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AUSTRIA

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1. Introduction and sample

We conducted a total of 15 qualitative interviews with experts on the topic of integration of migrant pupils at Austrian schools. Our interviews were in-depth and (semi-)structured. Our sample composed of stakeholders from the political, research and civil society sectors and included the following:

- Trained pedagogue for instruction in mother tongue, City of Vienna (Int. 1 07.05.2019)
- Head of a language centre (Int. 2 09.05.2019)
- Youth worker at a district-based NGO (Int. 3 09.05.2019)
- University researcher for social policy (Int. 4 14.05.2019)

- Member of the National Council (Int. 5 15.05.2019)
- Management board member in an NGO against racism (Int. 6 22.05.2019)
- Manager of a non-profit association of the City of Vienna (Int. 7 03.06.2019)
- Official at the City of Vienna (Int. 8 05.06.2019)
- Manager of an NGO for language diversity (Int. 9 11.06.2019)
- Officials at a federal agency for educational concerns of minorities (Int. 10 18.06.2019)
- Team manager at an NGO for female migrant girls (Int. 11 13.06.2019)
- Member of the Municipal Council, Vienna (Int. 12 28.06.2019)
- National association for parents (Int. 13 04.07.2019)
- Official at federal agency for integration concerns (Int. 14 17.07.2019)
- City council member, Vienna (Int. 15 17.07.2019)

We conducted a thorough online research to identify key institutions and stakeholders involved in the development and implementation of integration policies across the institutional and political spectrum in Austria. Our field research took place in Vienna which hosts the biggest number of migrants in the country. We contacted our potential informants via e-mail and conducted the interviews face-to-face in the respective persons' working environment. All interviews were audio recorded, anonymised, and analysed according to the template provided by the work package lead, the Peace Institute, in line with our research design and questions.

2. Policies and practices

Our sample covers the institutional and political spectrum from local and national politicians to officials I municipal and federal public administrations to researchers and NGOs. The institutional and political coordinates of the respective interviewee was reflected in their attitudes and answers along the interviews. While politicians did not shy away from making contentious remarks during the interviews, public officials employed by the *Bund* (federal government) refrained from making political statements and assessments. Researchers often underlined the significance of generating objective data to guide migration and integration policies whereas actors from the civil society organisations often spoke as advocate service providers. The fact that distinct sectors operate according to different, though not isolated or unrelated, rationales was observable in our sample, providing a complex picture of competing political assumptions, priorities and solutions.

Overall, we witness that migration and integration are fiercely contested discourses across the political spectrum subject to constant renegotiation and redefinition. We also observe that, while schooling is both a right and an obligation in Austria, currently it is being politicized in conjunction with questions related to the social costs and benefits of migration and (failed) integration. Our data may be admittedly biased in this regard, as our research interest focuses primarily on schools. Even so, interviews suggest that public education and schools have become a major battlefield in the ongoing processes of social demarcation in the context of migration.

Our experts pointed to two parallel yet distinct processes regarding migration and integration policies in Austria. On one hand, they welcomed the strong growth of structures, mechanisms and tools for integration, especially in the aftermath of the 'summer of migration' of 2015 (Int. 4 14.05.2019; Int. 14 17.07.2019; Int. 15 17.07.2019). Governments were forced to dedicate increased financial and institutional resources to regulate the sudden influx of refugees to Austria through the Integration Act (BGBl. I Nr. 68/2017) which, among others, grants legal right to German courses to those entitled to asylum and subsidiary protection. On the other hand, the social democratic (SPÖ) and Christian democratic (ÖVP) coalition's Integration Act has established a set of compulsory and disciplinary measures to sanction non-compliance with the Integration Agreement such as monetary fine. Besides, requirements for citizenship have become stricter (Int. 12 28.06.2019). In 2018, the right-wing ÖVP-FPÖ coalition even set German proficiency as a requirement for access to social benefits for foreigners, threatening to cut benefit payments in the lack of adequate German skills. Additionally, asylum and subsidiary protection recipients must participate in value and orientation courses (§ 5 Integration Act), which, together with mandatory German courses (§ 4 Integration Act), are carried out by the Austrian Integration Fund (*Österreichischer Integrationsfonds*, ÖIF). In regard to that, a member of the Viennese Municipal Council criticized the monopolization of language courses by the ÖIF, because "the way ÖIF functions as a political institution, such as the selection of experts working there who gain voice, and which values and worldviews they represent, in all respects, the symbols they use [are problematic]" (Int. 12 28.06.2019).

We observe similar disciplinary measures in the field of (early) education. In Austria, language skills are already tested in kindergarten (language tests are compulsory from the age of three) with a uniform instrument, the DaZ placement test (*Deutsch als Zweitsprache*, German as a Second Language). In kindergarten, the children are "observed" (Int. 10 18.06.2019) and tested on their German skills at three different times. Based on the test results, if necessary, children receive additional language support (Int. 10 18.06.2019). One expert stated that the aim of early language support is ensure that not many pupils receive the status of an irregular student later at school (Int. 10 18.06.2019). Another expert underlined that it is important to provide language support to migrant children from an early age (Int. 10 18.06.2019). This being said, the manager of an NGO for language diversity pointed to the scarcity of resources to support migrant children in acquiring and improving their German skills (Int. 9 11.06.2019).

Since 2018, all pupils (locals and migrants) must be assessed with regard to their German skills before entering the school system. Pupils' German proficiency is tested with the help of MIKA-D (*Messinstrument zur Kompetenzanalyse* – Deutsch, Measuring instrument for competence analysis – German). In comparison to the DaZ test, MIKA-D doesn't establish the type of support the respective pupils needs, but only whether they must attend a so-called 'remedial German courses' (*Deutschförderkurse*) where migrant children attend regular classes with additional German courses or a so-called 'remedial German classes' (*Deutschförderklassen*) where migrant children are instructed separately from the regular classes (Int. 10 18.06.2018). Migrant primary school students with poor German skills spend 15 hours and secondary school students 20 hours per week in the remedial German classes (Int. 1 07.05.2019). For a German class to be formed, more than eight children need to be assigned the status of an extraordinary pupil at a school. If

there are fewer than eight children, they are taught integratively, i.e. in regular classes (Int. 10 18.06.2018). One expert emphasized that teachers are often challenged by the variety of evaluatory documents they need to fill in and by with the expected rapidity of evaluating children's language proficiency (Int. 9 11.06.2019). Hence, in order to fulfil the prescribed duties, pedagogues often rely on NGOs for information and know-how. With the help of the DaZ test, extraordinary pupils are then tested in certain intervals in order to monitor their language development (Int. 10 18.06.2018). An expert from a federal agency for educational concerns of minorities pointed out that daily exposure to German is generally insufficient and that pupils need extra support (Int. 10 18.06.2018). The manager of an NGO for language diversity underlined the necessity for a more positive approach towards multilingualism of children Int. 9 (11.06.2019). The same interview noted that existing offer to learn one's own mother tongue has become noticeably insufficient especially since 2015 which has not least to do with the (former) Austrian government's unreflect focus on German proficiency (Int. 9 11.06.2019).

Many interviewees expressed concern over this classification of migrant children according to their language skills. Regarding remedial German classes, they pointed out that Austria supports a parallel system that implies segregation rather than inclusion (Int. 13 09.05.2019, Int. 9 11.06.2019, Int. 1 07.05.2019, Int. 12 28.06.2019, Int. 3 09.05.2019). An expert of the national association of parents mentioned that especially the "politics of fear" as well as the political framing of migration as an (security) issue, illustrated by terms like *Flüchtlingswelle* (wave of refugees) are problematic. Tis impacts the attitudes of Austrian parents many of who support the concept of remedial German classes because they believe that their children's school performance is jeopardized by migrant children with poor German skills (Int. 13 09.05.2019). Many experts considered it counterproductive to separate migrant children from their local peers in the remedial German classes as this prevents exchange between pupils. Furthermore, another expert stresses that „segregated classes contribute to additional stigmatization that remains the defining experience through the whole life, and for me, this seems to be more important to evade, than to teach children appropriate German" (Int. 12 28.06.2019). Another expert agreed that remedial German classes imply segregation rather than integration (Int. 1 07.05.2019). Migrant parents often complain that their children would prefer attending geography or English classes but have to attend German classes instead (Int. 1 07.05.2019). Discussing remedial German classes one expert also mentions that children do not need language skills to communicate with other children. The most effective way for children to learn a new language is to get in touch and communicate with other local children instead of attending a compulsory language course (Int. 13 09.05.2019). Other experts agree that, despite being important, German skills are by far not the only necessary asset for children's integration (Int. 1 07.05.2019; Int. 7 03.06.2019). Furthermore, it is not only important for language skills that children with a migrant background are not separated from Austrian children. One expert emphasizes that it is important that children with a migration background can experience that, for instance, Austrian children have the same difficulties with German as they do (Int. 11 13.06.2019).

One interview partner addressed this contradictory policy framework and noted that although the integration requirements of the state have become more ambitious, the financial resources have not grown accordingly (Int. 4 14.05.2019). Recent amendments to the legal framework on

social benefits (BGBl. I Nr. 41/2019) requires B1 level German skills from foreigners and threatens to cut around 35 percent of the total amount if this requirement is not met. At the same time, however, the number of German courses available in Austria makes it structurally very difficult to meet this goal (Int. 4 14.05.2019). Judging by the statements of the former Minister of the Interior (FPÖ) Herbert Kickl[1], whose vision was to prevent any asylum applications from within Austria in the future, the same interviewee noted that the main idea is to make integration obsolete by preventing the arrival of migrants and refugees in Austria in the first place (Int. 4 14.05.2019).

The resources for numerous integration measures have been shrinking since their introduction in 2015. This is especially the case in the fields of education and labour market (Int. 4 14.05.2019). Experts agree that integration is a long process (Int. 14 17.07.2019) which requires long-term institutional and financial commitment that short or mid-term policies fail to do justice to (Int. 4 14.05.2019). Often, when public investment declines, private sponsors fill in the vacuum (Int. 4 14.05.2019). One expert noted that, despite being long, integration should not be an infinite process (Int. 14 17.07.2019). The indicator for integration policies should therefore not be the number of asylum applications but the number of persons that stay in Austria (Int. 4 14.05.2019).

Although officials in the federal civil service were reluctant to make political statements, other experts reflected on the role of the EU when asked to do so. Among our informants, there is a common tendency to question EU's efficiency and success in matters related to migration and integration. The EU is often believed to lack a coherent line of integration requirements and guidelines (Int. 4 14.05.2019). While the EU directive regulating the standards for reception of applicants for international protection (2013/33/EU) is important, parts of it are ignored by nation states without consequences if these do not fit into their current political agenda (Int. 4 14.05.2019). Especially Eastern European countries such as Hungary seem to engage in a "race to the bottom" (Int. 4 14.05.2019). This is not least reflected in the statements of the former Austrian Minister of the Interior Kickl whose vision was to offer an as bad institutional framework as possible so that asylum seekers do not consider coming to and staying in Austria in the first place (Int. 4 14.05.2019). The "race to the bottom", then, is partly the outcome of EU's failure to assure comparable reception conditions across the member states (Int. 4 14.05.2019). Similarly, a member of the City Council of Vienna denounced EU's failure to handle the "refugee situation" collectively and in solidarity and noted that sealing silent deals with countries such as Libya risks lives in the Mediterranean (Int. 15 17.07.2019). He held these policies partly responsible for the rise of right-wing political parties in Austria and Italy.

Aside from policy initiator and guide, in the interviews, the EU stands out as an important source of funding for integration measures and projects in Austria. Especially, the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) that was set up for the period from 2014 to 2020 with a total budget of 3.137 billion EUR represents an important source to enhance integration projects in Austria (Int. 14 17.07.2019). The EU also serves as a forum to appropriate and align good practices among member countries (Int. 14 17.07.2019) and to network (Int. 10 18.06.2019).

[1] He was removed from office in 2019 in conjunction with the so-called 'Ibiza affair'.

Integration projects are often temporarily limited as are the funds through which they are financed and can continue to exist only so long as funding is secured. For example, the City of Vienna's education initiative *Jugendcollege* could proceed to the second phase after the completion of the first funding period only with shrinking financial resources due to a cut in federal funding for which the City of Vienna has sought to compensate (Int. 15 17.07.2019). In Vienna, there are around 240 teachers who teach in 24 different mother tongues at 96 schools (Int. 1 07.05.2019), the so-called mother-tongue teachers (*Muttersprachenlehrer*). The Education Department of Vienna (*Bildungsdirektion*, formerly *Stadtschulrat*) has developed a guideline to standardize instructions in mother tongue and to make sure that mother-tongue teachers are not assigned tasks by schools which are irrelevant to their main responsibility to instruct in children's mother-tongues (Int. 1 07.05.2019). A trained linguist provided expertise in the development of the guideline and received funding by the Chamber of Labour (Int. 1 07.05.2019). For a mother-tongue teacher to be assigned, schools need to report their need to the Education Department. Mother-tongue teachers receive annual employment contracts and can switch to a permanent contract after ten years. Currently, around 80 percent of mother-tongue teachers employed in Vienna have permanent contracts (Int. 1 07.05.2019). Initially, the target group of mother-tongue instruction was rather homogenous and composed mainly of Turkish and Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian speaking primary and secondary school children (Int. 1 07.05.2019). In the meantime, the target group has become heterogeneous and involves, for example, a growing number of Arabic speaking children (Int. 1 07.05.2019).

3. Migrant children's needs

Experts emphasize the need to provide statistical data and facts about migrants and refugees in Austria. However, one expert also warned that research findings may run the risk of instrumentalization in the ongoing heated political debates on migration and integration (Int. 4 14.05.2019). For effective policy development and implementation, it is crucial to first identify the resources, potentials, and needs of migrant group (Int. 4 14.05.2019; Int. 14 17.07.2019). Furthermore, experts consider education, in terms of German courses, schooling and vocational training, as well as housing as crucial for the integration of migrants into society (Int. 4 14.05.2019; Int. 15 17.07.2019). One expert noted that asylum seekers, especially those from Syria and Iraq, often display affinity for education (Int. 4 14.05.2019). There is also a need to empower female asylum seekers who play a key role in passing on education to the broader migrant community (Int. 4 14.05.2019).

One interviewee elaborated on the concept of "homeland" as a basic need for all children and explained that it consisted of orientation, security, and participation (Int. 6 22.05.2019). Hence, a new, more inclusive definition of the term "homeland" is needed. One expert underlined that physical and mental health are a requirement for migrants to be able to make use of the educational offers and other integration measures. The same expert notes that depression is far more common among young asylum seekers than among adults and that lack of academic success among asylum seekers can often be traced back to psychological stress. Long waiting time for

psychotherapy are not conducive for migrants' health but are common even in Vienna (Int. 4 14.05.2019).

Another expert mentioned that especially migrant girls and women have special needs. It is therefore important to adapt the offers to the special target group. Girls, for instance, need a protected space in order to escape the social conventions that target rather girls and women rather than boys and men (Int. 11 13.06.2019; Int. 3 09.05.2019). A youth worker at a district-based NGO in Vienna emphasized that gender-specific after-school activities are especially important in those cases when parents are concerned with their daughter's dignity or social integrity (Int. 3 09.05.2019). The same expert elaborated that when parents are assured that this is a safe place where only women gather, they are more likely to allow their daughters to participate in the activity (Int. 3 09.05.2019).

The needs of children differ not only in terms of gender, but also in terms of age, as experts noted (Int. 10 18.06.2019; Int. 11 13.06.2019). For example, it is important for younger children to play, while for older children and young adults building social relations becomes increasingly important. Additionally, for this older age group the most important questions are where to go after school, what career path to take, etc. It is therefore important to inform this age group about different possibilities and prospects as well as support them in practical matters such as writing applications (Int. 11 13.06.2019). Another expert stressed that showing young people different prospects is an important step in creating equal opportunities (Int. 10 18.06.2019).

