGOs have left the camp after their funding and resources ended. As a result, the educational needs of the refugee students are not all covered. Children already registered at neighbouring state schools need extra homework support. At the same time, many children, especially teenagers aged 15–18 who have not registered at state schools, need fast-track training and accelerated programmes in the Greek language in order to help them overcome gaps during their schooling. Currently, classes and teachers from the two organisations operating at Skaramagkas Camp are not sufficient.

Finally, a difficulty that arises with translation programmes of Metadrasi is that there were too few interpreters to cover the needs for students at all schools, so there was a waiting list. Often these meetings were carried out with the help of refugees who speak English as a third language for communication.

The MiCREATE project: first year of implementation, January 2019–March 2020

The initial phase of the MiCREATE project implementation in Greece also included the research team's meetings to become acquainted with the aims of the project. Following the project's directives and more specifically the objectives of WP8 Migrant Children in Transition, we expected to realise a first stage of observation in the field in order to build relationships of trust with the target groups that would participate in the research. The second stage would then aim to design a child-friendly research tool, and the third stage was to conduct the research.

The fieldwork lasted four weeks (one month, February) during which we made 12 visits on the Camp of Skaramagas. Each visit lasted approximately 5–6 hours.

The programme of the visits was decided at the end of each week after group reflection on the fieldnotes of the week which helped the scientific and research team to reorganise our planned presence in the field in a discrete way. For example, at the end of the first week of visits at the field, a serious incident occurred: a man was stabbed to death during a conflict, which resulted in rescheduling the planned visits. Since two members of the team had established contact and a trustful relationship with some people working in the camp, there was access to information about the situation. Also, the research team was advised not to visit the camp for some days, because new conflicts were expected to take place. When 'normality' was restored again, the research team restarted the visits to the camp.

Every day is of major importance at the life of the camp: any new condition or unexpected event may destroy the equilibrium of the established relations and processes as well as outsiders' access to people's lives there. The observation at the beginning aimed at mapping the field, trying to create a map of the area of residence and gradually to identify what each space was used for and the services offered to refugees residing there.

In addition, the research team managed to undertake unofficial interviews with stakeholders and the heads of the different agencies working at the site.

The main research objective is to record the groups, the processes and the places that formed the camp's identity at that time. During the first visits (weeks 1 and 2) the research team mostly talked to people from agencies and stakeholders to identify the territory of the Camp. During the third and fourth weeks of the visits the research team came

into contact with some children and participant observation was scheduled to attend some classes where children of various ages participated (organised by DRC).

Taking into account the fieldnotes of these four weeks, the relationship with agents working in the field, the opportunity to have access to a certain space/place for implementing the activities we designed for the refugee children, as well as trying to address the requirements of the methodological protocol proposed by the project, we designed a child-centred interview guide in the form of a game. This game takes place with the participation of 4–5 children, lasts for one hour and has specific rules and processes that correspond to the research questions and the principles of giving space to the children to participate in the ways they want to express themselves – i.e. giving a voice to the children.

Concluding thoughts

The allocation of refugee students to local schools is a matter that needs to be carefully considered. Vacancies at local schools need to be taken into account, so that refugee students are not over-represented, as this would have an adverse effect on the welcome from local communities. On the other hand, sending refugee students to classes where they are the only non-host-language speakers has not worked either, as children feel too isolated and then they drop out.

Ideally, a group of about 10–20 refugee students per school (dispersed in different grades) seems to have worked best so far, especially if some of them have a better command of the Greek language than others and can help with the translation process within the classroom.

The gradual integration through the steps of DYEP from reception classes to full-time mainstream education could be a good step, under certain conditions. For this, better training of teachers who are recruited at DYEP is required, as a precondition for their successful placement.

Finally, there is great need for a good relationship between the school and the parents, since awareness regarding the necessity of their children's education is important to encourage them to register their children at school, even if they have plans to relocate to another country.

Unfortunately, when the research team was ready to conduct the pilot research with the tool that was designed, the COVID-19 pandemic prevented us from completing this process. The scientific and research team is waiting for the green light, when the camp reopens, in order to resume

visits for the implementation phase with the interviews in the form of a game.

Of course, we realise that people's priorities and concerns are much different now than when we made the first visits to the camp. Maybe as researchers we have to adjust the objectives and questions of the project, and maybe new differentiated needs will be included. We remain committed to implementing this significant project, feeling proud as members of this international consortium.

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Appendix

Photographs from Skaramagkas RHC, personal collection of Victoria Prekate, Refugee Education Coordinator Teacher (until 2019)

Figure 15.1. School festival celebrating the end of the school year 2018–2019. There are 14 children holding a banner with their names in Greek.

Currently (i.e. one year later), only one child is still at the camp.

Figure 15.2. Refugees' container homes at Skaramagkas RHC

Chapter 16

Six Cases of Technology-Mediated Approaches for the Integration of Migrant Children in Spain

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> For every complex problem there is an answer that is clear, simple and wrong. (H.L. Mencken, 1880–1956)

Introduction

The focus of this piece of research[1] was to identify innovative approaches for the integration of migrant students related to the use of digital technologies.[2] The main aims were: (1) to find cases where these technologies improve integration by fostering the cultural capital of migrant children, which can help in the prevention of racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerant behaviour and attitudes; (2) to find out the

1 Developed in the implementation of the European project MiCREATE, in Spain.

2 The chapter is published with the financial support of the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation program under grant agreement No 822664.

variety of ways in which digital technologies can be used for changing users' attitudes or behaviour through education and social influence.

This chapter gives an account of six examples of technology-mediated approaches related to the topic of migration. We aim to explore the following questions: Does there exist any project or practice in Spain associated with the integration of migrant children through digital technologies? If so, does it introduce any innovative or transformative aspect? These inquiries evidence the need for analysing and questioning the rise of a reductionist view of technology in educational contexts (Sancho-Gil 2020).

Discussing the term 'innovation'

To avoid the neoliberal pressure to change everything to make sure nothing changes beyond the consumption of new digital products, we start this chapter by discussing the term 'innovation' itself. We go from its dimensions as a mere 'fashion' to a profound transformation – in this case, to meet the educational and social needs of migrant children and young people.

Innovation understood as 'the introduction of new things, ideas or ways of doing something' (Oxford Dictionary) was considered in many cultures as something negative – as a synonym for rebellion, revolt and heresy (Green 2013; Lepore 2014). This mood began to change at the beginning of the 20th century. Its popularisation started at the end of the Second World War and was triggered by the scientific and technological explosion fuelled by the Cold War. Nowadays, it is difficult to find a relatively new term as widely used as 'innovation'. This concept appears to evoke technology, creativity, progress, improvement, comfort and, above all, money and power.

This phenomenon led Genevieve Bell, a cultural anthropologist, to ask: 'Why are the words creativity and innovation such fetish objects? Say those words and people get buzz up their spine' (in Baker 2014: n.p.). And to argue that:

> Our obsession with innovation […] reflects deep-seated anxieties about a subpar education system and the role of ubiquitous technology – 'so much noise' – in our lives. Innovation-speak also tends to bury the importance of rigor and discipline in producing ideas that lead to meaningful social, economic and political change. (Ibid.)

Because, especially since the seemingly unstoppable development of digital technologies, practically all discourses on innovation and innovative practices heavily relate to digital technologies.

School systems have been and are one of the most conventional and resistant to change of all social networks (Sarason 1990; Tyack and Tobin 1994). This state of affairs can be due to its mission of preserving and transmitting existing knowledge and culture and the persistent lack of investment in research and development in this area (Husén 1986). Movements to improve and make these institutions better equipped to meet growing social, economic and technological challenges were understood as reforms or pedagogical initiatives, the former carried out by the states, the latter promoted by educators.

This situation started to change in the late 1960s with the introduction of scientific and technological views on education (Skinner 1961, 1968) and the continuous expansion of digital technology. This, together with the vertiginous social, economic and technological changes, fostered the need to constantly innovate in schools. Many of these innovative moods have been grounded on the transformative force of digital technologies, despite the lack of evidence of their contribution to improving learning (Sancho and Alonso 2012; Gray, Thomas and Lewis 2010) and the perceived dangers (Buchanan and McPherson 2019; Thompson 2017; Warzel 2017).