There seem to be discrepancies between local and federal levels when it comes to integration discourses and practices. One expert explains that, on the local level, there is a common, pragmatic understanding of what integration is and how it can be achieved (Int. 15 17.07.2019). On the federal level, however, discourses and policies are shaped by a notion of 'threat' coming from migrants as the political climate turns increasingly hostile towards integration, especially when considered in conjunction with Muslim migrants (Int. 15 17.07.2019, Int. 12 28.06.2019). This has some consequences for children with migration background and their prospects for education. Children are increasingly held responsible for their own 'failure' and can be sanctioned (Int. 15 17.07.2019). This is not least evident in the shift from integrative measures to segregative measures in the field of education (e.g., 'German classes') (Int. 15 17.07.2019). "But children want to be recognized as children. They need recognition. Every child has his or her own abilities which must be promoted," as one expert noted (Int. 13 09.05.2019). Other experts similarly stressed the importance of unconditional recognition and appreciation (Int. 12 28.06.2019; Int. 11 13.06.2019, Int. 3 09.05.2019).

While schools play a crucial role in integration, the burden of it cannot be downloaded onto pedagogues, as one expert warned (Int. 4 14.05.2019). There is need to expand the public integration budget for school personnel and recruit social workers and psychologists to relieve teachers (Int. 4 14.05.2019). One expert stated that the question of good practices, such as involvement of school psychologists, sexual pedagogues, and social workers, is always tied to available resources and that we need more of it than we have now (Int. 12 28.06.2019). It is also important to provide teachers with awareness raising measures and to train teachers who have a

biography of asylum (Int. 4 14.05.2019). Another expert similarly noted that, unlike the pupils themselves, only few school principals speak a mother tongue other than German or have migration experience in their biographies (Int. 1 07.05.2019). The absence of teachers with an asylum background who would represent role models for migrant pupils is considered as indicative of the permeability of schools and universities (Int. 4 14.05.2019).

Other experts underlined the significance of parents' active involvement in their children's everyday school life. They see major gaps in migrant parents' knowledge and understanding of the Austrian school system and sometimes their expectations may run against those of the teachers. It is therefore important to have mediators to balance these at times contradictory expectations (Int. 1 07.05.2019; Int. 10 18.06.2019). An expert from a federal agency for educational concerns of minorities emphasized that the (mandatory) value orientation courses are important, especially for parents. These courses explain, for instance, how the education system works: "In the future we will no longer have this misinformation thanks to these courses" (Int. 10 18.06.2019). According to the expert, the transmission of values is particularly important because they are the basis, as the expert argued, for a peaceful coexistence" (Int. 10 18.06.2019).

4. Readiness for change and the role of research

Social research on migration proves to be an indispensable aspect of integration policies. Experts consider the added value of research to lie first and foremost in delivering objective data on migrants pertaining to their age, gender, country of origin, education level, heath condition, and other social categories. Here, the relationship between research and politics is one that is ideally straightforward: Research provides objective and accurate data which policy makers use to develop and implement social policy (Int. 10 16.08.2019). Experts note that researchers need to make a split between science and practice and not stay in their ivory tower (Int. 8 05.06.2019; Int. 14 17.07.2019). In addition, it is important to integrate the subject of observation into research and political decision making (Int. 13 09.05.2019). One expert explained that research should always accompany processes of migration and integration so that there is a chance for corrective interventions (Int. 4 14.05.2019). Questions pertaining to how the current group of migrants distinguish themselves from the previous 'guest worker' generation and what their specific needs are should be established by research simultaneous to migration and not in retrospect (Int. 4 14.05.2019). Another expert underlines the importance of linguistics and regrets that the academic interest in the topic has declined in recent years (Int. 1 07.05.2019). The same interviewee notes that teachers and school principals are generally very eager to promote integration but are often overwhelmed with the increasingly heterogeneity at schools and would therefore benefit from closer cooperation with researchers (Int. 1 07.05.2019). In addition, it is criticized that scientific results are often ignored in political decisions (Int. 13 09.05.2019; Int. 11 13.06.2019; Int. 3 09.05.2019). For instance, the remedial German classes have already been evaluated and it has been shown that they do not achieve the desired results – nonetheless, the concept is retained (Int. 13 09.05.2019).

One expert stressed the need for a comprehensive intersectional approach towards discrimination in schools and policy programmes dealing with this issue (Int. 12 28.06.2019). The interviewees questioned the extent to which the current type of school system is child-centred: They noted that "the Austrian school system is very difficult understand" (Int. 13 09.05.2019) and that "already at the age of ten the future life of the children [in Austria] is partly decided" (Int. 11 13.06.2019), referring to early-tracking mechanisms.

Besides, one expert criticizes the cuts in funding of projects by policymakers which impact the duration of projects negatively and render projects dependent on donations. These cuts are influenced in particular, for instance, by the shift of emphasis at the political level (Int. 11 13.06.2019).

5. Other issues arising from the interviews

Next to the issues directly addressed by us during the interviews based on our interview guideline, the responses of the experts raised two further issues. The first one concerns the federal state architecture of Austria. The federal organization of the policy areas of migration and integration represents a structural source of political ambivalence, operating as both structural barrier and leverage. Experts from Vienna, traditionally governed by the social democratic SPÖ (currently in coalition with the Green Party), confirm that the federal level, governed by the right-wing ÖVP-FPÖ coalition between 2017 and May 2019, has withdrawn its financial support for migration and integration policies for which the municipal level seeks to compensate. One expert adds that the financial pressure also stems from the overall austerity policies due to which public budgets tend to stagnate rather than grow. Thanks to the – though limited – fiscal power of the municipalities, integration goals can continue to persist on the municipal level as observed in our interviews with experts from Vienna.

The second issue arises from experts' various responses to the question pertaining to migrant children's needs (see 3. Migrant children's needs). Next to German classes and language acquisition, experts mentioned information, orientation, health, and housing as key needs of migrant children. Taken together, these responses boil down to the need for a holistic public policy approach to integration which considers all aspects of social life as interrelated rather than as isolated. The current neoliberal policy environment distinguishes policy areas from each other or allows only strategic connections between them. This way, policy areas are constructed as distinct entities that can be successfully managed with help of necessary tools and know-how. The variety of know-how and tools produced and implemented in the field of language acquisition for migrant children is illustrative in this regard. This technocratic-managerial approach to integration is reflected in the assumption about a straightforward reciprocity between research and migration policies (research → data and facts → public policy based on this data → successful integration policies) or in the belief that integration is a finite process that should be completed at some point. Currently, the mainstream discourse prioritizes German proficiency and the adaptation to 'Austrian values' as the most decisive form of knowledge and skill for successful integration. However, the responses of our interviews show that there is no legitimate reason why

health and housing are considered less relevant for integration compared to German proficiency and an understanding of 'Austrian values'. On the contrary, access to psychological therapy may be at least as decisive for migrant children's school success as good German skills while the relevancy of 'Austrian values' for children's well-being remains mostly questionable.

6. Main findings and discussion

Our interviews suggest that since 2015 the issue of migration and integration has attracted unprecedented public attention. One reason for this was that public authorities on municipal and federal levels were overwhelmed by the sudden influx of refugees to Austria. The state reacted by expanding the financial and institutional resources to accommodate the high number of people in need of orientation, information, education, vocational training and access to the labour market. This represented a political window of opportunity to negotiate funding for services for newly arrived people as well as establish German courses as a legal right for this group of people. At the same time, this led to stricter regulations and increased state scrutiny in migration and integration as evidenced in the introduction of the so-called integration agreement and sanctions arising from non-compliance with the agreement. The introduction of remedial German classes is illustrative of this ambivalent policy environment: On the one hand, German classes provide students with language training that is essential for their integration to the Austrian education system. On the other hand, as most experts remarked during our interviews, they are based on segregation where newly arrived migrant children have only limited access to local children and teachers other than German speaking teachers.

Experts also note that since the peak in 2015 and 2016, political interest in and financial resources dedicated to integration has declined. Often, temporary funding schemes expire without being extended or replaced. The short-sighted character of some measures deny that integration is a long-term goal that requires secure financial resources, political commitment and now-how.

Our interviews show that know-how has become an indispensable part of the migration and integration work. Municipal and federal public authorities cooperate closely with non-profit associations that operate as the extended arm of the state in providing services to migrants (e.g., German courses, orientation courses, counselling). The diversity of funding schemes on local, national and supranational levels has forced NGOs to professionalize in order to become eligible and compete over public funds.

With the exception of federal officials who refrained from making political statements during the interviews, experts generally agree that the political climate has turned increasingly hostile towards migrants. This is often explained by the rise (and government participation) of the right-wing nationalist party FPÖ. Some experts have noted that the electoral success of the right-wing party is in part due to EU's failure to handle migration collectively and in solidarity. Lack of similar structures of reception in member states despite the EU directive has triggered a race to the bottom, as one expert noted. The policies of right-wing governments across Europe currently build

on the vision to prevent migrants from arriving in the respective host country and to provide as bad reception conditions as possible for those who still do so.

Experts agree that the goal of integration should be to become equal members of the society and participate as equals. Effective health, housing, labour market, and education policies are considered to be particularly relevant for integration. For children and young people, schooling and vocational orientation are frequently mentioned. In conjunction with this, one expert underlined that young migrants' academic and professional prospects are often undermined by psychological trauma and pointed to the long waiting time for therapy. Acquisition of German skills is considered essential for children's integration into the Austrian education system and society although some experts expressed dissatisfaction with the singling out of German skills as the most crucial requirement for successful integration. These experts demand a holistic perspective to integration of which German skills is a part of. This critique includes the overall fetishization of German skills along with 'Austrian values' constructed as the main pillars of integration.

7. Concluding remarks

We used a critical political science perspective to map Austrian migration and integration policy landscape and assess new trends in this area with a focus on migrant pupils. We asked 15 experts from various sectors and levels of governance about their work, experiences and assessment on issues related to migration and integration of migrant children. We find that the social integration of migrant pupils at schools has become a major policy area for different stakeholders. Federal and municipal governments, academia, NGOs and schools work together to implement integration measures. Contemporary measures in the field signal two seemingly contradictory developments. On one hand, in line with the influx of refugees in 2015 and the mass mediatization of migration, integration has become a key aspect of Austrian politics, receiving growing political attention as well extended financial and institutional resources. This signals an institutional acknowledgement of migrant children's precarious social position and multi-layered needs. On the other hand, this need for action has exposed integration practices to increased state regulation and bureaucratization. Although most experts welcome increased public commitment to integration, one should consider that this often goes hand in hand with the construction of integration as a distinct policy area whose connection to only some selected policy areas are acknowledged (e.g., to education but less so to psychological health). Indicators, measurement and assessment tools, value courses, tests, and legally binding integration goals (as in the Integration Agreement) construct integration as a quantifiable and verifiable phenomenon disregarding that assumed social 'difference' between local and nationals are forms of social inequality and that mainstream integration discourses themselves are the outcome of inequality. In the present time characterized by right-wing backlashes, it seems of outmost importance that social research discloses these mechanisms and contributes to the critical public debate on migration and integration.



DENMARK

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1. Introduction and sample

This sample overview contains a very brief presentation of the ten stakeholders who were interviewed, their institutions and their expertise in the field of migrant children integration. The interviewed persons are:

- Three persons from NGOs working with migrants on issues regarding their schooling, education and language learning in coordination with the municipalities across the country and as operators at all the reception centres and immigration centres, i.e. *Red Cross* and *Danish Refugee Council*. These stakeholders are interviewed in their capacity as experts in the field, due to their experience of working in close and daily contact with migrant families and/or migrant children, and because of their knowledge and experience of the consequences of Danish legislation on migrants.

- Two municipal consultants and coordinators for newly arrived students and second language teaching in general. The interviewees perform daily teaching, consultancy

and decision-making roles in educational aspects and planning for migrant children and children's paths of integration in the Danish school system.

- One local representative/delegate from the organisation of school students – a national organisation with representatives from the student councils in schools, both public and private. The Danish MiCREATE team found it important to learn to what extent migration and the integration of migrant children play a role in the student organisation. The student organisation is relatively often cited in the media, and this organisation has strong opinions and ideas about the child-centred approach.

- One executive committee member of an association of school parents. This is an organisation that has representatives on school boards in every school nationwide. This interview person (the interviewee) contributes to this report by expressing a parental view as well as the view of a school board.

- One school and integration researcher, employed at a national research centre, with special knowledge about ethnic minority children and social relationships.

- Two politicians, one left-wing and one right-wing, with opinions (and/or a position as spokesperson) on migration, education and/or integration. The left-wing politician is a Member of Parliament, and the right-wing politician is a member of a municipal council.

2. Policies and practices

This section summarises how the experts assess the migrant children integration policies, programmes and actions (in the educational sector and elsewhere) of the state and the EU. Their assessments revolve around eight themes, which will be examined below.

2.1 Repatriation policy

According to most of the interviewed stakeholders and experts, the overall problem for migrants and refugees in Denmark is currently the migrants' feelings of uncertainty, 'temporariness' and non-permanent status. This problem has increased since 2015 with the new *repatriation policy* (see Report D3.4). This causes depression among young refugees, who lose the motivation for education and/or further education, and the feelings of 'temporariness' is detrimental to their physical and mental health in general, not only among young people.

According to the experts, repatriation policy measures play a vital role in creating a sense of uncertainty and psychological pressure in migrant children. Part of the repatriation policy is that employment, rather than – as was previously the case – education, is used as the sole criterion to determine a person's eligibility for residence. According to the interviewees, the

consequence of this is that young people stagnate, have no motivation for education and development of their potential and focus solely on employment.

To explain a little further what the repatriation policy means in practice in Denmark, some brief background information is needed. Hardly any migrants are granted permanent residency. They are granted only a provisional residence permit, and recently, some municipalities in Denmark have even followed the former government's bill and sent a letter to families – including people with Danish citizenship – to encourage them to go home.

Asylum seekers and rejected asylum seekers are provided with fiscal support to start life in their homeland, provided that they leave Denmark voluntarily. However, many people choose not to leave after they have been refused a residence permit and are living at an exit centre –either a *transit* or *departure* centre. According to the centres housing asylum seekers and rejected asylum seekers, the policy has changed since 2015 (four kinds of asylum centres):

- Reception centres - for asylum seekers who are newly arrived in Denmark.

- Accommodation centres - for asylum seekers whose applications are being processed in Denmark (The Danish Immigration Service (ref. 1))

- *Transit Centre* for rejected asylum seekers, who are cooperating with the authorities on an exit plan (however, families are staying in these centres for years if, for example, their homeland is refusing to take its citizens back)

- *Departure Centre*. There are a couple of these centres. They house foreigners who are rejected asylum seekers and who are not participating in a departure plan set up by the Danish authorities. The difference between a transit centre and a departure centre is the rejected asylum seeker's consent to participate with the authorities, and:

    - 'Individuals at a departure centre are normally required to reside at the centre (opholdspligt). Individuals with tolerated stay status, who have been ordered to leave Denmark by a court order, whose residence permit has lapsed under the Aliens Act section 21 b (1) or who are administratively expelled under the Aliens Act section 25 must inform the departure centre if they are not going to be at the centre between the hours of 11pm and 6am (notification obligation).'

    - 'A foreign national who does not have the right to reside in Denmark and who is not co-operating with immigration authorities on his/her departure will normally be residing at a departure centre. The Immigration Service began the practice of transferring rejected asylum seekers and others to Departure Centre Sjælsmark in February 2015. Since March 2016 rejected asylum seekers have also been transferred to Departure Centre Kærshovedgård. The

> Department of Prisons and Probation operates both departure centres.' (The Danish Immigration Service (ref. 2)

According to The Danish Immigration Service's webpage and the interviewees, schooling, education, after-school leisure time and social welfare measures for the families and children in the centres are not operated by the *Department of Prisons and Probation*, but by teaching and pedagogy professionals and social workers from the Red Cross and volunteers from The Danish Refugee Council. Research and publications about *Asylum Pedagogic*[2] were published in 2017; see more about this research below in point 4.4.

For some asylum seekers it is still possible to live in a private housing arrangement. On the webpage it also says: 'However, certain asylum seekers can be approved to live in privately-owned homes not affiliated with an asylum centre.'

One of the interviewees states that families and children are living in all four categories of asylum centres mentioned above. In all four categories there are children who were born in Denmark and who have Danish as their first language. Some of the children attend public schools and hence receive age-appropriate education. Therefore, they are growing up with friends and a social network at a local school – though still living at the centre with their parents.

Children who cannot receive age-appropriate public education, e.g. because they are newcomers and their Danish language skills are still insufficient, or because they are traumatised or vulnerable in some way, might for instance attend a school unit at the centre, or the public school's reception class in a flexible mix between a reception class and a compulsory foundation class (see more below). And, as a final schooling option, there are a couple of schools outside the asylum centres where only children from the centres attend the classes.

Other interviewees explain that because of the Danish repatriation policy, NGOs and municipality consultants are being contacted by teachers and school principals in need of advice because they do not know what to do or how to help children when one or both parents are suddenly expelled and under orders to leave the country.

According to several of the interviewed stakeholders, the main problem and main obstruction to integration is this attitude from the authorities, which gives immigrants and refugees the feeling that temporary and non-permanent residence is their only option in Denmark. The interviewees state that this intentionally causes stress to refugee families and traumatises them.

One interviewee explains that the background to this is that the former Minister of Integration, Inger Støjberg, wanted to implement a tougher and highly visible asylum policy

[2] Thingstrup, Signe Hvid; Kampmann, Jan & Vilholm, Fina Lewenhaupt. (2017) *Rapport: Asylpædagogik i Røde Cross (Report: Asylum-Pedagogy in Red Cross*) Roskilde University, University College Capital and Red Cross

in order to make refugees and migrants choose other countries in which to seek asylum from the beginning, before they even arrive in Denmark. The former minister openly explained in the media that she 'sought to go to the limits of human rights'. To give an example of how much pressure that puts on a child, one interviewee told of a fifteen-year-old girl who has been living in a departure centre all her life. The girl tried to commit suicide once, and if she is going to be expelled, that would be her only option again, she says. The pressure sets both adults and children back.

2.2 The need of funding

All the interviewees mention on one or more occasion that the field of integration in general needs funding in Denmark. They mention the need for resources and initiatives for integration because special education, second language education, social services and income support for migrant families and newcomers have been subject to serious cost cutting over time. Consequently some families, and not only migrant families, are facing poverty. The interviewees mention this in different ways. We summarise some of them as follows:

- Poverty is mentioned as a main factor that excludes some children from socialising in leisure communities, for example, athletics associations, sports clubs and elsewhere in organisations where volunteers as leaders, coaches, etc. make a huge effort to invite everyone inside these communities and to make sure that membership costs are low. The Danish tradition of association activities is strong and helps to bring local communities together, both in urban and rural regions of the country. However, many families can no longer afford either a member's fee or the clothing, sport shoes etc. to take part in these leisure time activities. This new poverty isolates children from social activities. The left-wing politician finds that problems with integration are mostly based on socio-economic problems in general and should be solved as such and not as cultural or other differences.

- The educational system loses too many children and adolescents who are unable to progress through any form of youth education (either vocational or theoretical). Stronger societal support is needed for children and adolescents to succeed, and it is pivotal for teachers in general to have a stronger focus on second language teaching education. At the same time, educators and schools need to be more realistic as to, for example, how far in education and professional specialisation newcomers can go when they are confronted with a new language as teenagers or adults (further developed below).

2.3 The media discourse and the rhetoric concerning migration

The interviewees also cite the rhetoric in the Danish media (since the noughties) as a main problem, and the discussions and the legislation (in particular between 2015 and 2019) as

a problem not only for migrant children, but also in terms of the overall intercultural encounters between people and between sub-groups and segments in society. The discourse and policies have not changed significantly since 2015 and were prevalent much earlier than that. The background for this reflection is that during the noughties the tendency to describe refugees and migrants in a negative way was openly introduced by the Danish People's Party (see more in Report D3.3), and the rhetoric changed significantly compared to earlier. Research carried out in Denmark by Reva Jaffe-Walter also showed - via what she calls 'policy ethnography' - how narratives float, for example, from the teacher to the classroom. What changed significantly during the years between 2015 and 2019 was the legislation for asylum seekers as mentioned earlier. However, one possible consequence of this is that the tone has sharpened even further.

2.4 The consequences of new policy measures

According to one interviewee, no positive progress has been made with regard to the rights of migrant children. Indeed it appears that the opposite is true: she mentions the 'ghetto plan' (see D. 3.1 on National and Legal Provisions in Denmark) and language screenings of children in grade 0 as examples of unnecessary pressure put on people and not least small children. A brief background explanation about the language screenings is needed here. From the school year 2019-2020, students in grade 0 (pre-school children aged 5-6) in schools that have a minimum of 30 per cent of students living in residential areas, which are on the so called ghetto list, are subject to a screening test. Many teachers see the test as a valuable tool, due to its dialogical pedagogical approach. However, generally, the bill has met with severe criticism because students face the consequence of having to take grade 0 again if they fail the screening test.

2.5 Second language teaching and second language acquisition

Second language teaching and acquisition is another theme that the interviewees discuss in the interviews. Interviewees mention that knowledge about the areas of second language acquisition and language teaching from research, from good practice, from teacher education, etc. does exist, but that this knowledge is either not well or unevenly disseminated and its implementation among schools and among teachers is uneven. It is also not prioritised at the decision-making level in the municipalities.

As background information regarding this theme, second language teaching is neither a widespread practice for teachers in all school disciplines, nor is it central to the teachers' basic pedagogical knowledge, despite the fact that these were originally the formulated intentions in the most recent reform of teacher education.

As one interviewee points out: there is already much fully and clearly described knowledge on how children learn a second language, but somehow this knowledge does not reach the teachers. Teachers and pedagogues are too busy, and it is difficult to reach them

with research-based advice if they are not really motivated. The teachers are too busy with their everyday teaching and ignore the field of second language acquisition. The schools need to prioritise second language acquisition in general.

Another interviewee regrets that Danish as a second language is no longer an independent discipline in the teacher training curriculum. The idea was that more student teachers should learn about it, hence its inclusion in the teacher training curriculum for all teachers and not only for language teachers. The argument for the decision to include second language acquisition in the teacher training curriculum was that it would, in the same way as *subject-specific language,* be a responsibility that all teachers in all school disciplines would bear – but the interviewee's impression is that this is not actually the case. Instead, there is much less focus on second language learning in general, and the teachers are not well-educated in this area.

Furthermore and related to this, the interviewees with knowledge of second language acquisition specify that first-generation migrants are naturally behind when they first attend a Danish school on arrival in the country, and often the children continue to be behind linguistically compared to classmates during education and later on with jobs etc., because they do not have the same linguistic resources as native speakers. This is to be expected, and if we have unrealistic expectations and establish goals to change that, it is a problem and we put further pressure on the children – such as in allowing them to fail grade 0. Regarding second and third-generation migrants, on the other hand, one of the interviewees specifies that it is unreasonable for professionals not to have high expectations of a student. As mentioned, this is one of the areas where interviewees demand a holistic and individual approach when evaluating a child's needs.

Newcomers in 6th grade upwards are experiencing difficulties in catching up with their local peers, both in learning Danish and a subject-specific language. It is easier for students who already speak English, although these students may also experience the difficulty of not being encouraged to learn Danish in order to be able to communicate. Children who can speak and understand English (or play-English/ 'legesprog') are better off in terms of integration than children who do not have a mutual third language to share in school.

In many respects, the older children are the group with the largest challenges as newcomers, because they have no subject-specific language, but they also face challenges in relation to identity development and have more concerns to deal with than the younger children. A major challenge for teachers and parents of teenagers is they are not as close to the child as they were earlier in the child's life, e.g. parents cannot arrange play dates for their teenager with other parents like they could when the child were younger.

2.6 Ignorance of discriminating behaviour and speech

Talking about the conditions in Denmark, one interviewee observes that there is a difficult balance between on the one hand recognising that in many cases teachers are doing

their best and have the best of intentions, and on the other hand, daring to talk about the discrimination that teachers also expose children to. In Denmark we practice democratic dialogue in school, but it is rare to talk openly about discrimination in schools, and rare to systematically train students in political agency in relation to discrimination. It may be that this needs to happen more if the voices of migrant children in Denmark are to be heard.

2.7 The need for a holistic approach

One general problem is that the focus lies on language skills and language learning rather than on social wellbeing and the formation of social networks, e.g. buddy arrangements for newcomers are not as commonplace as they could be. Solutions to this, such as a municipality ensuring that children get to join the badminton club, are not expensive. The interviewees recommend that not only language, but several aspects of life must be considered if migrant children's lives are to change for the better. Among other things, more attention should be paid to health because of heavy cuts in social benefits. Another area to consider is the need for migrant parents to understand the Danish school system. One example is the ongoing problem for newcomers of understanding how to communicate in the omnipresent digital language of the Internet portal, *Parent Intra,* a portal that connects the school and the teacher to the parents and connects the parents in a class to each other. Interviewees also mention the need for research to ensure high-quality teaching, expectations of professionals, making friends as a newcomer and other aspects as regards helping migrants to integrate in society and at school. There are many aspects to consider, all of which are important in a holistic approach. We may know a lot about individual factors when it comes to helping migrant families and integration, but there are a great many aspects and we need knowledge about how it all works in combination.

2.8 Need of knowledge when migration patterns are changing

The policy in Europe as regards receiving refugees from crises in the Middle East has changed, and one stakeholder mentions that there is a clear need for knowledge about other migrant groups: we need research about Eastern European migrant families and children's needs. New migration patterns are being seen in Denmark now where parents are coming as working immigrants. Some parents are working a lot, spending many hours away from home each day. In that situation, some parents are leaving their children with grandparents in their homeland, others bring their children with them to Denmark but are not present at parents' meetings in school and some are very difficult for the school to contact. We see some teenagers who do not have close relationships with their parents because their parents have been absent while they were growing up. Knowledge about other groups is needed as well – Philippine women married to Danish men is mentioned as one example.

3. Migrant children's needs

This section summarises how the experts see the migrant children's needs and how policies and practices impact on them, as well as the experts' knowledge about the integration policies, with specific focus on their recommendations for education.

3.1 Need of safety, confidence and recognition

First and foremost, the children and the families need rest, a sense of safety and peace of mind and it is important for them to trust that they have a future. According to the interviewees working with migrant children and their families on a daily basis, one important ingredient in this is to approach every child with recognition and appreciation. The interviewees point out that the main problem is that asylum families and asylum children in general need recognition and to be treated as individuals with a multitude of needs, rather than as clients. Refugees and migrants are strong, resourceful people who have coped with difficult circumstances and conditions in their lives. Hence, the interviewees observe them to be strong, decisive people. Any passivity is likely to be a direct result of these life circumstances and the consequences and long-term effects that might follow from them.

Another interviewee with other experiences asks us to look at all the businesses and industries that take in migrants and support them in their integration into Danish working life. This interviewee sees businesses that are spending time and effort to overcome the language barrier, on the one hand presenting the Danish mentality of showing up at work on time, whilst on the other hand not serving up 'compulsory pork and bacon' in the canteen, but providing diverse menus. In intercultural encounters we can meet each other halfway. If we look at many institutions, athletics associations and sports clubs, businesses and industries at the local and municipal level, there are many examples of meeting newcomers with an open-minded and intercultural attitude and the intention of meeting others halfway.

These suggestions are also inherent in the general solutions and recommendations made by the interviewee in the following section with regard to welcoming migrants into the local community and in local networks.

3.2 Reception and welcoming of migrant children in the local community

One interviewee observes that the crisis with a high number of refugees in Europe in 2015 was a wake-up call for many to realise that we in Denmark need an active settlement policy. In her field of expertise working with migrant children and newcomers as a municipal coordinator, one change that has had an important impact is that reception classes (see Report D.3.1.), which used to be isolated entities containing all newcomers in all the school subjects in the same reception class, are now structured instead to welcome newcomers in the compulsory classes in the local school neighbourhood, and to support them by giving

them extra lessons to help them learn the Danish language. This structure is called *the flexible-receiving system*. For children too vulnerable to attend compulsory local classes from the beginning, there are solutions to protect these children and enable their integration in the local school to take place more gradually.

The interviewee with research expertise in the field mentions that research is now needed to find out which solutions work best in different contexts and to compare the *reception class*-solution with the *flexible-receiving system*.

Another interviewee explains that the reception class policy isolated newcomers. The interviewees and experts in general agree that the practice of sending newcomers to their local school where they attend basic classes, making individual judgements as to how much extra language support a child needs and organising this within a flexible framework is much better for the child. The child has better opportunities to build social relationships in their local neighbourhood and participate in local activities.

Progress in this field depends very much on the possibilities available to encourage the settlement of migrant families in the different local contexts. Currently, the largest migrant groups that the coordinators are handling in the municipalities are made up of newcomers arriving as result of family reunification, and migrant groups other than refugees. Today, due to the flexible system, more schools than ever before are equipped to receive migrant children. For some schools this is very new, which means that migrant families and migrant children are met with many different attitudes, and that the families are welcomed in many ways.

One interviewee finds it very positive that newcomers are placed in the local school neighbourhood. She suggests that the school and municipal's professionals should embrace the whole family-experience in their job and collaborate internally between local authorities. Her idea is that the different professionals should embrace the *whole* family instead of passing the family members around like a football between different authorities, which puts presses on the parents from many sides, involving demands that are not aligned and maybe meetings that are difficult for parents to schedule around their working life. Instead we must look at them as whole families in need of integration in many aspects of life, i.e. we must take a holistic view. One way of listening to the parents' views is to set up joint meetings between the families and both parents and the child's teacher/pedagogue and/or social worker. This is time-consuming for the professionals, but this use of time often saves a lot of time elsewhere!

Solutions here revolve around receiving migrant families locally and in many cases reflect the interviewees' suggestions concerning the need to look at the integration of people from a holistic perspective. Therefore, these issues will be developed further in the next section: Holistic approach to meeting the child and family.

3.3 Holistic outset in meeting the child and family

One interviewee has a lot of experience working with teachers in an action research project and working with teachers as they do their supplementary training in order to develop their language teaching skills. She likes it when the teachers tell her about their feeling of being empowered by their action developments. The teachers feel empowered by their own pedagogical development of problem solving and they feel empowered when they are able to support the language learning of the individual child by stretching this particular child's language to develop their knowledge in Danish, by mobilising the child's own resources by, for example, using the child's mother tongue in class, or by using other available languages. Alternatively, the children might use the family and the family's experiences or other classmates in order to build new language repertoires.

According to the interviewees, it is important that extended network meetings are held, at which the child is the central object of concern, and that these meetings include not only school employees but also social workers, parents and professionals such as integration consultants, etc. This is one of the main factors in a holistic view around a child and its family. One of the school's municipal coordinators also recommends this holistic approach in order to show consideration for the family, since the parents are not only expected to be involved in their children's school, but also to attend Danish classes themselves, do work experience, etc. This means a lot of meetings. This interviewee sees her role as municipal coordinator, informing teachers on how to work with migrant children and facilitating the integration of migrant children and their families by spreading knowledge such as the following:

- It is important to include the parents more in the integration process of the children and to embrace all the networks around a child.

- The parents need concrete instructions on how to cooperate with Danish schools, for example how to help with homework, etc. It is necessary that teachers and consultants are VERY specific when explaining how to help a child with their homework. The interviewee, who is a consultant in Danish as a second language teacher, often informs the parents AND the teacher at the school at the same time about how to help the child, at the same meeting.

- Newly arrived migrant children are integrated into their local environment instead of being placed in separate schools where they risk isolation. This strategy means that more schools are getting in touch with migrant children, including schools that have no experience in the field.

  She recommends that teachers obtain further training in Danish as a second language and that they gain more knowledge and form networks with each other on teaching migrant children, between schools that have experience in this area and those which do not.

- In order to help migrant children, schools need realistic expectations as regards how

much a child can learn. It is often not realistic to expect children to reach the same academic or linguistic level as local children.

3.4 Addressing the child perspective and recommendations for a holistic approach

The main recommendation made by all the interviewees is that professionals should have the ability to enter into dialogue with the child and professionals should have the ability to listen and learn from the child and hear the child's experiences and perspectives.

Interviewees comment on the general lack of use of the child's own language resources in most schools. As an example, the lack of mother tongue teaching reflects a lack of use of a child's resources in its first language since mother tongue teaching was suspended in 2002.

The recommendation is therefore that it is necessary for school leaders and municipal leaders to take a lead in spearheading these processes for change. There is a great variation in the use of language counsellors in schools. In some places they have an in-depth knowledge of every single child and in other places they do not know the children. Often the professionals have no knowledge about a child when it arrives at a new school, such as the child's language skills or any trauma that they may have suffered.