In addition, as foresaw by Joseph Weizenbuam at the beginning of 1990s (Sancho and Hernández 1994), thinking of digital technologies as 'the solution' to educational problems can prevent fundamental questions such as: Why have racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerant behaviour and attitudes persisted and increased over time? What factors cause and sustain these feelings and attitudes? What is the responsibility of the different stakeholders?

On the other hand, we cannot forget the so-called 'folly of technological solutionism' (Morozov 2013) and its claim that life will improve if digital technology makes more decisions for us. According to Fogg (2009), persuasive technologies aim at designing machines to change people's thinking to foster a healthier behaviour change. However, as Peirano (2019: 28) argues: '[Fogg] talked about helping people stay fit, quit smoking, manage their finances and study for exams. Two decades later, his methods are world-famous for generating billions of dollars for several dozen companies, but not for helping anyone quit.'

Social systems as schools are highly complex dispositifs (Foucault 1980) and the introduction of a piece of digital technology in a reduced space and time, maybe be innovative – new, but hardly transformative. A profound transformation of educational practice needs to take,

at least, five key elements into account: who are the teachers and students, how they learn and what their needs are; what kind of knowledge is considered important so that students find it personally and socially valuable; what educational technologies should be used or developed to help achieve the goals set; what learning experiences should be proposed to promote student participation and meaningful learning; what assessment systems are needed to account for the learning that has taken place (Sancho-Gil 2018).

The purpose of the above arguments is to warn against the naïve view of innovation that underlines many technology-based responses to complex social problems. Digital technology can effectively help in many social and educational endeavours. But it cannot do it by itself. Challenging social problems require sophisticated answers based on a deep understanding of all their dimensions. From these grounds, we analysed six cases considered innovative in the use of ICT for fostering migrant students' inclusion in the educational system.

Method

The search for innovative educational practices for the integration of migrant children in Spain followed these criteria:

a. C1, the project is an *innovative practice*[3] related to the use of digital technology in Spanish schools.
b. C2, the project claims to be implemented in schools with *migrant students*.[4]
c. C3, the project was developed between 2008 and 2019.

According to these criteria, we searched in scientific publications databases (Google Scholar, Dialnet, ACM and Jstor), the Erasmus+ Projects,[5] the Erasmus+ Project Platform database, and on the Google search

3 In MiCREATE, innovative practices are defined as 'practices, ideas, topics and approaches that break from previous or existing practices, [for] example through technologies or stakeholder engagement that foster integration' (MiCREATE 2019: 3). We focused our revision on projects targeting the integration/inclusion of young migrants.

4 A migrant student is defined as a student who was not born in the country or whose parents were born in another country.

5 Erasmus+ is the EU's programme to support education, training, youth and sport in Europe. The Erasmus+ Projects Platform includes most of the initiatives funded by the programme, as well as a selection of good practices and success stories.

engine. Once the results were obtained and the selection criteria applied, those with a more detailed description were chosen.

The information reviewed in each of the selected cases has been online information available on the project websites, online data from the Erasmus+ website, project proposals, project reports and contributions to conferences and journals. The information was synthesised, considering the objectives, context, evaluation and critical comments on the transformative aspects of the project.

In this search, we observed that very few projects – only two of six – were reported through peer-reviewed academic publications. In addition, not all projects had impact assessment elements or results, which made it difficult to find evidence of the transformative effect of their implementation.

Discussing the cases

The following section offers an overview of the cases selected, highlighting the innovative elements that contribute to improving the inclusion of migrant children and young people in educational systems. The six projects chosen were: (1) CODINC, (2) I NEED YOU TWOO, (3) InventEUrs, (4) E-EVALINTO, (5) Intercultural education using QR and AR, and (6) Intercultura e-Culturas.

CODINC

Coding for Inclusion (CODINC) is a European project that aims to promote education on STEAM subjects (science, technology, engineering, arts and mathematics) among vulnerable young people. The project seeks to encourage STEAM education of disadvantaged youth through a peer-learning approach for both formal and non-formal educational settings. The project-specific objectives are:

a. Increase and improve teachers' capacity to foster the STEAM education of disadvantaged youth.
b. Empower disadvantaged young people in the acquisition and development of Information Technology and collaborative competences as well as problem-solving, self-confidence and creativity.
c. Foster the development of a European 'Coding for Inclusion' learning community across different sectors.

The project is funded through the EU programme Erasmus+ KA3 'Social Inclusion through Education, Training and Youth'.[6] It targets neighbourhoods where there may be more exclusion and where high rates of migrant families are found, measuring disadvantages in comparison to other areas. Within those districts, it addresses primary and secondary students (10–12 and 15–18 years old respectively) from disadvantaged areas, school teachers, parents and youth workers.

The methodology focuses on fostering computational thinking, creative skills, problem-solving and design skills. The project uses a peer-to-peer learning methodology. On a practical level, the partners from the different countries trained secondary school students (15 years or older) and their teachers in the basics of coding through a course in the school. After the training, the secondary school students coached pupils in primary schools (9–12 years old) accompanied by their teachers and professional trainers. It involved 222 secondary school students trained in coding through 15-hour workshops in and outside school hours. These students then taught 481 primary school children.

The evaluation of the project consisted of the administration of standardised pre- and post-intervention questionnaires. Its results showed that coding could promote inclusion and soft skills by encouraging changes in students' self-confidence, social cohesion in the classroom and teachers' capacity to address STEAM education challenges (CODINC Experimentation Report 2019). Results highlighted changes in cooperation, group dynamics and affective-relational aspects in the classroom after the programme took place. Nonetheless, as the authors pointed out (CODINC Experimentation Report 2019), the implemented evaluation had some weaknesses, due mainly to the fact that the partners collecting the data did not have sufficient training for data collection and analysis. Furthermore, the use of standardised questionnaires limited the possibilities of gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomena. As a result of the project, a set of policy recommendations was elaborated (CODINC Policy Recommendation 2019).

The CODINC project builds on the widespread interest in including coding and computing in education as relevant skills to prepare young people for the future labour market. Even if a wide variety of projects share these goals (Kafai and Burke 2014; Lye and Koh 2014), CODINC

6 Its duration is 24 months (January 2018 to January 2020). The 'All Digital' network leads it. It has the collaboration of six partners across five European countries: Belgium (MAKS, Educentrum), Cyprus (Cyprus Computer Society), Germany (21CCC), Italy (University of Naples) and Spain (Colectic).

offers some refreshing perspectives for the field of STEAM education. On the one hand, by focusing on vulnerable school populations, it seeks to reduce the socioeconomic gap often associated with the digital divide and computational skills. On the other hand, its core and differential strength lies in the methodological approach. It offers an innovative perspective for STEAM education and integration using a peer-to-peer learning approach where older students are trained to become 'teachers' of younger children in topics related to digital technology. This approach, first, can offer a valuable empowering dimension to STEAM pedagogy by allowing vulnerable children to feel like 'teachers' and 'masters' of a specific knowledge domain. Second, it enables a higher level of children's involvement and agency compared with related initiatives. Third, it points out how the relationships between innovation, pedagogy and digital technology do not necessarily depend on using 'new' tools. Still, they can find meaning in employing these tools to promote transformative pedagogical practices. In this case, although the technologies and content are not necessarily new, the focus and the methodology constitute a relevant added value and an innovative approach. To sum up, the CODINC project offers a valuable innovation in how STEAM assets are generally taught, and it opens suitable research paths in the intersection between fostering inclusion, enabling children's agency and digital technology education. More research in this area can further explore how to make STEAM education more child-centred and aware of children's voices, interests and abilities.

I NEED U TWOO

According to IES BENDINAT (2017), the main goal of the I NEED U TWOO project[7] was to encourage the integration of newly arrived students. The project aimed to give them tools to facilitate their linguistic and cultural integration. It also sought to foster students' self-esteem without giving up their own identity, promoting strategies that allow them to succeed in school. It included actions for redefining the current Reception Plan,[8] and to develop a digital platform that allowed families

7 The project was funded by the Erasmus+ Programme (2017-1-ES01-KA101-03654), involved partners from five countries (Spain, Italy, France, Greece and Germany) and lasted for two years (1 October 2017 to 30 September 2019).