Addressing recommendations about what is needed in research, one interviewee mentions London and its school reform 18-20 years ago, showing how it has actually succeeded in improving the school results of migrant children. What we need is for the teachers to tell the researchers what we need to develop and not the other way round. The recommendation is that professionals must have experienced a need for change – what gaps in knowledge can we search for? For example, better collaboration between teachers and parents ... how to?

In general, the interviewees welcome the child-centred approach in MiCREATE, but they also recommend that the child-centred approach be supplemented with research using bottom-up instead of top-down strategies. In other words, they recommend an inside-out-approach, i.e. that the researchers listen to the children *in class*, the professionals and teachers *in class* and develop actions and changes in close collaboration with the people working with the children on a daily basis, *in class*.

Below we present some of the stakeholders' recommendations and concrete examples that they have highlighted as projects that are being implemented and are relevant to the MiCREATE project. According to the interviewees, there are already strong tools in use in different places among professionals and volunteers working within the field. Some example are provided below:

MindSpring[3]

The Refugee Council's department for competence arranges supported peer to peer in exile networking, a concept involving between eight and ten meetings. This is known as the MindSpring programme and has been imported from The Netherlands. MindSpring coaches train volunteers who have been living in Denmark for a long time and with migrant experience themselves to organise and hold dialogue meetings for newcomers with the aim of opening up dialogue among the migrants and supporting problem-solving and empowerment within the groups of migrants themselves. The volunteer is known as 'the village coach', and this village coach works with the MindSpring consultant to shape and structure each meeting.

The meetings have different topics related to fleeing and being a refugee or a migrant:

- the meeting of cultures
- facing new norms
- identity work
- themes related to parenthood such as
    - social control
    - upbringing
    - gender issues
- stress and trauma

The Refugee Council has so far taken some 1400 adults through the MindSpring programme and also successfully conducts these dialogue meetings with children aged from 9 to 14. Around 100 children have been through the programme, and the refugee council continues to develop this concept for children, adolescents as well as for adults. Evaluations hitherto show that children who are most in need of help and guidance are also those who benefit the most. The MindSpring programme yields very good results, especially for children with problems associated with stress, trauma and loneliness.

Pedagogies for working with refugee children

Another tool developed in the field by researchers in collaboration with the professionals from the Red Cross is known as *The Asylum-Pedagogical Diamond: 7 Asylum-Pedagogical Principles:*

[3] MindSpring is a group programme for refugees about life in exile https://mindspring-grupper.dk/about-mindspring

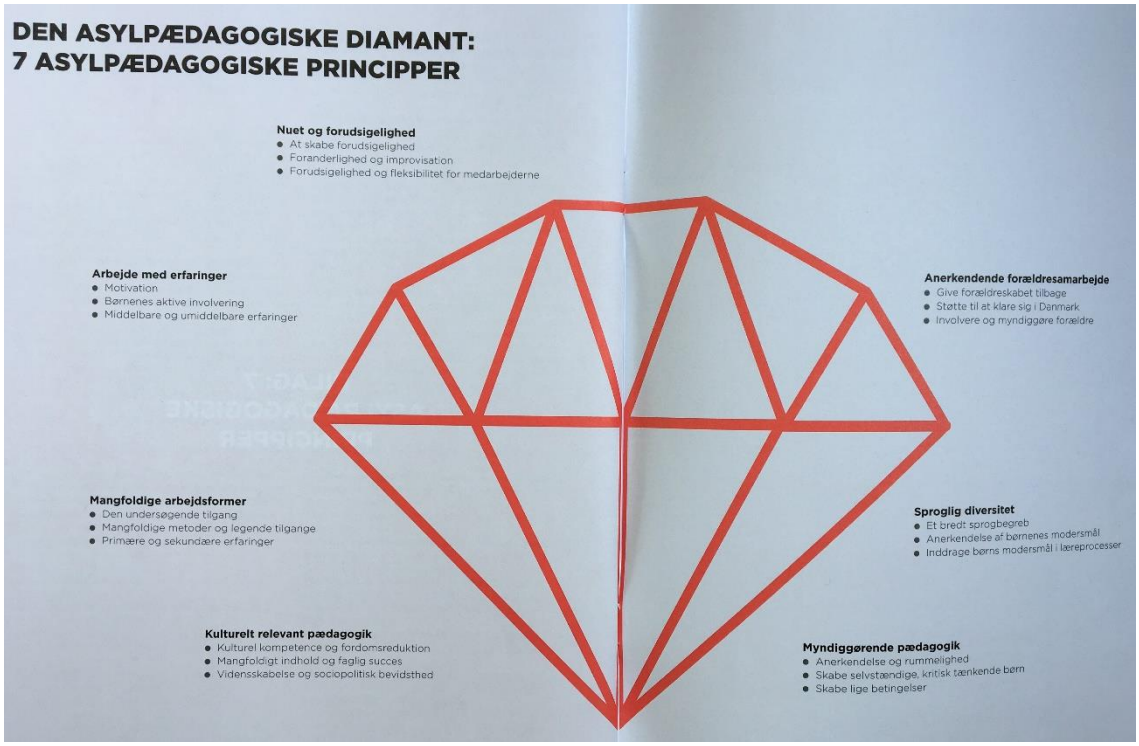


Figure 1 "The Asylum-Pedagogical Diamond"

by Thingstrup, Signe Hvid; Kampmann, Jan & Vilholm, Fina Lewenhaupt. (2017) *Rapport: Asylpædagogik i røde kors (*Report: Asylum-Pedagogy in Red Cross), Roskilde University, University College Capital and Red Cross, pp. 78-79)

The seven principles in the diamond metaphor are as follows (translated from the figure):

The here and now and predictability:

To shape predictability
Changeability and improvisation
Predictability and flexibility for the employee

Working with experiences:

Motivation
Children's active involvement
Indirect and immediate experiences

Multiple ways of working:

The inquiry approach
Manifold methods and play
Primary and secondary experiences

Culturally relevant pedagogy:

Cultural competence and reduction of prejudice
Manifold content and subject-specific success
Knowledge creation and socio-political awareness

Recognition/appreciation approach to parent collaboration:

Give parenthood back
Give support to manage well in Denmark
Involve and give authority to parents / empowerment

Language diversity:

A broad concept of language
Recognition of the child's mother tongue language
Use of a child's mother tongue language in learning processes

Empowering pedagogy:

Recognition and inclusiveness
Create independent, critical thinking children
Create equal conditions

4. Readiness for change

The stakeholders and experts interviewed in the study who work with migrant children have a strong foundation and readiness for change, and some are themselves developers of child-centred pedagogy and action for social change with a holistic approach. They are aware that a key part of their job is to approach a child and its family with recognition and appreciation, and they all want to meet the children's and migrants' individual requirements. But they are also asking for better opportunities and conditions within which to carry out their tasks.

One interviewee calls for a need to abandon binary thinking in Danish society. For example, it is a widespread attitude towards diversity in school classes that a class or school with more than 20 per cent non-white students cannot at the same time be a school for especially clever children. It is always either-or for school leaders and parents, and then the parents tend to move their white children if the percentage increases. *How can we change this binary thinking?* Asks the interviewee.

Stakeholders working with migrant children and families as well as practising teachers are ready for change. Their professional attitude runs counter to essentialism and the one-dimensional view that often characterises the political discourse and reduces children to being just 'bilingual' or of a certain ethnic group. The focus of their attitude and discourse about the problems and benefits of migration is more positive and they ask schools and society to see and treat every child and family as individuals with different needs and resources.

5. Other issues arising from the interviews

We asked ourselves whether any unforeseen perspectives had emerged during the interviews and in this outline and summary, an important point is the recommendation mentioned above in relation to recommendations as to what is needed in research. A perspective that might enrich the MiCREATE field work even more may be the interviewee's point: 'What we need is for the teachers to tell the researchers what we need to develop and not the other way round'. The recommendation is that a need for change must be experienced in order to establish the motivation for the teachers and school to change their daily routines and take a bottom-up instead of top-down approach, an inside-out-approach in classroom research, which also requires the researchers to listen to both the children, the professionals and teachers *in class* and develop actions and changes in close collaboration with the people working with the children on a daily basis.

6. Main findings and discussion

In this part we summarise the main findings and discuss them briefly from the perspective of the relevance to the MiCREATE project.

The overall problem for migrants and refugees in Denmark is their feeling of uncertainty, 'temporariness' and non-permanent status due to the repatriation policy. This causes depression among the young refugees, they lose the motivation for education and/or further education, and the feeling of 'temporariness' causes poorer physical and mental health in general. Knowledge exists already, but it does not reach the professionals and authorities working with migrant children and families and thus refugees are frightened to come to Denmark and seek asylum. This is an overwhelming problem for all concerned. It is a disaster for the migrants, and it is a massive challenge for the professionals working with them. For the MiCREATE project it will of course have an impact on the families' trust in us as researchers. It might have an impact on the desirability of the children and not least the teenagers to cooperate with the project. This might prevent them from approaching the project with an open mind, meaning that they lose the opportunity to benefit positively from the laboratories that we set up in MiCREATE.

The interviewees also highlight the more challenged teenagers as part of a migrant population that requires particular attention. The teenagers face more severe language problems, identity problems and relational problems. We in the MiCREATE team will probably encounter similar obstacles in our meetings with the teenagers to the ones that the experts are telling us about. This raises the question of how we as a research team can prepare ourselves in the best way possible.

The holistic approach in all the aspects highlighted by the experts show, on the one hand, that strong potentials in practice are just waiting to be disseminated, and, on the other hand, that knowledge and good practices are unevenly disseminated.

One approach mentioned is the holistic language approach, and this has strong pedagogical potential in action research when mobilising both the teachers' and children's feeling of empowerment in their genuine and individual problem-solving in both teaching and learning Danish. In projects like this, language teaching is unfolded within a holistic framework involving the child's resources and social network. This is also an example of the inside-out perspective required in the research approach and a factor of motivation for teachers and children as well as – hopefully – the visiting researchers such as ourselves in the MiCREATE project in the coming season. This example of holistic thinking in research actions can inspire us when we are developing the pedagogical tools and the questionnaires for professionals, parents and children. Thus, the implementation of a concept like the holistic language approach is worth considering. The core of the concept is that teachers, using dialogic teaching practices, educate the participants to problem-solve themselves.

Finally, it is worth highlighting the holistic and empowering approach that the already well-established and positively evaluated MindSpring concept is showing in the field.

7. Conclusion

We draw three main conclusions from this 'Report D.3.2 Stakeholders, their views and their needs. Report on the analysis of interviews with experts'. Firstly, there is no doubt that the stricter policies towards immigrants and the new repatriation policy have had an enormous impact on the migrant children as a group, and of course a special impact on asylum seekers. According to most of the interviewed stakeholders and experts, the overall problem for migrants and refugees in Denmark is currently the migrants' feelings of uncertainty, 'temporariness' and non-permanent status. This problem has increased since 2015 with the new repatriation policy. This causes depression among young refugees, who lose the motivation for education and/or further education, and the feeling of 'temporariness' is detrimental to their physical and mental health in general, not only among young people. According to the experts, repatriation policy measures play a vital role in creating a sense of uncertainty and psychological pressure in migrant children.

Secondly, experts and stakeholders demand a holistic approach when Danish society receives migrants in all aspects, i.e. in healthcare, social support, as local reception communities, and, of course, in the perspective of the MiCREATE project when encountering the children and adolescents in school and in the classroom. In their understanding of wholeness, a key point is the recognition of the child and the child's individual resources and perspectives in life. The interviewees demand not least a holistic approach to language, which also makes use of and activates the individual child's language resources and repertoires.

Thirdly, stakeholders working with migrant children and families as well as practising teachers are ready for change. Their professional attitude runs counter to the essentialist and one- dimensional view that often characterises the political discourse and reduces

children to being just 'a bilingual child' or a member of a certain ethnic group. Rather, the focus of their attitude and discourse about the problems and benefits of migration is more positive and they ask schools and society to see and treat every child and family as individuals with different needs and resources.

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POLAND

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1. Introduction and sample

During the period between May and September 2019 we have contacted and interviewed 14 experts and stakeholders, professionally active in the field of migration and integration. Three people represented the regional (voivodship) centers for teachers' training, which are part of the governmental training network supervised by the Ministry of Education. This Ministry is responsible for the general education in Poland, school curriculums and the advancement of the teachers' competences. First two women interviewed are living in Poznań and are working as specialists for the migrants' children and methodical consultants for the teachers who teach Polish as foreign language in the Poznań's Centre of the In-Service Teachers Training. Both have several years (over decade) of experience, being simultaneously teachers. One of the expert additionally is active as the non-governmental worker in the Migrant Info Point, an initiative run by the Centre on Migration Research Foundation in Poznań. Third of the interviewed women, employed in the teachers training institutions, is working in Gliwice (Upper Silesia) and represents the Voivodship Methodical Centre in Katowice (the capital city of the region). She is methodical consultant for the Polish teaching practice with twenty years of experience.

The next group of experts were consisted of the representatives of the local governments or institutions controlled or financed by the local governments that were established in order to manage integration of the foreigners in municipalities. In Polish system of education the local governments are the institutions who are running the public schools in Poland. These sort of interviewed experts represented Polish cities with the largest population of migrants or with oldest tradition of the migrants' integration: Warsaw (the capital city of Poland and largest city in Mazovia region), Wrocław (Lower Silesia region), Kraków (The Lesser Poland region), Lublin (the Lubelszczyzna region) and Łódź (Łódzkie region). We spoke though with the representative of Warsaw Centre of Social and Educational Innovations (Warszawskie Centrum Innowacji Społeczno-Edukacyjnych), two experts in Wrocław Centre of Social Development – the Team for Intercultural Dialogue (Wrocławskie Centum Rozwoju Społecznego – Zespół Dialogu Międzykulturowego), the director of the Intercultural Bureau in the Department of Health and Social Policy in the City of Krakow (Referat ds Wielokulturowości Wydziału Polityki Społecznej i Zdrowia Urzędu Miasta Krakowa), the expert in the Bureau of Social Participation in the City of Lublin (Biuro Partycypacji Społecznej Urzędu Miasta Lublina) and with two experts in the Bureau of the Social Participation in the City of Łódź and City's Social Service Centre (Biuro ds. Partycypacji Społecznej Urzędu Miasta Łodzi i Miejski Ośrodek Pomocy Społecznej).

The civic groups were represented by two non-governmental activists from Warsaw's foundations active in the field of migrants' integration who are also leading projects for the migrants' children in schools. Both organizations have many years' experience in the field of migrants support and numerous best integrative practices introduced all over the Poland. We interviewed also an activist from Gdańsk who is working in the Pomeranian organization supporting migrating and refugee women rights and simultaneously is hired as the academic by the University of Gdańsk. The last interview was conducted with the guardian of the foreigners in the reception center for asylum seekers in Grotniki (Łódź agglomeration).

The respondents were selected according to their professional practice, knowledge and experience to represent the whole spectrum of persons and institutions engaged in the process of children's integration in Polish school's environment. Some of the experts were chosen to gain knowledge on certain problems that are specific for the Polish education reality. We tried to maintain also a balance between stakeholders representing official governmental policies and those who throughout social activism and independence monitor and review those policies.

Despite many efforts we did not manage to interview the representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Bureau of the Human Rights Spokesman (Rzecznik Praw Obywatelskich) and the Lesser Poland's Educational Supervisory Board (Małopolskie Kuratorium Oświaty).

2. Policies and practices of integration in the view of the experts

Most of the experts draw attention to the lack of migration policy in Poland. After the change of power and forming the government by the Law and Justice party in 2015, yet two

years later the people responsible in the Ministry of Internal Affairs decided to revoke the "Polish Migration Policy – the present state and postulated actions" policy paper. This document had been the very first attempt to create schemes and roadmap for the integration policy in Poland. The ruling party however declared that the migration reality had changed significantly and the adopted policy paper is obsolete and need to be rewritten. Until the present day it did not happen, except the leaked draft version adopted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs' unit for the analyses and migration policy. This leakage led to a national scandal as the content of the draft was highly xenophobic, racist and backward. Many activists and academics expressed their deep disappointment and indignation with the view of the future migration policy presented by the governmental officials. As a result of the leak the Chief of the Foreigners Office had been dismissed together with the secretary of state. Nevertheless, experts paid attention to specific discourse represented by the current government. On the one hand government sees the necessity to promote the foreigners' employment as something indispensable for the Polish economy, development and growth, on the other hand it excludes certain groups of migrants, declaring them as threatening to the social cohesion and Polish national identity. This exclusionary narrative affects mostly Muslim immigrants. The interlocutors see that migration and integration start to become recently a political issue. The respondents underlined however that Polish government is treating migrants instrumentally, focusing narratives on the migration policy around concepts of labour force and demographic necessity, etc. It is visible in case of the Educational Supervisory Boards (Kuratoria Oświaty), which, despite being representatives of the central government in the region, limit their activity for the sake of migrants' children to obligatory necessities. People working in those institutions lack the wider perspective and primarily any kind of integrative approach or initiatives. One of the interviewees named the integration policy as schizophrenic. She sees the governmental narrative going in the line with the political background of the ruling party that revoked the policy papers on integration and whatsoever direction of the migration policy denying the advantages of the migration en gross. On the other hand, there is visible pressure from the side of the employers and local communities who undeniably benefit from migrants' arrival and settlement and their professional activity, to provide further reliefs in the foreigners' employment which government accepts and implement.

The migration policy itself is taken over by the local governments however this refers to the largest cities only and is not visible in the cities with the smaller migration rates (e.g. Gliwice). Among the local governments there is completely different approach to migration issues in the comparison to the central government politics. It might be said that local policy is implemented in the contrast to those policy statements represented by politicians of the ruling party and so called "national media". It was particularly expressed during the term of Paweł Adamowicz, the murdered president of the city in Gdańsk. Most of the experts positively value local programs that are dedicated or are including the issue of the migrants' integration, such as this that was introduced in Gdańsk, for the first time in Poland. It can be noticed that the added value of it is derived from its participatory character that involves numerous groups and institutions including migrants itself. Nevertheless one of the experts who evaluated the Gdańsk integration model during the interview observed that numerous actions during its creation was chaotic, incoherent and not entirely thought out. She noticed

that most of the positive changes in the children's integration models are grass-root initiatives. The natural terrain where those initiatives happens and are tested is the school environment. Once developed and proved to be effective is spread elsewhere with the word of the mouth. Such grass root work, supported or incited by the non-governmental organizations become the base for the advocacy actions led on the decision makers' level. In the case of local governments, it must be noted that repeatedly the support to children's integration is undermined by financial cuts or lack of the resources in the local budgets. This actions are theoretically not vested to local communities but stay within the responsibility of the central government and as such, legal construction deteriorates the will and possibility of local governments to fund such integration work. It is all caused by the organization of administration in Poland, where each institution is bond by the rules of its statutes and all their actions and tasks must be described in the law. Furthermore all public institutions are bounded by the discipline of the public finance that requires detailed justifications of all expenditures. Local governments learned how to overpass this difficulties by adopting the approach that treats migrants as city's inhabitants with special needs, similarly to youths, seniors or people with disabilities. This open the door to fund integration actions from the general money returned to local governments as subsidy from the personal taxes of each city's inhabitant.

The interviewed experts positively evaluated the regulations introduced by the Ministry of Education in reference to the integration of the children with migration background. The good solutions include the possibility to employ the cultural assistants of teachers in the classroom, additional aid of the teacher during the lessons or creation of preparatory classes. It was noticed however that apart from adopting the regulations, Ministry of Education is not informing schools about amendments and do not engage itself in the implementation phase of those laws. Such implementation is under the responsibility of schools' headmasters who often do not possess required competences in this field. This situation undermines the integration opportunities that are missed or forfeit. One of the experts is very critical to the actions introduced by the Ministry of Education calling them unreasonable and ineffective. Every next amendment in law is rarely coherent with the latter, and do not fit to the system. They are "torn shreds", lacking coherence with the view of the intercultural school and the concept of education within. The actions commenced by the schools in the intercultural environment created by enrollment of the migrant children are adopted "blindfold", "on the feel" with the absence of the institutional support from Ministry of Education or the Supervisory Boards. These regional institutions according to the educational laws shall provide the assistance to schools in its mission but in reality their activity is restricted to control and audits in the schools. Experts observed that school principals' on numerous occasions do not cope with the interpretations of the educational laws and Ministry regulations. The Ministry itself does not provide such interpretation despite frequent and direct requests submitted by schools' managements. It was concluded that educational system is characterized by inertia to the schools' realm and it results in state-wide chaos.

It was highlighted that predominant role in the integration of the migrants' children fulfil teachers. The hardship of this professional group, low salary, recent strikes and

protests, wide-spread frustration and duties overload do not foster the teachers' engagement in the process of the migrants' children integration. One of the expert called teachers as "singular agents of the change" who despite of their devotion to the idea are unable to make impact and introduce reforms. Experts stressed that teachers, pedagogues and principals to the larger extent are suffering from the feeling of anxiety and being lost in the contacts with foreigners' children. They do not know how to react, what are their resources to be launched and possibilities to gain support. There are also problems with tests that measure the level of intellectual development of certain child or its special needs. There is a visible lack of competences in the process of distinction between the growth disorders, such us PTSD vs. acute stress, or just unusual behaviors linked to cultural differences.

Experts recalls the examples of children who were diagnosed as weak-minded, with the score under the intellectual norm, which had been caused by the language unfamiliarity. Most experts agreed that in the migrant children's education there is a third language introduced apart from the Polish and the mother tongue. This is the language of instruction, understood as language used in particular school's subjects to name things that are covered by the curriculum. The existence of such "professional dialect" enforce the inclusion of children who are Polish and are returning from emigration to the category of children with the migration background. These children often communicates in Polish but have difficulties in the school classroom as they do not know the educational dictionary and language of instruction.

Some experts provided an interesting remarks about the strong commitment of teachers and school communities in defense of the children who faced deportation. Those communities took every effort and engaged all possible resources, including media to prevent the deportation of their class mates, who were itself or whose parents had irregular migration status. These remarks were followed by further complaints on the system of guarded centers for aliens. These institutions are in fact prisons where aliens with irregular legal statuses are detained. This refers mostly to asylum seekers, undocumented migrants or those returned according to Dublin II and Dublin III conventions to Poland, as the first country of the entry. Children shall not be placed in such institutions according to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, but Polish law allows it and many children are living there together with their families. Such practice was univocally condemned by interviewers.

Another problem in the approach towards migrant children is teachers' belief in autonomy of teaching practices and resolution of the issues. Most of problems are regulated in details in the books of law and this is often not perceived by teachers who seek unstandardized solutions even though they were obliged to use the existing ones. In many cases it is unconscious ignorance on their side.

In Poland, in terms of migration policy we notice the wide-spread inter-sectoral cooperation in the field of migrants' integration. Led by local governments it involves other public institutions, non-governmental organizations and academics. The cooperation is common among the civic bodies, there is no rivalry, even in the course of granting shortcuts

done by the government. Most of NGOs supplements its actions, share experiences, competences and forms networks of common actions.

Schools itself are very active in the field of international cooperation for the integration of the migrants' children. The partnerships with foreign schools are built, teachers are actively seeking knowledge, good practices, provide exchange of students. There are however certain schools that are usually passive, that do not engage in any integration activities and declare migrants' children as a burden. In such schools foreigners are marginalized and stripped of any support. As typically in such situation, all depends on the engagement of the devoted individuals. Hopefully the numbers of such individuals among teachers' community and other stakeholders active within the system of Polish education is on the rise.

3. The needs of the migrant children.

One of the main problem in the case of the integration of foreign children is the structure of the education system in Poland. This system is based on infirmity and lack of children's autonomy. Adults working in schools do not have enough competences to work "with children" and not "for children".

The largest gaps in the process of migrant children integration are symbolic violence and assimilation practices. There is a tendency in schools to label or stigmatize migrant children according to existing stereotypes and even to exotize them (folklorization of the otherness). The culture in which they were brought up is treated as a curiosity, but ranked below the Polish culture, depreciated. One of the experts calls such practices as folklorization, which tends to promote kitsch culture, a patterns that have nothing to do with the culture of the minority or migrant group.

Another structural problem is connected to the practice of grading. The current official system does not pay attention to the needs of foreign children. There are for instance a secondary school's final exam sheets used in Polish language, which are not adapted to the level or capabilities of migrants' children. The experts stressed out that communication with the student shall be based on the living language practices and the content of the speech, not correction of the misspelling or the orthographic errors. In no case phonetic inscriptions used by migrant children shall be downgraded. Due to dissonance between the needs off the migrants' children and official grading requirements one of the experts gave up the traditional grading system.

A lot of activities for the integration of foreign children are undertaken in the municipalities and local communities. In large cities, a special units responsible for training and methodical assistance for teachers were created in the structures of municipal offices. Increasingly, such units begins to deal with the issue of integrating foreign children and appoint people on positions devoted to these issues. There are numerous workshops and seminars for teachers organized in the field of children's integration, and whenever

problems occur individual assistance is provided (e.g. in Warsaw). Experts who worked in Warsaw highlighted the great importance of the Multicultural Center, a partnership initiative, established and funded by local government and led by the non-governmental organizations. This center for over five years has been undertaking activities connected to the education of children with migration experience, organized multicultural fairs for schools and debates, provided information on new legal solutions, like the preparatory classes. The center combines activities for the benefit of the local community with the integration of minorities, enacting cultural, artistic and entrepreneurial activities. In Kraków a similar function is undertaken, although on a slightly smaller scale, by the Information Point for Foreigners, run by NGOs and financed by the city. The activity of the Information Point focuses primarily on the counselling and providing information and legal aid, although integrative events are hosted there, organized by migrant and intercultural associations or informal groups. In the field of education foreigners may learn how to enroll children to the schools, what kind of support is provided and what kind of rights students and parents have in the system of education in Poland.

Experts form the local government emphasized that cities cooperate closely with each other, exchanging experiences and even made a commitment to develop integration programs and create the intercultural environments. This cooperation is taking place under the Union of Metropolitan Cities.

In Wrocław municipality created the preparatory classes (oddziały przygotowawcze) in seven schools that are called the "welcoming classes" (by resemblance to the German model). These are formed for the newly arrived children. In those classes an intensive Polish language courses are provided. Some of the experts were skeptical towards this new institutions arguing that new classes lead to the isolation of the foreign children from the locals, segregate children and delay the integration process. The Wrocław experience showed however that teachers in these classes provided individual approach, allowing children to accommodate to new environment and adjust transfers to regular classes to the foreigners' needs and level of their confidence. Teachers are devoted to shorten the process of learning in the preparatory classes but do not push children over their abilities. Experts accented that preparatory classes shall focus on the language proficiency, cultural training and shall not lead to the annual grading and classification. Exams shall not be introduced at this stage, and children shall not be graded for the subjects obligatory at the certain stage of education to avoid lowering achievements. One of the experts emphasized the psychological benefits connected to the preparatory classes, claiming that such classes provided the comfort space for the newly arrived children, secured their feeling of safety at the earliest stages of integration, which is beneficial even if mating with locals is postponed.

The difficulties with the adaptation to the new environment and insecurity caused by the migration and new social and cultural reality is one of the most important problems causing migrants' children vulnerability. Children with migrant background may suffer from solitude, and feel alienated. It might be particularly observed among unaccompanied minors. They have legal guardians but each one is usually taking care of several dozen such children. They do not see those guardians on daily basis and are living in dormitories, which

do not provide any integration activities unless those provided by external organizations. In Kraków such integration projects are led by the Zustricz Foundation – a migrant NGO working for the integration and welfare of the Ukrainians. In some dormitories/boarding schools children's teachers come to spend additional spare time with them after classes.

As an example of the child-centered approach, very rare unfortunately, it was recalled that Stowarzyszenie Edukacji Krytycznej (Association of Critical Education) in Wrocław organized children conference that was supposed to identify needs of the children from their own perspective. The experts, together with children rose the question what is necessary to fulfill the needs of the children using foreign language and how schools can benefit from the presence of such children. The recommendation were drawn after the end of conference. The experts commented that such approach, involving the children and making them partners is very rare in Poland. Most teachers do not know what the child-centered approach means. Generally the concept of hearing and talking with children about their needs, ambitions and intentions is unheard and uncommon in the system of Polish education. Sometimes it is even perceived as detrimental. Whenever experts in their personal experience with teachers raised the issue of the best child interest or taking some time to learn the child's opinion it was neglected or not taken seriously by schools' personnel.

4. Readiness for a change

Experts draw the conclusion that using best practices in the teaching practice is one of the most important part of the integration process. That is why the wide-spread dissemination is so important. Focus should be placed on the appropriate education of future teachers, as well as further training of already employed. It is important to create an effective system of Polish language teaching practices for the foreign children, effective that is one, that begins with the diagnosis of the needs of the child, determining its progression, and which would also encompass relations with parents at the various stages of child development. Experts paid attention to the lack of sufficient specialists and experts in schools. It is not only about competent teachers or pedagogues, but also psychologists, methodological advisers who are experienced in working with foreign children and who are speaking foreign languages. It would also be worthwhile to think about creating a database of teachers of Polish as a foreign language, so that the schools' principals have easier access to people with appropriate qualifications to work with the foreign students.

Interviewees underlined also that Polish education system needs schemes or rules of conduct for the problem resolutions whenever such issue occurs. It would allow to direct child to competent authority or institution that provide help in any critical situations. Lack of such mechanism showed that teachers are using their own experience in the reaction to problems, often inadequate and harmful, or pretend that there is no problem at all, leaving child to his own.

Another data base shall collect the teaching materials that proved to be effective in the work with the foreign children. These materials shall be disseminated among schools in which migrant children are enrolled.

It is equally important to pay attention to establish relations with migrant children's parents or guardians as they are important chain link in the integration process. The recommended practice shall include the organization of the initial meeting with migrants' parents that would be conducted in the foreign language or with the presence of the interpreter. Experts see it as minimum step that could result in greater engagement of the foreign children parents in the school's life. Such meeting shall be frequently continued in the course of the school year. The compulsory electronic school register provides often the necessary communication platform in the relation between parents and teachers, unless the language barriers makes it unable to maintain such relation. The frequent meetings are very beneficial for the both parties, showing the interest of the school in child progress and provide teachers with desired information and cultural background.

Experts are generally convinced that singular, minor changes are not sufficient for the school reform. The whole paradigm of the integrative school projects must be reworked, beginning with the changes in the teachers' training. In the programs of the university education for the future teachers intercultural content of the work in multicultural environment must be obligatory included. This shall be followed with the knowledge on existing integration programs and diversity management training. Teachers shall be given more autonomy in creation of school programs. Presently the curriculum is imposed by the Ministry of Education and is very tight, not leaving time for any innovations. The rights and obligations of the foreign children shall be clearly and to fully extent described in legal regulations. This regulations shall equally cover Polish children returning form emigration as they presently face discrimination, both symbolic (as inferior Polish) and direct (shorter integration programs). The fact that certain children will pass the language test on the communicative level does not mean she will understand the educational jargon (language of instruction).

Interviewees observed the broad and embracing cooperation between social activists and academics. One of the expert with teaching experience blames however these circles on lack of initiative when it comes to the cooperation with teachers. There were also complaints on instrumental treatment of the school personnel during the research phases. Experts see the common research field in the necessity of the migrant children needs permanent monitoring, effects of changes in the school system and results of the programs introduced. One of the experts underlined the necessity to create laboratories of the good practices in the schools. Those laboratories shall be interdisciplinary and examine practices from various scientific perspectives, including evaluation by practitioners. This would allow to examine the migrant's children needs, empower them and provide reports and recommendations for the other stakeholders. In Kraków, within the Open Kraków City Program, The Observatory of Multiculturalism and Migration (Obserwatorium Wielokulturowości i Migracji) was established, connecting the local academic circles in the

project aimed to conduct research on migrant's integration and adaptation that will cover also the issue of intercultural education.

There is an urging need to expand the integration projects in extracurricular environment, giving foreign children chance to integrate also after classes. One of the experts proposed that Polish language classes shall be organized during mid-term break and holidays.

Another proposition for the necessary amendment in the system of education is the greater involvement of the volunteers in the schools. Students enrolled to teaching courses on the universities could be involved in work with migrant children. Their theoretical knowledge could be transformed to practice that way. Such solutions increase the number of integrative actions, and the future teachers would have gained the necessary experience to work in the intercultural environment.