8 Reception Plans consist of initiatives to welcome newly arrived students who do not speak the language of the country into the school. They include protocols and measures to welcome them academically and emotionally.

to cooperate and participate in the process. The project also seeks to address mechanisms to prevent exclusion.

In Spain, the project was implemented in the IES Bendinat, a secondary school with 1,001 students and 98 teaching staff, located in Mallorca, Spain, an area of high migratory flow. In this area, there has been an exponential increase of migrant students. The project proposal mentions activities related to

a. training courses on models of inclusion of migrant students for teachers, reception strategies and development of new technologies as an educational device and curricular support and as a tool to reduce school failure among students from other cultural backgrounds;
b. learning visits across several European countries to observe and learn from different models of integration existing in Europe;
c. periods of teaching in two schools of various European countries to allow participants to experience the teaching of non-linguistic subjects to foreigners (IES Bendinat 2017).

The project launched a digital platform called 'Bendinat Acull' (Bendinat Welcomes).[9] This platform, currently in operation, is oriented to facilitate communication between parents and teachers, to reach more immediate access to relevant information about the area and its culture, and to help them actively integrate (IES Bendinat 2017). In this website, designed with the Google Sites tool, we can find students testimonies about their arrival in Mallorca and their experiences in the school, information about the school's services, legal information about immigration, videos presenting the facilities, cultural and entertainment news, and links to other websites.

This project focuses on improving and transforming teachers' capacity to embrace migrant diversity in the school, especially about strategies for inclusion to avoid school failure. This action has been achieved through financing mobility actions for teacher training events (IES Bendinat 2019). The project website shows stories and pictures of the meetings, but we have not found a formal description of results. Accordingly, teachers have participated in courses in Florence, Dublin, Malta and Paris. They have also engaged in observations and exchange of experiences in schools in Italy, Greece and Germany. The school's website[10] states:

9 Acull IES BENDINAT
10 IES Bendinat

> [W]e reflected on the situation of children from other countries who have to integrate into societies unknown to them, highlighting the emotional problems they face in this process and the conflicts that can occur both in the classroom and outside it. Different perspectives on the process of integration, from assimilation to multiculturalism, have been analysed, pointing out advantages and disadvantages.

One of the strengths of the project is the exchange of knowledge between teachers 'because they are a great source of personal satisfaction, pedagogical innovation and international cooperation' (IES Bendinat 2019).

However, it is essential to note that the project proposal does not mention a specific model or instrument of evaluation of the implementation process and results. This situation raises questions about how the project will assess its influence on the educational community.

InventEURs

InventEURs,[11] developed by the research group UdiGitalEdu of the University of Girona, builds on the previous project 'Inventors4Change'. Its main objective was to establish connections between children from different countries using digital devices to learn to live in an intercultural world and to work on Global Citizenship Education.[12] For doing so, the project combined science, art and technology. The first edition addressed pupils from Spain, Colombia and India. In this case, it also includes different European countries, especially with disadvantaged schools and newly arrived migrants (Poggioni *et al*. 2019).

The project followed different steps, each with an open-access educational materials space created by the organisers:

a. Classes from different countries began to establish connections.
b. Pupils divided into groups researched on a specific item of the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (no hunger, education, water and sanitation, gender equality, etc.).

11 It was funded by the European Commission (ref. 580325-EPP-1-2016-1-ES-EPPKA3-IPI-SOC-IN), from December 2016 to March 2019. The consortium involved organisations such as the Technological Lyceum Constantin Ianculescu (Romania), London South Bank University (UK), Departament d'Educació de la Generalitat de Catalunya (Spain), Università degli Studi di Perugia (Italy) and Istituto Istruzione Superiore G. Giovagnoli (Italy).

12 InventEURs

c. Each group had its partner from another country, and they debated and exchanged opinions through blogs and video conferences.
d. Students designed, created and coded their digital stories using Scratch.
e. They shared their creations.[13]

The synchronisation between different classes is key to successful implementation. Consequently, sharing a calendar and following the same steps was crucial (Poggioni *et al*. 2019).

A result of the project was the creation of two platforms, GlobalChangemakers[14] and InventEUrs MOOC,[15] both open access and free. The first addresses students from different schools; they can communicate and create together projects about storytelling and citizenship education through ICT devices. In other words, it is a network for schools and other institutions around the world.[16] According to Poggioni *et al.* (2019), the GlobalChangemakers tool promotes collaborative learning, creative and critical thinking. The second platform is a six-week online course for primary and secondary school teachers. It offers content about digital storytelling, social integration and global education. Each module has different activities and exercises, and it allows conversations and debate between participants.

The World Education Innovation Awards (Gene 2017) recognised the first edition of this project as an innovative practice. This edition considered 82 projects, awarded 12, and published 20 more as innovative initiatives, one of them being Inventors4Change. They selected the cases according to these criteria: creativity, interconnectedness, change in perceptions, educational approach, coherence, outreach, the potential for scaling and sustainability and inspiration for public policy (Gene 2017).

InventEUrs was an interdisciplinary project that combined different areas of knowledge. Moreover, its main aim, in line with the educational challenges identified by UNESCO (2015) was to design solutions to global issues, promoting sustainable development for all. Furthermore, the target group were underprivileged schools with particular emphasis on migrant children. As a result, unconnected children and students who do not readily have access to ICT tools (Olarte 2017) now had the opportunity to focus on their digital competences (specifically developing their digital skills such as coding or blogging). It seems that this project is

13 InventEUrs
14 GlobalChangemakers
15 InventEUrs MOOC
16 InventEUrs

an excellent example of 'digiculturality' (Leiva, Yuste and Borrero 2011; Leiva and Almenta 2013), promoting mutual understanding through the use of ICT devices, explicitly focusing on communication between different educational agents (teachers, students, schools, etc.).

E-EVALINTO

The project E-EVALINTO (2016-1-ES01-KA201-025145)[17] departed from the existing gap between local and migrant students because it considered that people with a migration background are at risk of early school leaving (ESL). Based on this idea, the project tracked ESL to improve opportunities for young people and to support smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. E-EVALINTO had two objectives: (1) to promote peer-mentoring actions to reduce ESL in the migrant student population; (2) to acknowledge the value of interculturality. This action aimed to create an active and responsible European citizenship education. On the other hand, E-EVALINTO sought to develop an ICT framework to develop activities for intercultural contexts.

The European Union funded the project: *Erasmus + KA2 – Cooperation and Innovation for Good Practices: Strategic Partnerships for school education*. The consortium consisted of institutions experienced in the intercultural area. It was well balanced in terms of competences and experiences regarding research, methodology, ICT and innovation and teacher and practitioner training. Sixteen pilot high schools, located in the partner countries, supported the E-EVALINTO team. All the participating schools have different percentages of migrant students and different gaps between natives and migrants. It lasted two years (1 October 2016 to 30 September 2018).

The project's results[18] are related to the activities implemented by the consortium:

a. The design of a theoretical and methodological framework to evaluate the situation of schools concerning interculturality, to identify teachers' intercultural skills, as well as to identify migrant students who may be at risk and implement peer-mentoring measures.

17 Six organisations were involved, including four higher education institutions, an NGO and a development and education research centre: University of Salamanca (Spain), University of Cádiz (Spain), Społeczna Akademia Nauk (Poland), Dublin City University (Ireland), Oxfam Italia (Italy) and Cardet (Cyprus).

18 E-EVALINTO

b. The development of an educational website, which offered schools and teachers a complete set of tools and activities to manage and evaluate the implementation of the intercultural mentoring programme with their students. This site aimed to work on the issue of interculturality holistically.
c. The design and implementation of a teacher training programme both on-site and off-site, with tools to deal with diversity and apply them in the school to work effectively with students at risk.