Experts spoke also about the recommendation to introduce a mentoring programs in the schools. Children could build relation in which Polish mentors his foreigner friend. It could built the positive relation between kids, lead to friendships and this way enhances the process of integration. It could be also the lesson of responsibility and as result, rise the social competences of the students. Such ideas are introduced in Poznań with the positive effect and evaluation.

The networking is also an important part of the new system of integration. The networks shall consist of all possible stakeholders – individuals and groups who are engaged in the work with migrant children. The networks could be beneficial not only as a platform of experience exchange but might lead also to creation of the coherent integration strategy at all levels of the education management: in regions, counties, etc. Such networking is already present in some cities being initiated by the local governments: The Migration and Integration Forum in Gdańsk (Forum Migracji i Integracji), The Task Team for the Implementation of the Open Kraków Program in Kraków (Zespół Zadaniowy ds. wdrażania Programu Otwarty Kraków).

The next great idea is to prepare the welcoming packs for the newly arrived migrants (children and parents). In numerous cities such information packages are already introduced, however they are not focused on the issues of education and the functioning of the education system. Such packages shall be updated to the latest regulations.

The fields of studies that prepare teachers to work in schools shall include obligatory courses for the intercultural mediations and work in multicultural environment, including practice hours.

Experts finally agreed that one of the key to effective integration of migrants' children and other migration processes is the level of acceptance among the host society. As it was noted natives must be ready to engage in social relations with migrants and be convinced to help them with adaptation. Here, experts see the great gap, as racism and xenophobia

among Polish is transferred from generation to generation together with belief about own exceptionality and Polish supremacy over other nations, particularly migrants. This must be alleviated by the intensive anti-discrimination education and tolerance teaching of Polish society (both student and parents). Unfortunately this type of education is not present in the official school agenda anymore. The few NGOs providing such workshops in schools are presently intimidated by the right-wing think-tanks such as Ordo Iuris or Fundacja Mamy i Taty (Mother and Father Foundation) which sees anti-discrimination education as the lefts and anti-Christian projects, attacking traditional values. This makes the work with host society more and more problematic and difficult under the present government.

5. Brand new ideas?

Experts had few ideas on how to enhance the integration process. One of the postulates raised, especially by interviewees with teaching experience was to leave the schools open in the afternoons and evenings to provide a safe space for integration projects. Presently, due to the problems arising with the reform of the education system, particularly the double year that will stay in secondary schools until the 2021, this seem to be impossible, at least on the secondary schools' level. In most of the cities where migrants are enrolled, schools are presently overcrowded. In some of them there are 10-20 first year classes which led to double-shifts. The last children leave schools around eight in the evening so there is no space available for the additional projects. The idea itself is however positive and could diverse the current offer and functions of the school. One expected is to provide a possibility and environment to unite migrants with the host society.

One of the experts sadly concluded that all efforts in the field of integration will be forfeit if the whole education system is not rebuilt. The system of education does not acknowledge any kind of diversity, it rather tends to equalize children and stress is put on sameness. Contemporary schools are predominantly unable to provide individual approach to children. In her view the greater autonomy of schools, flexible curriculum, and engagement in the group projects rather than providing lectures during classes might change the educational perspectives of all children including migrant ones. So far the school is inefficient in educating and in upbringing the children.

6. The output of the interviews

Poland does not have any consistent migration policy, nor the integration one and until it is introduced most of the efforts within the integration fields will happen in places where migrants are living. Integration is the necessary process which in case of failure might lead to the negative forms of adaptation such as separation or exclusion. If migrants separate themselves from the society it usually cause the problem with segregation, negative transformation of the neighborhoods and loss of social capital. It leads also to passiveness and unemployment. Children who are not accepted in school are seen underperforming. The

exclusion of migrants in almost all cases is a result of the host society's racism and xenophobia. The current government seems to incite the hostile attitudes to migrants, especially those from Asia and Africa, racially different from the natives or perceived as Muslims. The binding historical narration is not favorable either to Ukrainians as they are blamed for the genocide of Polish inhabitants in Volyn during the WW2. The social climate for the integration is not of one's dream and both teachers and activists see clearly that the education of the host society, anti-discrimination trainings and teaching tolerance shall be primary goals in Polish education. The school system itself need to be rebuilt. It shall more focus on children and their advancement than on providing pure education. Individual approach is a must. Newly arrived migrant children shall be adapted to the school environment with the greatest support possible using various integration tools. The preparatory classes proved to be effective as they are creating comfortable and safe space in the first weeks after arrival. It allows also to focus more on improvement of language abilities so the educational effort in regular classes is not wasted due to inability communicate or understand the language of instructions. The integration process itself shall be crafted to each child allowing him to adapt smoothly and without pressure. All the stakeholders in the system of education shall be frequently trained and raise their competences to be helpful and avoid patronizing migrant children or providing false assessments of the children's skills and achievements. In the first school year newly arrived migrant children shall not be graded with the same rules as their local peers to avoid labeling and feeling of the underachievement. Schools who enroll migrant children shall be supported by local governments. Local government shall create networks with non-governmental organizations and academics in order to work out the best fitting integration schemes. Creating special units dealing with interculturalism within the structure of these governments is highly recommended. This will allow to provide institutional support both for the research, also with child-centered approach and transformation of the results of the academic effort to the teaching practice.

7. Conclusions

Poland has a great number of experts and several institutions that have many years of experience in intercultural education and facilitating integration of the migrants. They all create and expand education networks, build inter-sectoral partnerships, provide trainings and offer post-graduate studies to teachers in order to rise their intercultural competences. There is growing number of teachers who are certified as teachers of Polish as a foreign language. There are Polish teachers who still have passion and devotion to introduce modern models of education in schools. Poland has also the big market of innovative and creative learning tools and materials including books, manuals, applications, educational games, etc. Most of the World's best educational materials and books are always translated to Polish and available in the bookstores. Despite this optimistic reality Poland suffers also from the systemic failures that makes the education system generally child unfriendly. It is stressful, overload with the knowledge, not supportive, traditional and lacking links with the modern world expectations. The social climate is presently hostile and xenophobic and this attitudes are on the rise what to a larger extent deteriorates the integration efforts. Only

major reform of education, the change in the paradigm of thinking about the education could save the situation and create the comfortable and safe environment for children, regardless of their origin, to develop their skills, reach the ambitions and dream about better world.



SLOVENIA

Veronika Bajt

1. Introduction and sample

This report identifies topical challenges of integration of migrant children in participant countries through analysis of stakeholder needs. It identifies challenges and gaps for programme development and further research. Positions of stakeholders are presented, their readiness for change and their perspective on their role in eventual change.

In Slovenia, ten interviews with 12 experts were conducted between 4 July and 8 August 2019 (see Table 1).[4] The interviews lasted between 45 and 100 minutes, though most were less than one hour in duration. All of the interviews were voice recorded and subsequently transcribed, and all the personal data was anonymised. The transcriptions were analysed

[4] In fact, 11 interviews were conducted with 14 experts, but one interview was a repetition of an already conducted one, so it was not included in the analysis. This was a consequence of the Government Office for the Support and Integration of Migrants last-minute change of the interviewee. We arranged to talk to the Head of Asylum Home who ended up not being available for the interview. Instead, the Head of Sector for Integration and a social worker gave the actual interview, rendering only a repetition of previously gained information.

using a thematic analysis method that allows us to draw certain conclusions based on this qualitative data.

The majority of interviewees were with stakeholders from various national institutions, whose prerogative is to do with either education or migrant integration. This means that we interviewed representatives of the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, Government Office for the Support and Integration of Migrants, National Education Institute, and local government actors, such as municipalities. Apart from enriching our sample with stakeholders whose work and expertise relates to migrant children integration, we also included several experts from academia, one intercultural mediator and one non-governmental organisation (NGO) in the sample.

Table 1: List of expert/stakeholders interviews

	Date of interview	**Organization / sector, expertise**
INT1	4 July 2019	Government Office for the Support and Integration of Migrants; Sector for Integration / governmental actor
INT2	8 July 2019	Intercultural Mediator
INT3	16 July 2019	City of Ljubljana / local government
INT4	17 July 2019	Institute for Ethnic Studies / academic expertise on ethnicity
INT5	18 July 2019	Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education and Adult Education / governmental actor
INT6	22 July 2019	Educational Research Institute / academic expertise in education
INT7	22 July 2019	Slovene Philanthropy / NGO sector
INT8	23 July 2019	National Education Institute Slovenia / national professional actor
INT9	25 July 2019	Slovenian Migration Institute / academic expertise on integration in education
INT10	8 July 2019	Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, Directorate for Preschool and Primary Education / governmental actor

Whereas public officials that we interviewed were mainly either heads of responsible departments on educational matters or persons in charge of integration, the interviewees from NGO and academic sectors were individuals with extensive practical or research experience with migrant children integration. This included their broader professional/academic expertise and prior experience with leading projects with migrant

children and their parents, researching the position of migrant children in the school system, and the implementation of migrant integration provisions in Slovenia. All of our interviewees, except one, have had extensive years-long working experience in their respective fields and were hence able to reflect on the topic both critically and chronologically in terms of development of various trends, measures, actions and results.

2. Policies and practices

This part summarises on how experts assess migrant children integration policies/programmes/actions (in educational sector and elsewhere) of the State and the EU, what they perceive as the main problems, what they think could be done and who's responsibility are steps that should be taken.

In Slovenia, the field of pre-school education (except the curriculum) is within the competence of local communities, which means that the local community finances public kindergartens. For primary education, these competences are shared between the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports and the local community. The local community is responsible for creating the conditions, i.e. for the premises, equipment and investments, while the staff, the programme and the contents are the responsibility of the Ministry. This means that Slovenia has a centralised system as far as elementary education is concerned. Local communities do not deal with secondary schools because these are, under the law, entirely within the competence of the State.

In terms of **access to education**, formally, Slovenia follows the approach of ***inclusion*** of migrant children. Officially, they are treated equally as citizens. Besides, persons with international protection share the same rights regarding pre-school, elementary, secondary, higher, adult and university education as Slovenian nationals.[5] Likewise, children of asylum seekers and unaccompanied minors have the right to elementary school education, however, only until the age of fifteen. They have to start attending elementary school in three months after lodging asylum application at the latest. All asylum seekers have the possibility, while minor asylum seekers have the right, to access education in vocational and secondary schools under the same conditions as citizens of Slovenia. Asylum seekers are also entitled to access higher and university education under the same conditions as Slovenian citizens. Nevertheless, the burden of proving the level of education obtained in the country of origin is on the asylum seeker, and in fact, it frequently hinders their attempt at continuing schooling.

The situation regarding **language learning** is frequently listed as the essential issue for migrant children's integration in the educational system in Slovenia. In fact, it appears that for some stakeholders the question of integration is reduced to learning the Slovenian language, which implies their understanding of integration as only being the migrant's

[5] They have the right to scholarships and accommodation in student housing under the same conditions as Slovenian nationals. The funding for education and training of refugees is provided by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports.

responsibility, albeit with the best possible assistance in this process. This practice is predominant, and it often requires migrant children to renounce their mother tongue in school entirely. Some of the experts, therefore, point this out as a problem and note how concentrating predominantly on local language skills acquisition hinders inclusion as a multifaceted and complex process that requires an actual two-way process of exchange, learning and mutual acceptance. This includes understanding that speaking in one's mother tongue is a right and necessity, while everybody benefits from diversity and learning from each other.

Beneficiaries of international protection are entitled to 300 hours Slovenian language course, and additionally, they can attend 100 more hours. Attendance of language classes (in at least 80 per cent) is also a stipulation for their right to other benefits, such as rent reimbursement extension.

Until 1 September 2018, Slovenia had a system whereby the State paid for each foreign student a 140-hour Slovenian language course, lasting for two years. Schools could themselves allocate when and how this was implemented (i.e. when the actual language classes were implemented). The Ministry of Education, Science and Sports has recently approached this matter more systematically. Thus, specific literature was prepared and a course designed following the recommendations of the Faculty of Arts' Centre for Slovene as a Second/Foreign Language. Therefore, the basis for this course has been increased to 160/180[6] hours, and all schools will now be required by law to implement this at the beginning of the school year (in which the entitled migrant child/student enrol in school). A test is first offered to each child to assess their level of knowledge, which the experts see as an individualised and child-centred approach. In 2018, this new programme was conceived as a proposal for a work programme for all migrant children, pupils and students' integration and delivered to the Minister of Education, Science and Sports. Secondary schools rushed, and, based on this proposal of the work programme, a particular Rulebook for Learning Slovenian for the new students was prepared. The project is currently under review and evaluation (some school principals are more satisfied with this approach, others less so). The new programme covers the complete schooling vertical, not only partially addressing just the selected segments, but it is meant for a pre-school education, elementary school pupils and secondary school students. The proposals of the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports are substantive in terms of financial and legislative requirements. One of our interviewees highlighted the benefit of this policy to be very instructive and that it was generated according to the guidelines of the Centre for Slovene as a Second/Foreign Language, with its experts who have prepared numerous practical examples of learning Slovenian language, the central figures as the principal authority in the field. The interviewees thought that it is crucial to offer immediately to the newly arrived pupils the Slovenian language courses. Such courses should be organised in the first half of the child's first year in school as intensely as possible. The benefit of the programme is hence seen in both the intensity and the significantly increased number of hours: children will now have up to 180 hours of intensive Slovenian language learning classes at the beginning of their

[6] One interviewee spoke of 160, one of 180 hours.

entrance to school (which means that they can achieve the A2 level in language proficiency). In addition to these 180 hours, in the first year, the migrant pupils still have the option of additional 70 hours in other subjects because the Slovenian language remains the challenge in every subject that is taught. If the pupils do not take this course, they still have a second year to complete it. According to the expert interview who was involved in the preparations of this programme, the proposal is not only about competences in Slovenian language, but about appropriate involvement with the children in terms of intercultural dialogue, both in terms of taking into account the migrant children's own culture, and their identity, so it is really seen as an added value. It is significant that the evaluation is ongoing and that the situation is actually turning in the direction of upgrading. In the case of the evaluation showing that improvements are needed, the Ministry representative stated that the Ministry would consider this and build further on it.

The interviewed experts generally described the situation regarding the integration of migrant children in the educational system in Slovenia as the overall most advanced area of migrant integration. Albeit they point to several problems and list areas in need of change, they nonetheless agree that as far as integration practice in Slovenia is concerned, the field of education is noticeable as the most developed part of integration process (see also Ladić et al. 2018). The field has changed significantly over the last decade, and our interviewees note that on the overall most changes have been positive in terms of greater migrant inclusion. Several useful resources, study aids and didactic materials have been developed and implemented in the last ten years, such as new textbooks, workbooks and manuals for pre-school, primary and secondary school levels. The legislation has also undergone several changes, and the experts observe that the "mind-set" has slowly begun to change as well. Although the experts, on the one hand, note a rise in xenophobia, racism and anti-immigrant prejudice, observing that there is still discrimination, ignorance and humiliation in schools that migrant children are exposed to, they at the same time also see the rising number of individuals (i.e. educators, teachers) involved with migrant children's educational integration in Slovenia. In other words, the assessment of the current situation is that there is still a long way to go, while much has been done on migrant children's educational integration and in Slovenia, the change for the better can be definitely observed.

One of the interviewed experts emphasised that the first notable change occurred in 2007/2008 when the Basic School Act was amended.[7] As a significant development, "Rules on knowledge assessment and grading and students' progress to a higher class standing in elementary schools" were established (and upgraded in 2013), which brought about a significant formal rule that allows a more gradual assessment and grading of migrant children over a period of two years. As noted by one of our interviewees, the problem is that many primary schools are not familiar with the Rules and even if they are, they do not know how to apply them in practice. A decade ago, hence, the first guidelines governing the inclusion of migrant children in education were prepared. However, they remain at the level of recommendations and they are not binding. The interviewed experts further maintain that

[7] Basic School Act (*Zakon o osnovni šoli* – ZOsn), Official Gazzette of the Republic of Slovenia, Nos. 81/06 – officially consolidated text, 102/07, 107/10, 87/11, 40/12 – ZUJF, 63/13 and 46/16 – ZOFVI-L.

these guidelines are in some respects also ambiguous. While they seem to be most elaborate for primary school and are less so for secondary school, only 2 out of 15 pages of the Rules are written for kindergarten. Hence, the entire vertical is not equally defined.

Depending on the interviewees' field of expertise, they listed various issues as problematic and in need of adjustment, possibly even significant change. The fact that key orientations need to come "from above", meaning from the State, was most frequently mentioned, as was, in consequence, the lack of funding and resources for implementation of integration principles.

2.1 Main problems

While in general, migrant children have equal **access to education** as Slovene nationals by law and in theory, in practice they face several obstacles. Since primary school is obligatory, enrolment is not a problem for children of primary school age. But it can be an issue for older, secondary school age students, because they cannot always choose a school they would like to attend (vocational or secondary school) or schools are not willing to accept them because of the **language barrier** or in case of asylum seekers and beneficiaries of international protection because they do not have the appropriate documents to prove their previous educational attainment. The language barrier often extends to migrant children's parents, especially mothers, which affects the children's school performance. If the parents do not speak Slovenian and hence cannot engage with teachers because the interpreter is only available for the initial meeting upon the child's school enrolment, the children are left to their own devices.

A specific problem occurs in pre-school children because attending a kindergarten is not legally required and hence the right to be included in **pre-school day-care** is not secured legally for migrant children. This is a notable obstacle for children's integration because interaction with Slovenian peers is the fastest way of learning the language and acquiring social network of friends so needed for integration in a new environment. The NGO experts dealing with migrant children (predominantly with asylum seekers and persons with international protection status, but they also have contact with migrant children and their parents more generally) report that children under the age of six are not included in kindergartens but spend their days in the asylum home. Such exclusion is problematic on many levels, especially since the asylum home is a closed and surveillance institution not suitable for children. Moreover, they remain segregated from local children, unable to learn Slovenian language through play and interaction with the local children.

Shortage of professional staff was mentioned most frequently as a pertinent problem. This means primarily a lack of educators and teachers with appropriate prior training and knowledge but also – and equally importantly – enough sensitised for work with migrant children and their needs. The most commonly expressed problem, however, was that schools are understaffed, especially in skilled teachers of Slovenian as a second language. This indicates an apparent existence of the pressing need, as migrant children are not able to understand and follow the classes in school. Yet such problem framing also attests the distorted understanding of integration as the migrant child's need to "learn the language"

to merge with the rest of the pupils and follow the well-trodden path of the teaching routine with as little distraction to the environment as possible.

Educators, teachers, schools, supporting staff and principals, as a rule still have **insufficient knowledge** regarding the integration of migrant children. They are not equipped to treat children who do not speak Slovenian, come from a different cultural background, let alone who might be refugees with traumatic experiences. It is, therefore, not uncommon to encounter resistance among school staff when the school is about to receive new pupils with migrant background. Our interviewees here note not only that the resistance may simply come from not wanting to take over the tasks that put them out of their comfort zone, but also that their opposition to doing something for which they were not trained may come from their non-confidence: they feel inadequately equipped to address the needs of migrant children.

The fact that frequently the **NGOs take over the bulk of integration activities** has also been identified by the interviewees as problematic in Slovenia, mainly because the civil society sector is dependent on project funding and hence cannot assure long-term provision of activities and support. Project-based activities are overwhelmingly reported as examples of best practice, yet systematic measures are lacking that would ensure the educational staff in their day-to-day practice have the chance to implement their eventually acquired knowledge and skills in migrant children's educational integration. Our respondents identified the fact that in Slovenia, **local communities do not have any formal jurisdiction/competencies** in this regard as a severe deficit. Since migrant integration is not formally an obligation of a municipality, for instance, it is entirely up to a particular individual mayor to either support such projects and activities or not.

The fact that **changes are too slow** has been noted by some experts, especially those who work in direct contact with migrant children and their parents. Their extensive field experience has shown that the situation is worse in smaller places because the number of migrants does not reach a "critical mass" required for change to happen, which makes those responsible to instead resort to *ad hoc* solutions and not to ensure a system that would accommodate to migrant children's needs.

While primary school level is often cited as having some reasonable systemic solutions in place for migrant children, secondary school has been noted by several of our interviewees as problematic – in terms of children's increasing age. Using a motto "the younger, the better", they explain how younger children face fewer difficulties when integrating and learning the language. **Older children face more obstacles**, primarily because the level of difficulty is higher with each grade. A severe problem of educational integration thus occurs for teenagers who may come to Slovenia after particularly rough experience. Having missed some grades or with no prior schooling, they face extreme difficulties. Based on their age, they fit into secondary school. However, based on their prior knowledge and language proficiency, they factually merit primary education. To place the young adults of 17, 18, 19 years in the first grade of secondary school again presents a problem. For these children, a significant problem can be to obtain required documentation

to prove their already accomplished level of education or training. As explained previously, the burden of proving the level of education already achieved in the country of origin is entirely on the asylum seeker. Without these documents, it is also challenging to gain access to any vocational training (not only secondary vocational schools but also to other vocational training).[8]

All of these issues are inherently tied to language proficiency. Since the system in Slovenia uses inclusion, the children are immediately placed in regular classes. While the fact that they are not segregated in preparatory classes is positive, the placement of a child who does not understand anything in a regular class is factually also a system of segregation and exclusion of that child – albeit the segregation is not spatial.

2.2 What could be done

Migrant children are the key to understanding their needs and the obstacles they encounter. They, therefore, need to be listened to more frequently and thoroughly, for they are the ones who experience the barriers and who need to feel able to share freely their concerns with relevant staff who can help them appease their fears.

Teachers, councillors, and the school staff, in general, need to recognise specificities related to migrant children's educational integration. These skills cannot depend simply on individuals' empathy and willingness to help alone. They need to be a core part of the curriculum already for students of pedagogy. Our interview partners hence note that programmes at the pedagogical faculties should be altered to incorporate teaching courses on migration, intercultural coexistence and such.

Preparing for the new arrival of migrant children in schools is imperative, as shown in cases of good practice scenarios where principals prepared the teaching staff and local children, as well as parents, informing them about who is coming and what is their country like. This means that having and disseminating information about the countries of birth of newly arriving migrant children prepares the local environment for their arrival and precipitates a more welcoming acceptance of these pupils.

Concerning the above recommendation, rather than limiting various pre-school welcoming events only to migrant children and their parents' interaction with teachers, the entire local community should be included, especially the local children, who could welcome the new students into their new environment as their peer "guides" or tutors. In this way, they would naturally learn about each other from each other and benefit from diversity and difference, which has been proven to lessen prejudice and cultural stereotyping.

[8] Therefore, one of the biggest challenges is the lack of knowledge of Slovenian language – exams for enrolling in some vocational or employment-related education are in Slovenian language, so if students do not speak the language they cannot even pass these exams.

Since the experts whom we interviewed doubt that school counsellors poses the knowledge required to address possible traumas of migrant children, especially in case of refugees, they recommend such professional support should also be available to these children (and their parents) within a social work centre, a health centre, as it is not sufficient to only provide such professional psychological counselling in the asylum home.

2.3 Who should do what

The State, the Ministry, social services, and municipalities on the one hand, as well as schools, teachers, principals, school psychologists and councillors on the other hand, are all listed as stakeholders who could adjust their practices and do things differently to alleviate the migrant children's integration. The recommendations vary from proposals for a systemic change, which obviously requires more time, financial input, legislative adjustments and political will, to solutions that could bring results essentially immediately, should the individuals in their professional functions adopt a more open approach to integration, and learn from best practices that exist. This would mean, for instance, more flexibility in teachers' classroom approach and in principals' understanding of the legal provisions (e.g. enacting something because it would benefit the children even though it is not factually listed in the guidelines as a school's requirement). In fact, the most commonly reported positive results rely almost entirely on individual teachers and principals' treatment of migrant children.

2.4 Policies/practices that put children's needs into focus

Only a few of our interviewees specifically mentioned and discussed practices and/or policies that put children's needs into focus. It is no surprise that these are mainly experts from academia and the National Education Institute of Slovenia's staff members. The latter has actually been a leading institution in terms of child-centred approach in recent years, publishing manuals and workbooks for educators that put children's specific needs into focus.

Public officials from responsible ministries, however, did not have much to say on the matter and it seems that their work is more concerned with bureaucratic side of educational sector and schooling on the one hand, or integration of migrants on the other, while hardly any of their attention seems to be devoted to professional training, knowledge upgrading and specifically considering the child-centred approach as a priority in their work. As noted by one of the interviewees, schools are also often afraid of what to do, what strategy to employ, they are reluctant to apply personalisation or individualisation as an approach because they are not sure what it means exactly.

Child-centred approach, as our interview partners explain, is about learning what a child needs, where s/he has strengths and what strengths can be used to make him/her feel competent, affirmed that s/he has the ability to feel: "Yes, I can do it", i.e. a sense of self-

confidence. This is immensely important because migrant children are already at a loss at all other ends (i.e. faced with new environment, unknown habits, foreign language, possibly trauma, etc.). A child-centred approach is hence described as also investing the time of the supporting staff to find out where a child may have weaknesses and discovering how each child can be supported without letting them know that there is something wrong with them because of such weakness. This part depends on both a school's strategy and on messages that come from the Educational Research Institute, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, pedagogical faculties, researchers, the NGOs, as well as from a particular teacher. This means that the child-centred approach depends on how much teachers are prepared to listen to the children, how much they are willing to accept or feel annoyed and as unnecessary to deal with these questions, or how much prejudice they may have. The question whether teachers are "sensitised" enough for the subject of migrant children integration and whether they are "human" was often mentioned, but at the same time that the child-centred approach requires teachers to be stable and firm as well. In essence, they need the wisdom to strike a fragile balance between understanding the migrant children individual weaknesses and strengths while assisting them in reaching their full potential on the one hand, and on the other they have to demand the excellence from them as well. The frequently present attitude of having no expectations and seeing migrant children as low achievers is often related to their insufficient language skills and may lead to their segregation and discrimination, even though a teacher may be perceived as kind and helpful while only awarding them a passing grade. However, this sort of benevolence does not help the children achieve their full potential because it lulls them in a state of passivity and low expectations. A child-centred approach to integration includes "advertising at all levels", which means working together with the child, with the parents, in the school's teacher's chamber; it must include the whole staff, the janitor and the cleaner if it is really to be an inclusive paradigm. Everyone needs to be "breathing this", and the entire school knows, even if there are only two pupils, let alone 20, how to handle things with no exposure in any one direction. At the most subtle, interpersonal level, this approach probably depends very much on the specific people the child finds her/himself in contact with.

The Educational Research Institute has been developing the so-called formative learning approach within the inclusive paradigm. As the term suggests, these are not only didactic approaches and a system itself but primarily practices of a learning process that are maximally supporting the learning of children with authentic tasks. This includes questions that are asked to stimulate thinking and to encourage that children's asking questions is at the forefront of the portfolio. That is, assessment is transformed into ways of monitoring where children show what they can do or can show different nuances of all kinds of knowledge. Formative monitoring is hence their central task for the next three years, and one interviewee concluded that in Slovenia, the Educational Research Institute is currently at the top in formally supporting a child-centred approach, which means that for them, the paradigm of formative monitoring/assessment is the answer.

3. Migrant children's needs

The question of migrant children's needs required the most prolonged pauses in the interviews as a whole. This indicates that all of the respondents took the issue very seriously and wanted to provide meaningful answers. These could be summarised into two main clusters: one being that migrant children are children like any other and that, therefore, their needs are the same as the needs of all the children; the other being that they need to feel safe and accepted in the new environment.

Interviewees were listing **support** and **understanding** as the migrant children's vital needs, while they thought that the support network needed to be organised in schools. This means that when the initial intensive Slovenian language course is held, the support network should be put in place in the class whereby the present children would be able to invite the newcomers to play with, to have lunch with them so that they will not sit alone. It is necessary to organise a network of children; someone to help with maths, someone to help with history, and so on so that the newcomer is also invited to play with peers in after-school leisure activities.

At the same time, every teacher has great power in the classroom, s/he is the one who can remind the children to do all this, s/he is the one who should always invite the children to participate – even if they then say no, because some children simply need **peace**, they may be closed off, experiencing everything all at once because the relocation is a huge shock to them in so many different ways. Hence, support and understanding are needed by the children at the beginning, and the **organised system support** should be in place where every teacher at the school knows how the two first years of integration are going to enfold and what needs to be done to achieve the set goals. Noting that the good practice scenario described above is not the case in Slovenia at all. The experts, therefore, recommend that besides having national guidelines that would set the rules for intensive Slovenian language course and the two-year support, every school would also need an internal rulebook with exact specifications regarding each teacher's responsibility for this child for the next two years. Because a child needs two years of support that starts off intensively and also accounts for the child's emotions, especially in case of refugee children who also need psychological support.

The safe environment was another most commonly listed need of migrant children. This includes the already specified need to be able to talk to somebody about their needs, fears and questions.

4. Readiness for change

When asked about willingness to change, most interviewees discussed the areas that should undergo changes and actors that should be responsible for their implementation. Talking about themselves and critically evaluating their own position and the possibility of change in their attitudes, actions, views etc. was much less frequent. Some actors did recognise the need to continuously follow the field and aspire for change whenever necessary to improve their work and overall performance (e.g. National Education Institute

Slovenia, academics and researchers). Among interviewees from the state administration (e.g. ministries and offices in charge of education and education), the position that their work should be regularly re-evaluated to check the set goals and verify with end-users if their activities are producing the desired results was less prominent. Some of the interviewees have specific in-house assistance (e.g. regular newsletters and similar circulars or ensured attendance in training) regarding receiving updates about recommendations from their own, as well as other fields and other stakeholders, while others rely on their own personal engagement to do so. This means that they often run out of time to search for such information unless they are informed of new developments via their ongoing work-cooperation and personal involvement.

Nevertheless, all stakeholders discussed extensively about their existing and ongoing cooperation with various state and non-state actors, which confirms that especially in terms of various project-based and pilot activities, a lot is being accomplished and the readiness for change is apparent.

The interviewees in majority see the academic profession as an affirmative actor that is useful to offer assistance and knowledge. They also mention that the researchers can help schools and the whole system by exposing as many positive examples of openness, participation and equal involvement of migrants/foreigners as possible.

Several of our interviewees see the task of researchers in identifying and explaining the connected laws, see how they work in different contexts, under different conditions, and determine the state of things. That is, researchers identify the problems and they do so in a verified, relatively objective and reliable way. They can show where the issues lay; and then they can provide useful information to both education and policymakers about which regulations work, why they work, as well as which specific contexts and strategies are likely to produce the desired results. The researchers can also warn the policymakers about what can be frustrating from start to finish, which will help them turn it around.

Researchers are also described simply as being the ones who can bring attention to specific areas. In other words, when the researchers highlight a particular subject, eventually steps forward will be made in the exposed area. For example, when years ago international research showed that Slovenia actually had abysmal results in the field of reading literacy, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports consequently launched many projects. As a result, the next round of the research indicated a remarkable improvement in the field. The connection of theory and practice is of paramount importance, note our interview partners.

5. Main findings and discussion

In all the expert interviews, language appears a central issue on which policies focus and should focus. There still exists much misunderstanding regarding the importance of the right to express oneself freely in one's own language, which is what our stakeholders pointed to. Consequently, a ban on using one's own mother tongue can still be observed in many schools, where teachers may reprimand and even discipline children if they speak in their mother tongue with peers (this expands to school breaks or around school on school grounds). This raises a lot of anger and may potentially lead to conflicts because it sends a message to children (and their parents) that they should deny an important part of themselves.

Some of the interviewees, when speaking of migrants, continually use the term "foreigners" and this might suggest their understanding of migrant children as fundamentally different. It is also evident that each of the interviewee's surrounding and working context – especially their institutional environment and culture – defines their framing of migrant children. For instance, the public officials dealing with integration of beneficiaries of international protection heavily rely on the migration management discourse that is known for the Ministry of the Interior (e.g. describing migrants mainly as "third-country nationals" or using jargon terms related to their assigned official status and categorisation).

It is interesting to observe that when asked about migrant children's needs, the respondents mainly use male gender and only switch to female form when gender difference is evoked as a potential problem. For example, one of the interviewees spoke about unique issues that girls encounter when questions arise whether or not they are wearing hijab. Another gender difference could be noted when one of the experts spoke of migrant children's difficulties when they are dealing with sexuality (i.e. because of different cultural expectations).