Regarding the impact, the project highlights its contribution to strengthening teachers' profile by introducing innovative intercultural strategies into the classroom, through which they were able to create their tools and materials for their teaching practices and to improve students' inclusion. Also, the consortium considers that there will be more long-term results because the ICT tools developed are open source, so their use, download and distribution is available. Hence E-EVALINTO can reach more teachers and schools. However, there is no evidence of project evaluation, despite being a project considered as a Good Practice Example for the Directorate General for Education, Culture of the European Union.[19]

The E-EVALINTO project arose from concern about the difference between local students and students with a migratory background in terms of early school leaving, as this second group had the highest percentage. The project aimed to develop an ICT framework to carry out activities in intercultural contexts. It seems to have been an observation, analysis and understanding of the specific context before designing the project. Thus, the use of digital technologies looked to solve a real detected problem. It was not developed first as a technological innovation and then applied it to a context, trying to adapt that context or reality to that new technology. Although the initiative to create an educational internet portal for teachers and schools was not innovative, what can be considered innovative was that this virtual space focused on the issue of interculturality.

The strong point of this case was the scope, since it was not an initiative implemented in a single school, but took place with the involvement of a set of partners (four secondary schools, an NGO and a research centre) across six countries.

Perhaps its main weakness is the lack of evaluation documents, so we cannot explore the possible transformation this project has facilitated, both in pedagogical practice and in the students themselves. How

19 Good practices example project for the European Union: E-EVALINTO

has this project affected the objectives of promoting the value of interculturality and creating an active and responsible European citizenship education? What about early school leaving? Given that it appears to be a great initiative and has been considered a good practice by the EU, a complete evaluation report would help to understand these issues and see what has enabled the use of new technologies in this framework of interculturality in schools.

Intercultural education using QR and AR

The project was carried out during 2016–2017 as part of the course 'Technological Didactic Resources' with students of early childhood education at the University of Granada. It did not receive any specific funding as it was a teacher initiative. Its main aim was to promote cultural awareness through the use of ICT devices. To do so, future teachers planned and created ICT and later implemented activities with early childhood students. According to Rodríguez-García, Hinojo-Lucena and Ágreda-Montoro (2019: 67), the objectives were: (1) to develop and implement activities about intercultural education using innovative approaches such as augmented reality and QR; (2) to carry out practical experiences with real cases during initial teacher education; and (3) to recognise cultural diversity as a powerful element of our society. We selected this project because of its focus on the initial teacher professional development.

In the first part, developed at the university, future teachers received training about QR and augmented reality. Then, in groups, students proceeded to plan and create the activities with tools such as QR code, QR-code generator, QRVoice, QR Droid, QR Reader, Quiver, Aurasma and Chromville (Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2019: 68). As the activities were addressed to four-year-olds, student teachers decided to focus on three topics related to cultural diversity: culture, traditions and coexistence. All of the actions were associated with folkloric aspects of culture.

In the second stage, student teachers established contact with different schools. This happened smoothly because it took place during the student teachers' internship period. In total, 40 student teachers and 40 in-service teachers were involved, all working in schools in the area of Granada and its surroundings. As Rodríguez-García *et al.* (2019: 69) state, the activities consisted of: (1) storytelling using augmented reality to perceive differences as positive characteristics of modern life; (2) pupils creating and painting and later projecting flags from different countries with augmented reality; (3) pupils dividing into groups, each one with a QR code corresponding to a specific country, connected to a phone, to obtain information about its cuisine, traditions, geography,

clothes, etc.; (4) finally, students discussing and reflecting about topics related to cultural diversity.

At the end of the activities, student teachers and in-service teachers answered a questionnaire to collect their opinion about the use of digital technologies in multicultural approaches. Participants had to answer 11 items using a Likert scale. The results showed that: (1) the vast majority of teachers and students did not know previously the ICT tools used during the activities; (2) they believed that the use of ICT tools for topics such as solidarity, cultural diversity, coexistence, etc., are enriching and powerful; (3) for participants, the project further raised their interest about the use of digital devices with educational purposes; and (4) student teachers and in-service teachers believed that the project enhances students interest in the topic (Rodríguez-García *et al*. 2018: 74).

The project encouraged the establishment of connections and links between different organisations. In this case, it reinforced collaboration between university-based learning and classroom-based experiences (Sokal, Woloshyn and Funk-Unrau 2013: 286). It promoted teacher education by enhancing the union of theory and practice. According to the European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice (2015: 39), one of the critical components of initial teacher education is to 'gain concrete experience in real classes […] learning how to handle real issues inherent in teaching and class management'. This project offered student teachers the opportunity to carry out practical experiences in real contexts.

As Bosco, Sánchez-Valero and Sancho-Gil (2016) state, in most cases the use of digital devices in schools does not directly promote or involve innovative pedagogical practices. This project is not an exception. Although this is one of the few ICT-based initiatives about intercultural education in childhood education, the use of digital devices follows an instrumental rather than a pedagogical approach (Aera 2015).

The last tension concerns the nature of the project itself. Studies about uses, abuses and effects of digital devices on children's development have been raised for many years (Mustafaoğlu *et al.* 2018). In the case of children aged 4–5, the side effects of screen use should be particularly taken into account.

Programa Intercultural e-Culturas

The 'Intercultural e-Cultura' programme (Vallejo and Roa 2015) is an online platform designed to support interaction and intercultural learning between primary school children from different countries. The programme goals were:

a. Improving the children's knowledge of their own and other cultures.
b. Encouraging children's positive attitudes toward immigrants.
c. Fostering the interaction between children and teachers from primary schools in Spain and Latin America.

We were unable to find information about the project's funding.

The project ran between 2008 and 2012 across different primary schools in Spain, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Paraguay. A total of 58 schools, 2020 children (11 and 12 years old) and 81 teachers were involved. It was promoted by the research group IDEO (*Investigación y Desarrollo Educativo de la Orientación*) of the Pedagogy Department of the University of Jaén (Spain) and had the collaboration of different universities and school teachers from the countries involved.

On a technical level, the project consists of a web platform that offers different resources and tools, such as configurable intercultural vocabulary, forums, blog, schedule, activities. Participating children receive support to go through a three-stage process in the use of the platform:

1. The photo album: a set of guided activities aimed at collecting different materials to support children's knowledge about themselves, their personal life and their culture.
2. The mosaic: a set of didactic proposals that offered questions and group activities on various intercultural topics such as history, gastronomy, art, language, tradition and geography.
3. A cooperative game, named 'Quijotín goes in search of the treasure', based on the story of a fictional character who travels from Spain to different countries of Latin America.

To complete the game, children had to collaborate to answer questions of factual knowledge about the culture of the different countries.

The project evaluation used a qualitative portfolio-based approach to collect data from students and teachers. Contents of portfolios were coded into categories such as knowledge about one's own culture and other children's culture, democratic values, attitudes toward immigration, etc. The results showed that using digital technology to collaborate with children from other countries led to changes in children's attitudes towards them, allowed children to overcome certain stereotypes and promoted an improvement in the acceptance of immigrants (Vallejo and Roa 2015).

The programme started with the desire to create a dialogue between different cultures and the use of digital technologies to facilitate this goal. To this end, a web-based approach was considered the appropriate functional solution to support long-distance communication. Furthermore, this technical solution enabled a high transnational impact by

involving more than 2,000 children, which, in our view, constitutes one of the innovative aspects of this proposal. Nonetheless, even if the level of participation achieved was essential, the project had some weaknesses in the designed activities. In particular, although the proposed actions aimed at innovating intercultural learning, the proposed pedagogical model ended up adding little more to the classic experience of having paper-and-pencil questionnaires and activities to test children's factual knowledge of other cultures.

Other pedagogical approaches would have been more suitable to take advantage of the opportunities of having 2,020 children and 81 teachers from different countries working together – for example, those related to the design of technological solutions that take into account stakeholders and end-users' culture, knowledge, expertise and needs. The work of Kafai *et al*. (2014) builds on an ethnographic analysis of the context to design a technology-mediated pedagogical activity. Similarly, Druin (2002) strongly defends participatory design solutions to meaningfully take into account both children's and teachers' voices in the design of operations and software. These situated design approaches could be useful both to design technology-driven activities that are meaningful to users and to help reduce the risk of internal design bias. For instance, the narrative proposed by the software (and especially by the collaborative game) calls for additional considerations about the kind of representations and discourses embedded in it. The quest of the character Quijotín, who departs from Spain to 'discover' other cultures, reveals a Eurocentric perspective and somehow recalls concepts related to the colonialist past of the country. Higher sensitivity to ingrained cultural prejudices would therefore have been beneficial. Finally, the long-term sustainability of the project should also be considered.

Concluding remarks

As stated earlier, regardless of the existence of different databases and search engines available on the internet, it has not been easy to find cases that meet the established criteria in Spain. An overview of the six selected cases reflects that the initiatives to improve student involvement and enhance knowledge of others and their cultures do not come from the administration and nor do they have a holistic nature. They are driven by groups of teachers, involve a small number of students, are not always funded and are limited to the duration of the project. Those with

an explicit source of funding receive this from the European Commission. Therefore, they are not sustainable.

However, despite all these limitations, in all six cases the potential of ICT to foster student interest and communication between distant contexts can be seen. Specific cases, such as CODINC or InventEUrs, can also contribute to increasing the cultural capital of students by introducing them in the field of knowledge and technology. Most cases seem more focused on digital technology as a tool than as a source of pedagogical knowledge. Those with the purpose of gaining an understanding of others' culture remain on the surface, offering a rather folk-oriented view. Finally, the essential feature of these projects is the teacher's commitment in the face of the lack of comprehensive and funded policies to meet education challenges in a multicultural and digital world.

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Chapter 17

I Am Home, Wherever I May Roam: ICT as a Tool for the (Two-Way) Integration of Migrant Youth in the European Union

Blaž Lenarčič

Lucija Dežan

And the Earth becomes my throne
I adapt to the unknown
Under wandering stars I've grown
By myself but not alone.
(Metallica, Wherever I May Roam, 1990)

Introduction

Contemporary society is characterised by a series of changes, among which the most notable are rapid technological progress and the increase in migration on a global level.[1] This chapter[2] addresses both pro-

1 In 2019, according to the Migration Data Portal (2020), migrant children (below 18 years) and young migrants (15 to 24 years) represented 17 per cent of the migrant population in Europe. The number of young migrants rose from 22 million in 1990 to 40 million in 2019.

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cesses, focusing in particular on the potential that information communication technology (ICT) can have on the integration of migrant youth. The latter are an integral part of migration processes and, at the same time, are among the most frequent ICT users. From the chapter's perspective, it is important to understand that ICT is a vital part of contemporary Western societies, which are, at the same time, also the most desirable final destinations for various groups of migrants. Thus, just as the current economic, political and cultural circumstances cannot be fully understood without considering the role ICT plays, the modern integration process cannot be understood without this acknowledgement.

The international literature documents well that the use of ICT culminates in greater opportunities for migrants to achieve improvements in their overall wellbeing (Beiser, Puente-Duran and Hou 2015; Gifford and Wilding 2013; Quereshi 2017). In addition, ICT increases migrants' participation in host countries, for example, their political participation and similar forms of civic engagement (e.g. community work or volunteering). However, beneficial opportunities brought about by ICT for the migrant group that is most familiar with digital tools – youth – are seldom specifically addressed. Following this objective, this chapter aims to analyse a variety of ICT tools that can support migrant youth in their journey to become members of the host society. Further, it explores how ICT and several social domains that are relevant for migrant youth's integration intertwine. Academic literature about this topic is scarce, and therefore we believe that our work contributes relevant knowledge to this field. In this chapter, we adopt the United Nation's recognition of migrant youth as young people between the ages of 15 and 24 years.

What follows first is a general and brief presentation of the role of ICT in the migrant integration process as addressed in policy documents of the European Union (EU). The next part describes our theoretical framework, which follows the model developed by Ager and Strang in 2008; in this model, the authors identified key domains for successful integration. This part is followed by a presentation of selected ICT tools that focus on pivotal areas of integration (e.g. linguistic, educational, political) recognised as relevant for migrant youth. Additionally, we highlight digital tools that aim to prevent intolerant behaviours and attitudes towards migrant youth. Understanding integration as a two-way process, we present examples of ICT tools that enable people with a non-migrant background (e.g. classmates and teachers of migrant youth) to take a closer look at the lives of migrant youth and their experience. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the benefits and advantages that ICT brings to migrant youth and members of the host country, the constraints that prevent migrant youth from using ICT to a

greater extent, and further work that may consider the role of ICT tools in the integration process of migrant youth.

Integration process and ICT in the European Union

In general, integration policies for migrants in the EU focus primarily on 'third-country' migrants, while no particular attention is directed towards EU nationals migrating within EU borders. Mügge and van der Haar (2016) point out that EU nationals are often perceived as integrated by default and therefore are not expected to face significant integrational challenges. As examples of migrants from the newer Member States show, such an approach does not come without risk. Considering the evidence, migrants from the aforementioned states are often confronted with hostile treatment when they arrive in a host country (i.e. Roma people from Bulgaria and Romania who migrated to France) (Mügge and van der Haar 2016). Such social exclusion prevents the social integration of individuals, hinders the development of community networks and limits migrants' opportunities to become members of the host society and to participate in all aspects of civic life.

The EU focus shifted towards social inclusion in 1974 with the *Social Action Programme*, but it was the *Lisbon Agenda* (2000–2010) that encouraged Member States to include strategies for social inclusion in their national policies (European Commission 2013). In 2008, the *Renewed Social Agenda: Opportunities, Access and Solidarity in 21st Century Europe* promoted the positive impact of migrants on various areas within the EU. AbuJarour and Krasnova (2017) advocate that social inclusion presents a critical component of any democratic society because it acts as the glue that holds societies together and enables them to function effectively and fairly. For a young person, social inclusion also means an opportunity to build self-esteem and self-realisation, to become autonomous members of society, and to contribute to the development of society (Şerban *et al.* 2020). Moreover, social inclusion grants people with a migrant background the opportunity to settle in and participate in a new social environment. Migrants tend to seek such opportunities in Western societies (sometimes referred to as the key migrant destinations) where digital literacy and access to ICT are among the crucial conditions for an individual's full inclusion. As studies show, technological inclusion of migrants is just as important as social, political and economic inclusion (Diminescu 2008; Khorshed and Imran 2015; Kluzer and Rissola 2009).

The emerging power of ICT as a helping tool in the integration process was recognised long before this technology was widespread (e.g. Borkert *et al.* 2009; Diminescu 2008; Hamel 2009; Hiller and Franz

2004; Kluzer and Rissola 2009; Trauth and Howcroft 2006). After the worst migrant and refugee crisis since the Second World War that occurred in Europe in 2015, Borkert, Fisher and Yafi (2018) noticed an increase in the published literature on the role ICT has in aiding various groups of migrants. The crucial role that technology has for migrants has also been recognised by the EU; the latter refers to the combination of mobile phones, internet and social media as a game-changer for migrants as these tools help them to plan a journey and provide information on quality of life which significantly shapes migrants' aspirations and expectations (EPSC 2017). In addition, technology presents a useful tool that allows migrants to stay connected with family and friends, while, at the same time, it allows them to learn about their new social environment. As will be shown later in the chapter, a variety of digital applications facilitate cultural sharing and language learning, as well as overcoming barriers arising from cultural differences.

In recent years, a growing hope has emerged regarding the power of ICT in the process of integration and social inclusion. It became evident that ICT has a significant impact on all phases within the migration cycle (Hiller and Franz 2004), namely *pre-migrant*, *post-migrant* and *settled*. In line with the topic of our chapter, we focus exclusively on the *post-migrant* phase in which the migrant 'has completed the move but has been away from the community of origin or conversely located in the new destination for less than five years' (Hiller and Franz 2004: 737) and the process of inclusion into the host society has already begun.

The benefits of ICT in the *post-migrant* phase for both sides (migrants and members of the host society) are supported by a growing body of literature (e.g. AbuJarour *et al.* 2019; AbuJarour and Krasnova 2017; Farbenblum, Berg and Kintominas 2018; Khorshed and Imran 2015; Lloyd *et al*. 2013). This has been recognised by the EU; advantages are reflected in key documents, initiatives and policies that address inclusion in the EU and the information society and target disadvantaged populations, which include migrants. For example, the policy framework *i2010: A European Information Society for Growth and Employment* (European Commission 2010a) states that everyone living in Europe, but especially disadvantaged groups, should have the opportunity to use ICT if they wish to do so and/or to benefit indirectly from ICT usage by services providers, intermediaries and other agents responding to their needs. The first document that mentioned ICT in the context of migrant integration was the *Riga Ministerial Declaration* (2006). This declaration defined e-inclusion as both; the development of inclusive ICT and the promotion of cultural diversity in Europe by 'improving the possibilities for economic and social participation and integration, creativity and entrepreneurship

of immigrants and minorities by stimulating their participation in the information society' (Article 24). Furthermore, the *Europe 2020 Strategy* (European Commisison 2010b) promotes the use of ICT as a new agenda for the integration of migrants to develop their full potential. Similarly, the recently adopted *Action plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021–2027* (European Commisison 2020a) reinforces the use of new technologies and digital tools for integration and inclusion. The document highlights that migrants and EU citizens with a migrant background often face barriers to accessing digital courses and services due to inadequate or absent infrastructure, language constraints or lack of digital skills. To this end, Member States are encouraged to develop digital literacy courses for migrants and to include them in integration programmes using available EU funds. Moreover, Member States should ensure that digital public services are inclusive, easily accessible and adapted to diverse migrant groups. Moreover, migrants should be consulted during the process of creation and development of such services. With regard to inclusion, an agenda developed by European Commission called *Europe Fit for the Digital Age* (2020b) aims at accessible digital education in Europe.

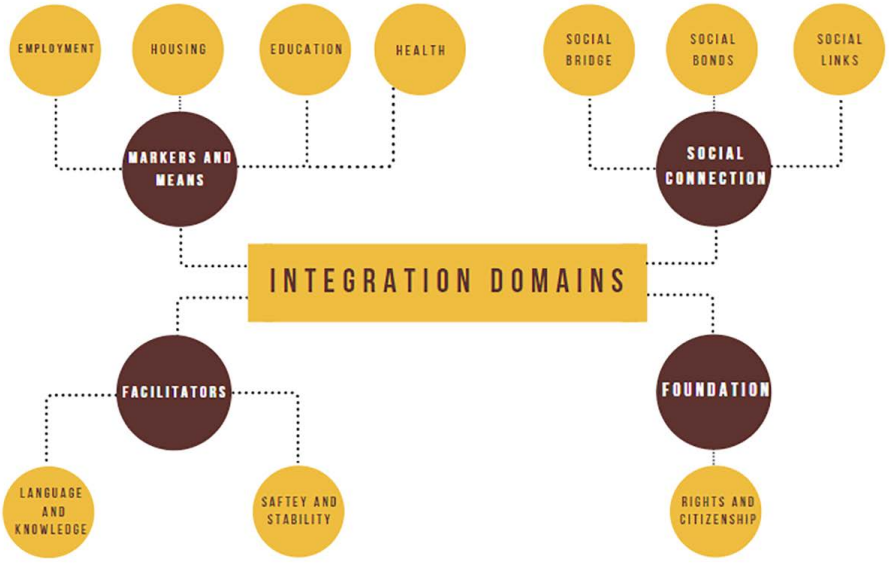
The content of these briefly presented documents, the attention devoted by the EU to migrants' integration and the prevailing role of ICT in contemporary society suggest that there is a potential to improve and encourage two-way integration through the use of digital tools. As studies have shown (e.g. Castles *et al.* 2002; Drydakis 2021; Korteweg 2017; Waters and Pineau 2015), successful two-way integration depends on the efforts of migrant communities and members of the host country who have mutual rights and responsibilities. The following section presents practical aspects and content of ICT tools that have the potential to assist migrant youth and host communities in overcoming cultural differences.

ICT as a helping tool in the process of migrant youth' integration

In Western countries, ICT is perceived as one of the key tools for establishing and maintaining connections between people and institutions. The digital skills of migrant youth often play a crucial role in obtaining necessary support and information about life in the host country (Borkert, Fisher and Yafi 2018). The starting point of our analysis stems from the question about the nature of information and services that newly arrived migrant youth need when they begin with the integration process. At first

glance, this question looks straightforward, but it turns out to be more complex, as integration into the host society is not a single process, but occurs across a series of domains. An experience in one domain can have a positive or negative impact on experiences in another domain. Our study elaborates on the conceptual framework of integration domains illustrated in Figure 17.1, developed by Ager and Strang (2008).

Figure 17.1. Conceptual framework defining core domains of integration



Source: Ager and Strang (2008)

The framework summarises perceptions of what constitutes successful integration. According to the authors, the first layer (markers and means) refers to migrants' access and achievements in a variety of fields, which are also places where migrants and members of the host society most often interact. Among these fields are some that are more relevant for migrant youth (i.e. education and health), while others (employment and housing) seem less relevant at first glance because of their young age. On the other hand, these two domains are associated with important milestones in the life course of young people, and therefore they should not be dismissed as negligible. The second layer (social connection) describes the role of mutual connections that drive the inte-

gration process (e.g. relationships between family members, different ethnic groups, migrants and members of the host society, and the relationship between migrants and the state). The third layer (facilitators) examines factors that pose barriers to integration; such constraints are identified in the field of language and cultural knowledge (e.g. lack of knowledge of the host country's language affects social interactions with its members) and in the field of safety and stability (e.g. a sense of personal safety or perceptions of the host society as stable). The final layer (foundation) focuses on practices related to citizenship, responsibilities, obligations and rights. As this framework has become influential and is used by policy-makers, we believe that all ten domains are appropriate criteria against which we can classify existing ICT tools and their role in facilitating the integration of newly arrived migrant youth.

With the purpose of obtaining data on existing ICT tools, we searched for applications, websites and platforms using various combinations of the following keywords: migrants, integration, migration, support and adaptation. Our search took place in two online stores offering applications (Google Play Store for Android users and App Store for iOS users) and through the Google search engine. The results showed a large number of available applications, websites and platforms; however, none of them were exclusively designed for migrant youth. Nevertheless, we set additional criteria: (1) the tool should be focused on the EU territory, and (2) it must cover one of the previously mentioned integration domains. Besides, since we advocate for the two-way integration process, applications to raise awareness among members of the host society were also identified. These examples are presented in a special section of the paper. What follows is an analysis of ICT tools according to the core domains of integration presented by Ager and Strang (2008). Due to the relatively large number of ICT serving specific domains, only the most innovative digital tools that apply to migrant youth are presented in detail. An additional strength of several applications is that they were developed by members of the migrant community themselves.

How can ICT tools contribute to the integration of migrant youth?

ICT tools promoting markers and means

According to studies (e.g. Ager and Strang 2008; Castles *et al*. 2002; Tomlinson and Egan 2002), areas of employment, housing, education and health are among the key aspects of integration, as they can serve as

a means for migrants' wellbeing. The EU–Council of Europe Youth Partnership's study on barriers to social inclusion named *Finding a Place in Modern Europe* (Marković *et al*. 2015) shows that these are also four areas of potential social exclusion for migrant youth (along with participation). Information concerning these areas is often scattered in different places, such as various government and NGO websites and offices, and is therefore difficult to find. An additional problem from the migrants' perspective is that information is often only available in the language of the host country or English.

In the *educational* field, migrant youth usually do not possess the qualifications to participate in educational programmes due to a lack of language proficiency and/or lack of educational certificates from their country of origin. These factors cause trouble in obtaining recognition. However, migrant youth often take advantage of e-learning opportunities to participate in educational activities. In recent years, several ICT learning tools from different educational fields have been developed and offered by different educational institutions. An example of a widely recognised opportunity comes from *Kiron University for Open Higher Education for Refugees*,[3] which enables migrant and refugee young people to complete higher levels of education using digital solutions. Similarly, a Finnish application called *Funzi* provides migrant youth with digital learning materials in their language. An additional strength of this platform is that it also contains information related to employment services.

An example of how ICT can help migrant youth in the *employment* area is the *Workeen*[4] application, which is available in several languages (e.g. Farsi, Arabic, English, French, Czech, Greek). The application was developed to help migrants (as well as refugees and asylum seekers) navigate the European labour market. At the same time, it helps in understanding bureaucracy and prepares candidates for an interview in several European countries. The application uses the gamification technique for interactive training, which is attractive for younger generations. It helps migrant youth find and, more importantly, keep a job. *Workeen* guides migrant candidates through two levels; the first is related to job search and the second is related to workplace integration. Moreover, this application provides information on how to search for a job and how to adapt to a new work environment by developing soft skills that employers consider essential (e.g. workplace etiquette). Another practical

3 Kiron University for Open Higher Education for Refugees
4 WORKEEN

example is the *Sona Circle*[5] application. This application promotes the exchange of skills and talent between migrants and employers, governments and similar organisations. It aims to increase engagement, communication and visibility to support effective integration.

The only example of an ICT tool from the area of *housing* we found is the German platform *Zusammenleben Willkommen*.[6] The platform is derived from the idea that mass accommodation of migrants stigmatises and excludes people. Consequently, this platform brings together individuals who provide housing and migrants who need accommodation. It aims to initiate private cohabitation. Furthermore, the platform advises migrants in their search for suitable housing.

Several ICT tools provide *health* information; however, some focus on general information while other address specific health topics. For example, the EU co-funded platform *MEET*[7] (*Meeting the Health Literacy Needs of Immigrant Population*) offers online training in several languages to strengthen the health literacy of migrants. On the other hand, mental health disorders pose a significant risk factor for migrant youth and thus require specific attention. Consequently, we would like to point out two applications that provide support for the mental health issues that various migrant groups experience. The first is called ALMHAR[8] and is an example of ICT developed in response to the growing number of migrants (and refugees) from war and conflict zones. The application explains the most common emotional problems faced by migrants and helps to resolve them. Moreover, it provides background information on common problem areas (stress, anxiety, concentration, etc.) and practical tips on how to cope with them. The second application is SMILERS, which is aimed at migrant people with milder symptoms of depression. It is specifically tailored for Arabic speakers and does not require direct contact with a therapist. SMILERS offers short practical exercises, information about depression and strategies for overcoming this mental disorder. The last health-related application is a Swedish ICT tool called youmo.se.[9] It is designed for newly arrived migrant youth who are curious about their bodies, sexuality, alcohol and drugs, self-esteem and relationships. It is available in several languages, such as English, Arabic, Somali and Dari.

5 Sona Circle
6 Zusammenleben Willkommen
7 Meeting the Health Literacy Needs of Immigrant Population
8 ALMHAR
9 Youmo

ICT tools promoting social connection

Deriving from social capital theory (Gittel and Vidal 1998; Putnam 2000), Ager and Strang's model (2008) identifies three different forms of social connection for migrants: social bonds (with family and other ethnical, national, religious and similar groups), social bridges (with other communities) and social links (with state structures). Various ICT tools enable migrant youth to form such connections in a new social environment.

As studies suggest (Bucholtz 2018; Damian and Van Ingen 2014; Vernon, Deriche and Eisenhauer 2016; Schrooten 2012), migrant youth use social network sites and chat applications (e.g. Facebook Messenger, Viber, WhatsApp, Skype, Instagram) to maintain contact with their families, friends and community members. These means of communication enable emotional intimacy, increase levels of wellbeing and foster migrants' ability to build social networks. Additionally, migrant youth often use social media platforms to exchange information about the host country, its culture and traditions, its language and daily life, and information about their country of origin.

An example of an ICT tool that acts as a social bridge between migrant youth and the host country members is the German portal *Start with a Friend.*[10] This digital tool encourages migrants and host country members to establish friendly relations. Moreover, it does not limit itself to creating favourable circumstances for social interactions but encourages both parties to join forces and solve various challenges together.

The following two platforms combine the digital skills of migrant youth and ICT to build migrants' social links with state structures. The application *Integreat*[11] provides relevant civic information for migrants (and refugees) placed in Germany in multiple languages (e.g. English, French, Arabic and Farsi). It adapts the content according to the migrant's location to ensure that the information is in line with the current municipality's services. Similarly, *BureauCrazy*, a prototype tool, is a platform that aims to connect migrants and German government agencies. Developed by Syrian refugees who participated in a Berlin non-profit school for digital integration, this tool translates official documents into Arabic and English, and provides a frequently asked questions section as well as a map with locations of key council offices.

10 Start with a Friend
11 Integreat

ICT tools as facilitators

One of the key areas of the integration process for migrant youth is the ability to understand and speak the *language* of the host society. Being proficient in the foreign language and having an opportunity to communicate in the national language of the host country enables migrant youth to interact with local people, gives them a sense of belonging (Beiser *et al.* 2015) and enhances the process of learning about the values and traditions of the host country (AbuJarour *et al.* 2019). Consequently, language proficiency is recognised as one of crucial factors in the integration of migrant youth into the host *society* (Codagnone and Kluzer 2011; Collin and Karsenti 2012).

Our research has shown that the vast majority of ICT tools intended for migrants focus on learning the language of the host society. Among a variety of tools, we would like to highlight the Austrian application *uugot.it*,[12] which offers a simple, inexpensive and interactive way to improve migrants' knowledge of the language of the host country. The key is to simply watch TV while adding interactive subtitles. Whenever users do not understand a particular word, they can click on the word and the word will be simultaneously translated into their mother tongue. Besides this application, interesting approaches to language learning can be found in the *Linguacuisine*[13] application. The latter promotes digital literacy, language learning and knowledge about different cuisines and cultures. Another language-oriented application is *Movinglanguages*.[14] This digital tool helps newly arrived migrants learn the language of the host country while promoting culture-specific vocabulary. It relies on a gamification approach. All of these applications incorporate elements that are recognised as attractive to migrant youth (e.g. digital device, gamification approach, necessary knowledge) while providing an opportunity to learn the host country language.

Ager and Strang (2008) understand the domain of *safety and stability* in terms of personal safety in a physical environment. ICT can serve as a platform where various comments promote racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerant behaviour and attitudes directed towards migrants. Such discourse can be reflected and manifested in the physical environment. On the other hand, ICT has the capacity to raise awareness of the negative aspects of such behaviour. One such example is

12 uugot.it
13 Linguacuisine
14 Movinglanguages

the *iReport.ie*[15] application, which allows people, different communities and organisations active in Ireland to confidentially report examples of racism. Similarly, the *BeSmartOnline!*[16] tool empowers young people by combating harmful online content and behaviour, while providing information on internet safety. These attempts are supported by regular news, workshops and educational activities.

Perceptions about the safety and stability of migrant youth stem from access to information that is central to their lives and on which their wellbeing depends (e.g. health rights, educational opportunities, extracurricular activities, labour rights). The main challenges are (1) making this information accessible to migrant youth who do not understand the language of the host country and (2) presenting the information appropriately (reducing intercultural differences). Several solutions where such situations are efficiently addressed by using ICT already exist. For example, the IEUME[17] platform uses a gamification approach to educate migrants about the most important aspects of life in Europe to help them in the integration process. This platform explains how the EU operates, highlights the key principles of democracy and how to access rights, and teaches about European culture and heritage.

ICT tools as foundation

Citizenship, rights and responsibilities associated with migrants are crucial in the integration process; therefore, it is essential that newly arrived migrants become familiar with them as soon as possible. By promoting social inclusion, ICT offers migrant youth the opportunity to participate in the social and political activities of the host country and facilitates interaction between migrant communities and governments (AbuJarour *et al.* 2019). Sometimes, these processes are highly bureaucratic, involving a variety of government institutions, and migrants encounter difficulty following the process.

An example of an application that connects migrant communities and government offices while also providing information about citizenship, rights and responsibilities is the *Europe Welcome App*. This application is the central source of information for migrants, EU citizens, as well as asylum seekers and refugees living in the EU. It encourages migrants and migrant communities to learn more about the EU, its culture,

15 iReport.ie
16 BeSmartOnline!
17 IEUME

people and institutions. If needed, users are eligible for a personal assistant from a highly professional international team.

During our research, we noticed that there exist a high number of information platforms run by volunteers or migrants themselves that sometimes provide inaccurate information about life in the host society. As a suggestion how to prevent such an unfavourable situation, we highlight the editorial team of the *Handbook Germany*[18] platform. The team consists of professional journalists (some of them having a migrant background) who continuously work to verify the accuracy of information provided. They work in cooperation with the Federal Agency for Migration and Refugees, as well as with various ministries and NGOs. Consequently, the application provides trustworthy information about civic obligations, rights and laws in seven languages.

ICT and the two-way integration process

Nowadays, ICT tools are the medium through which migrant youth obtain knowledge about the host society, its cultural traditions, civil rights, social norms and legal rules. The more frequently migrant youth use ICT to communicate with host country members, the faster they progress in terms of social, cultural and psychological integration (Chen 2010). However, digital platforms are not only beneficial for migrant youth, who can accelerate their integration by using these tools (AbuJarour and Krasnova 2017), but also bring benefits to members of the host society. The latter acquaint themselves with the culture, opportunities, problems and challenges that migrant communities encounter during the integration process.

The Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union developed by European Commission (2004) define integration as a 'dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of the EU Member states. […] Accordingly, member states are encouraged to consider and involve both immigrants and national citizens in integration policy, and to communicate clearly their mutual rights and responsibilities' (Point 1). Considering this, Carrera and Atger (2011) argue that the two-way integration process represents a fundamental feature of the EU's approach to integration policy and can be considered as one of its defining elements.

We have identified several applications that use the gamification approach to increase the awareness and sensibility of host country members to the challenges faced by various groups of migrants. For

18 Handbook Germany

example, the game *Survival* puts the player in the role of a young migrant who has to cope with all the stages of migration, starting with the departure from the country of origin, the journey on the Mediterranean Sea, arrival in the host country and the integration process. The purpose of this game is to make members of the host society aware of the events, challenges, opportunities and problems that migrants experience on their way. Similarly, the game *Bury Me, My Love* offers a moving portrayal of the dangers and uncertainty of a young Syrian woman named Nur. The player follows her story as she decides to flee Syria and attempts to reach Europe. The goal of this game is to effectively connect users to the harrowing journey of a Syrian refugee. The game allows users and their virtual counterpart Majd to communicate with Nour just as two friends would chat via the communication application WhatsApp.

Following the two-way integration process, the previously mentioned *Integreat* application brings together volunteers (mostly students) who are willing to help migrants and refugees. Having a common digital tool enables volunteers to efficiently organise their efforts to include migrants in a new society, structure relevant integration activities, and befriend members of the migrant community. Another valuable application HIT is aimed at professionals working with youth in an educational context. This application supports school professionals in raising awareness on hate speech and violent behaviour and educating about their negative effects. Further, the application empowers school professionals to counteract such actions using ICT tools. All these digital tools enable interaction between members of the host society and migrant youth and help both parties to learn more about the existing cultural differences and similarities.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to present examples of ICT tools that have the ability to contribute to the (two-way) integration process of migrant youth in Europe. Another objective of the chapter was to show the relationship between physical and virtual spaces and how ICT can help to address the everyday needs of migrant youth. Further, we were curious how ICT can bridge the gap between migrant youth and members of the host society. Both social groups can benefit from using ICT to address and overcome key social and cultural challenges that have arisen significantly since 2015, such as language acquisition, establishing interpersonal relationships, becoming part of society, and, on the other hand, understanding

and accepting cultural differences. We are aware that the examples presented indicate only a general impression and offer partial information about trends related to migration processes within the EU.

As Colluci *et al.* (2017) state in their analysis, data on the role of ICT in the context of migrant youth is scarce. Therefore, it is impossible to draw conclusions about the demonstrated effectiveness of ICT tools within the integration process of migrant youth. How a particular tool is implemented depends heavily on the broader circumstances of the migrant users (e.g. their digital literacy, access to sufficient digital equipment, their age, the content of the digital tools), the integration policy the host country adopts, and on the infrastructural circumstances and conditions in the host country.

Despite these limitations, we recognise a significant advantage of ICT tools in their potential to overcome barriers to integration identified in certain policy documents. At the beginning, we highlighted that EU integration policies focus mainly on third-country nationals. The selected ICT tools follow this path to a limited extent; these tools are designed to aid various groups of migrants who face different situations. Moreover, the applications presented provide support in social domains that Ager and Strang (2008) identified as crucial for the successful integration and social inclusion of migrants. Thus, digitally more skilful migrant youth can anticipate more rapid integration. An additional advantage of several ICT tools comes from their developers; developers with a migrant background have the ability to address specific situations more efficiently as they can relate to personal experiences. Further, such a developer can act as a bridge between members of the host country and the migrant community. This is particularly valuable if we aim for two-way integration. Following this approach, tools that foster collaboration between different agents, such as government institutions, NGOs, members of the host country and migrant youth, should be additionally supported.

During our research, an overlap was identified in several domains addressed by the ICT tools presented. For example, tools intended for language learning are usually linked to cultural knowledge about the host society, while tools addressing housing often provide information related to the field of employment. In addition, we found examples of ICT tools that were created as a so-called "one-stop-shop", meaning that they contain several types of information relevant to newly arrived migrants. One such example is *Information Sweden*,[19] an online portal that supports multiple languages and collects information for migrants

19 Information about Sweden

on housing, education, employment, integration, community, health, residence permits and rights and responsibilities. Further, it includes a phrasebook with the most useful terms, information regarding legal obligations and civic information, while it also offers educational materials for teachers who have migrant learners in their classes. On the other hand, some valuable applications have ceased to exist while we were preparing this chapter.

In terms of young migrants' capability to acquire the necessary digital skills, these skills could be a key to successful integration. In addition, their digital literacy may affect the integration process of other members of the migrant community, such as their parents, siblings and other relatives. On the other hand, differences in digital literacy and digital equipment might reinforce inequalities among migrant youth and in comparison to their peers who were born in the host country. However, as our chapter shows, a significant degree of support in this regard exists from NGOs, volunteers and government offices. At the same time, we have noticed a lack of support in terms of documents and strategies at the EU level that would exclusively address the correlation between integration and digitalisation of migrant children and youth.

Considering further research on this topic, it would be wise to explore the benefits and advantages of ICT tools for the integration of migrant children and youth at different developmental stages. Further, we suggest exploring how broader circumstances in the country of origin and host country (e.g. GDP, education policy, digital infrastructure, digital equipment of educational institutions) influence the digital literacy of migrant youth and their integration. For young migrants, the main barrier to more effective ICT use may not be a lack of digital skills (sometimes referred to as the digital divide), but a lack of material resources to afford the necessary equipment (Pottie *et al.* 2020). At the same time, we should be aware that digital tools are not without risk. Migrant youth may consider online representations of migrant communities to be fabricated, but perceive images of others to be accurate; such a contrast may foster imposter syndrome (Amedie 2015). Furthermore, similar to their local peers, migrant youth's privacy can be violated when they are online or they may be exposed to bullying or harmful content. Considering that some of the migrant youth have experienced severe trauma in the past, such violations may cause anxiety or aggression (Eurostat 2015). Therefore, further research needs to be conducted to gain more evidence on these processes as well as to assess the potential and limitations of ICT tools as a mechanism for integration. In general, it would be beneficial to involve more people with a migrant background in the design and development process of digital platforms for migrant

youth. These people could share valuable experiences, identify existing weaknesses and address specific needs of migrant youth living in the EU.

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Migrant Children's Integration and Education in Europe

Approaches, Methodologies and Policies

The process of the reception of migrant children and young people in European societies positions the education system as one of the most important and powerful resources to foster their participation and inclusion in the host societies. This process is multidimensional, involving different actors (migrant children and young people and their families, schools, teachers and peers, members of the local community, etc.) and works in different ways on a scale ranging from unidirectional assimilation to bidirectional integration and inclusion. When discussing the integration of migrant children and young people, one must take into account that they do not form a homogeneous social group. Rather, they are diversified in terms of past experiences, present situations and future aspirations. They differ in terms of their legal status, as this group includes economic migrants, refugee children, asylum seekers and undocumented and irregular migrants. On top of that, they have different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, belong to different ethnic groups, and differ in terms of gender, age, socioeconomic status, cultural and social capital and so on. The heterogeneity of migrant children as a social group implies that their social integration must be understood as an intersectional phenomenon.

The chapters of *Migrant Children's Integration and Education in Europe: Approaches, Methodologies and Policies* pay attention to how we address issues related to the integration and inclusion of migrant children and young people, how we research the problems, what epistemological paths we follow, what methodological approaches we use and, consequently, how research findings are reflected in policies enacted at national and EU level and how they can contribute to improving the everyday life in schools.

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