The teaching profession in Slovenia is predominantly feminised, and this is also why it is perceived as a sector with lower social positioning and lesser esteem of the staff. The gender dimension is also heavily present in how some of the interviewees describe the difference between "our" mothers and fathers (citizens of Slovenia) and "their" mothers and fathers (migrants), who are described as less involved in their children's educational advancement. Such comments are addressing the issue of care work and related "culture", as well as migrant labour in general. Often tied to a home, predominantly taking care of children and housework, migrant children's mothers also frequently do not speak Slovenian and hence cannot engage with teachers because the interpreter is only available for the initial meeting upon the child's school enrolment. Migrants are also underprivileged in terms of accessing public spaces and public facilities such as kindergartens, which means that mothers tend to stay at home because they cannot access childcare, while men are engaged in paid labour for long hours. Therefore, it is not surprising that some of the interviewees pointed out that only fathers attend teacher-parent meetings, and not regularly.

While most of the interviewed experts agree that in Slovenia, inclusion is the systematic concern when it comes to migrant children's integration in the educational system, most also see the flaws that remain despite Slovenia's noted progress in this area in the last decade. These most notice the lack of enough qualified staff in schools in general and the lack of specific knowledge required for work in intercultural settings that would be systematically available to all educators.

Cases of possible intersectional discrimination of migrant children have not been explicated in the expert interviews, apart from one brief mention of a migrant girl with autism. This brief mention, however, offers a serious starting point for a debate about a system that is in principle moving towards a child-centred approach that includes individualisation, yet is at present still lacking a fundamental consensus and rules on implementation of such principles. Many questions and challenges remain, such as the fact that for older children who begin integration in secondary school, it is challenging to catch up with both other children and their peers while they lack initial knowledge and skills.

6. References

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SPAIN

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1. Introduction and sample

The stakeholders interviewed were:

- Ministry of education: S10(1)+ S10(2), Head of the Service of Foreign Languages and of Origin + Deputy Director General of Plurilingualism. Department of Education, Generalitat de Catalunya S12, Director of the National Center for Educational Innovation and Research (CNIIE). Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

- Ministry of social, family etc. S7, General Director for Immigration. Departament de Benestar Social i Família, Generalitat de Catalunya (Department of Social Welfare and Family, Catalan Government)

- Governmental equality body/ies S3, Education Commissioner of the city council of Barcelona

- State agencies, offices for integration, think tanks dealing with integration (of migrant children) S2, Director of UNESCOCAT S11, Secretary for Equality, Migration and Citizenship, Generalitat de Catalunya

- Human Rights ombudsman S4, deputy of the rights of children and youth, Síndic de greuges (ombudsman) S5, member of Institut de Drets Humans de Catalunya (Human Rights Institution of Catalonia)

- NGOs dealing with integration or any other relevant specialized NGOs S8, Expert in Migrations and Mobility, NGO Alianzas por la Solidaridad (Alliance for Solidarity) S6, Director of SOS Racisme (SOS Racism)

- School/educational experts S9, teacher and researcher at UVic (University of Vic) specialized in social inclusion and migration

- School integration practitioners, social workers S13 Director of Projects, Fundació Jaume Bofill, and Director of L'Aliança Educació360

- Academics, researchers S1, researcher at UAB (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) specialized in migrations, education and inequalities.

2. Policies and practices

This section summarizes on how experts assess migrant children integration policies/programmes/actions (in educational sector and elsewhere) of the state and the EU. It is divided in policies, difficulties, good practices, bad practices, and what should be done.

2.1 Policies

European policies come from a Schengen Agreement structure, based on frontiers and exclusion of those who didn't belong to that boundary. In addition to this, there is an acceleration in the construction of Europe as fortress. That's why some right-wing parties have recently emerged, spreading a message of insecurity and worry regarding all those that come from 'outside' (S8).

The European framework is unfavourable, as its policies focus on controlling the entry of immigrants and the security of European citizens (S3). In this sense, "there is very little work specifically aimed at receiving refugees or migrants in the educational system" (S2). "And most of them are resources, while we need policies that go beyond the daily cover" (S9).

Regarding national policies, some of them attempt against the Human Rights (for example 'La ley mordaza', a Spanish law approved by the conservative Popular Party, that declares as crime rights such as expression, information or demonstration; or the prohibition to enter the port to rescue boats) and Europe doesn't do anything about it. "Or what the European Border and Coast Guard Agency now demands, it does not have a rescue mission, it has a control mission. Therefore, what is being done is the criminalization of solidarity" (S8). In this way, "the state is competent for an essential element of social integration, such as regulating work and residence permits. However, it delegates the social policies of integration to autonomous communities without resources" (S3).

Autonomous administration in turn "what it does is to provide economic resources, no small thing, but they are insufficient. In the end we are fortunate that we have many social entities that are working to improve, especially in educational centers, the living conditions of many of these children" (S13). Therefore, the policies that work best are those of the municipalities. However, it is important that they are articulated with national or European policies. When they are aligned, everything works better. A good example is Vic (Catalonia), where different agents are working together (S9). Although Vic would be the exception. In Barcelona, for example, one stakeholder shares a current case:

"There are young people, MENAS (Non Unaccompanied Migrant Minors) fleeing from Morocco, arriving in Spanish territory and essentially many of them arrive at Catalonia and Andalusia and overwhelm the response capacities of the system of attention to childhood and adolescence. We are not prepared either for the amount of resources or for the quality of the offers of proposals and programs that can be offered to accommodate this enormous volume of MENAS. But these young people, in the case of the Generalitat -the Catalan Government- that is the competent one to give them a residence, does not have capacity when they are 18 years because this is the responsibility of the Spanish state, and the state does not give them. Then this has a bounce effect on the city, because, as the Generalitat that is competent can't offer enough places or enough skilled professionals to work with these guys, many of these teenagers escape the CRAEs (Residential Centres for Educational Action) and live on the streets . . . so these guys are living in vulnerable infrahuman situations. And we may ask: what is the administration that must face it and that from its resources it should be able to manage it because it is its neighbors? the City Hall. Then it is a very clear example of how this lack of harmonization and un-coordination of policies and the uneven distribution of competences regarding the management of what is the reality of foreigners places us at a juncture in which the city council has to handle it without initially being its competence" (S3).

"At the municipal level, we are based on the principle of normalization. This is, common policies for all, ensuring that there is enough resources both for the group of foreign people and for disadvantaged local families, so as to avoid the feeling that there are only resources for migrants" (S3). Moreover, Catalonia has the concepts of equality and citizenship internalized. Every child living in Catalonia has health coverage and school. However, there is tension as well. "We lack a lot of pedagogy. Because we have some families that are not regularized. And the stress of having an irregular situation is enormous, especially if you have children" (S7).

2.2 Difficulties

As S3 and S9 mentioned, S1 also mention the disarticulation between social integration and educational integration policies. Apart from the intra-administrative disarticulation (disarticulation between departments from the same institution), S3 adds the inter-administrative disarticulation (between municipalities, autonomous communities, nation, EU). S3 also criticizes the hypocrisy in some policies, presenting some intercultural programs that never have been put in practice.

As a result of the jihaddist attacks in Barcelona in August 2017, Catalonia made a lot of questions regarding integration policies such as: "how have we come to this radicalization? what happened? What are we not doing right? So that these kids have that feeling against the society in which they are living. Surely we're not doing things right. They're not getting the same jobs, they're not getting the same opportunities, they don't have a good performance at school... in fact if we look at school failure it's much higher in the children of foreign families. So we are not integrating well. It is a fiction to give them a school place and say that they are already integrated . . . It is not true that all children have the same resources. The child who is living in a room that doesn't have room to study, doesn't have access to the internet... and then the schools ask them to look for information... this child isn't going to bring it up" (S4).

There is a need of training in intercultural issues, at the level of parents, educators and policy makers (S8). "If in Senegal fishermen cannot fish because international fishing vessels, some of them Spanish, are entering and taking fish with them, what will these people live on? We do not want them, but we want the fish, we want the coltan and we want the uranium. But we don't want people. I think we need a dimension, a little more global knowledge of these interrelations" (S8). Or we cannot consider, under the same conditions, the participation of migrant families in the school system as that of local families. Migrant families generally do not understand our educational system and don't speak catalan, so they cannot participate in the same degree in their children's studies as local families do (S11, S13). And there are not facilities to these families to know what entities, procedures or aid they may have access (S4).

There are also problems with regrouping. The parents who are the first ones to travel to another country, when they are settled and want to bring their families, they meet a lot of

legacy problems (S7, S8). "And then there are a whole series of situations such as transnational motherhoods that have an educational impact on these children, once they are regrouped, which may have taken ten years. Can you imagine: you leave a child with 2 years, he is 12 when you get him back, he is no longer your son, he is your mother's son. He stayed with your aunt, with your grandmother. And you put him in the education system here. Then there is a set of derivatives. Those minors inherit immigration status, they are not Spanish. So, they live under the Aliens Act, even if they have been here for 10 years" (S8).

In addition to this, late regrouping affects children's performance in school. "Children who arrive here at the age of 14 have a non-graduation rate of 90%. With 12 they have a 60% graduation and so they go down to a level, always below the autochthonous ones. . . Women arrive from Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala who know that their children are growing up there in unsuitable conditions, you know that they will be on the street. You know that they will bring them when they are 15 years old, that they will enter the 4th year of ESO (14-15 years old), and on a human level it is clear that separating a mother from her child is inhumane. But, as Catalans, selfishly, what do we want? that they come at the age of 3 instead of 14. I want them to come here from childhood and study in the Catalan system" (S11).

Other difficulties detected are:

We are looking primarily at new migrant children, while we should be looking at the population we already have. In recent years, migratory flows have decreased, while 1 in 3 young people between 15 and 30 years old has some kind of contact with foreigners (S1).

As a society, we are criminalizing the male migrant bodies. Young male migrants are more likely to be considered criminals than local ones (S8).

The Department of Education takes neither the work of NGOs and their initiatives seriously nor does it prioritize racist discrimination (S6).

There is an unsolved gap with young people between 16 (when they finish the compulsory school) and 18 years old, when they cease to be under government tutelage, and have to start obeying adult migration policies (S8, S9).

"Most cases of racism are not reported. Especially children in schools. If you do not find a sensitive teaching staff who is able to recognize the racist axis, racist actions are not reported. Or when it happens, families do not know how to do it" (S6).

There is not enough research. The objective is to see if outside the country there is a larger scale search. Here we go very blindly (S10).

Europe should admit the need of migrant population as working population. "Europe is continuously losing working-age population. Spain is losing 2,000,000 every ten years. It is not a future projection, if not from 2010 to 2020, two million people of working age, aged

16 to 64, are being lost. The reason is that we are all retiring and there are not young people coming out" (S11).

2.3 Good practices

Second chance schools: "in these schools there are many teenagers who are migrants. And many have gone through a stage of adaptation, of mourning, of feeling completely out of the environment, of not recognizing their basic parameters. They don't find their own identity, it costs them much more and sometimes it ends up affecting their study, their performance, their own fit within their own group of peers, and in the families, and therefore later on the issues of academic performance and their own personal goals. Then many spend a season like this and then hook into second chance schools and rediscover themselves, make that click process and something happens with all the actions that make of enormous accompaniment and hook, start to define their goal, about what they want and start to maintain certain illusions, start to make small objectives their itinerary. How good it would be if second chance schools were not necessary, but that this could be done inside the schools" (S12) [promoted by Second Chance Schools Association in Spain].

Mus-e program: "It is a program run by the Yehudi Menuhin Foundation that the Ministry has funded for at least four years. And it is a program that fundamentally seeks to maintain the cultural identity of immigrant children when they are in school and have little time, and have difficulties in the language, even the issue of adaptation in school, the accompaniment also to families and all this is done through art. It is a program to reconcile interests, values, culture, in short, everything within the classroom, through art and using artists with different types of skills, crafts, music, painting, theater, and so on" (S12).

PLACM: "It is the program of Arabic language and culture. What this program seeks is that the children of Moroccan families who come to Spain, who do not know the language well could maintain their language and their culture. This program was inspired by Morocco at the time and is funded by both parties, what it seeks is to maintain their language and their culture of origin. There are two modalities, one during school hours and the other outside school hours. In the end, what we are doing is maintaining that language and culture, that cultural identity, outside and inside the school" (S12).

Reception classroom (Aula d'acollida) (S10): It is an educational method to respond to the needs of the newly arrived pupils. This practice facilitates personalized and appropriate attention for this type of students. This organizational structure guarantees the acquisition of linguistic competence by the students, and offers an adapted curriculum so that they could be integrated into ordinary classrooms, also guarding their emotional and personal needs [promoted by Catalan government].

Educational plans for the environment (Plans educatius d'entorn)(S10): they are an educational proposal that wants to respond to the multiple needs of our society. They are instruments to give an integrated and community response to educational needs,

coordinating and stimulating educational action in different areas of the life of children and young people. In collaboration with Foundations and social entities [promoted by Catalan government].

Languages and Cultures of Origin Program (S10): program with the aim of enhancing the languages and cultures of students' origin, facilitating their learning and academic recognition to all students in the educational system, and at the same time promote values of tolerance and respect for diversity. Through this initiative, the teaching of languages of origin will be promoted both in school hours and in out-of-school hours in public centers of primary education, compulsory secondary education, high school and initial and special vocational training [promoted by the Department of Education of the Catalan Government].

After schooling reinforcement: "it is not pedagogical innovation, it will not win any prize for the best educational initiative of the year, but it works. . . And so we believe that we must continue to support school reinforcement projects" (S11) [promoted by Catalan government].

Mentoring projects (for example 'Rossignol project', 'Chroma project): It is a program in which university migrant students mentor migrant children. "If there is no one in your environment and family at university, your expectation of yourself to go to college is low. Expectation is a very conditioning factor in the outcome. If you think you can do it, you may or may not do it. But if you think you won't do it, you won't do it. And if your environment believes that you won't do it, you won't do it . . . Mentoring programs have a very important influence on mental openness at the time of orientation" (S11) [promoted by Catalan government].

Aprenem. Famílies en Xarxa (AFEX, We Learn: Families in Network): "It is a reverse mentoring project: young people mentoring their parents. So, students of 4th year of ESO (14-15 years old) are proposed, if they want to make private classes some of their family. Then, we do a quarter of Catalan, a quarter of Spanish and a quarter of computer science". Also there is a gender issue in this program, as it is a way to empower girls and engage them to continue their studies instead of abandon them for getting married or to help at home. However, there is also an issue about masculinities. Whe should ask why boys don't want to participate in this project (S11) [promoted by Catalan government].

"In Catalonia there are some schools that they call High Complexity, which have specific professionals: social workers, who, in some way, also fulfil this function of helping families throughout the process, and accompaniment so that, in the end, this will revert positively to the children" (S4).

"We promote that town councils of more than 1,000 inhabitants and with county functions, already have technicians of migration policy, technicians of Citizenship and Immigration" (S7).

"In Barcelona you can register without domicile. What does it mean? That the people who are as interns or who reside in settlements can be registered, and they can register the three years required by the Law on Foreigners to apply for the settlement, and is a set of complex conditions, but it is a light at the end of the tunnel to be able to obtain the residence and work permit. That's only in Barcelona, it's not in other councils in Catalonia" (S8).

"It is the municipalities that are daring more to make risky and different proposals" (S8).

Inclusion in School food (S5, S6) "but it needs more sources and not all municipalities have enough sources to introduce other kinds of diets apart from the mediterranean one" (S6) [promoted by some city councils].

Open schoolyards (Patis Oberts / Instituts Oberts)(S7, S11): "what we work in the department is to open the schoolyards, beyond class time. That is to say, that the parents can enter to make courses of literacy, that the children can have some extracurricular activities, or if an association needs a space it can go to the institute also. That is to say, the institute opens up as a more communitarian space in the neighbourhood"(S7) [promoted by the city council of Barcelona].

Baobab Program (S3): is an educational program, promoted by the City Council of Barcelona through the Municipal Institute of Education (IMEB), which aims to consolidate the community-based educational leisure in the neighborhoods where the leisure network is weak or nonexistent.

"There are still school ghettos. In Barcelona it happens that two schools, one next to each other in a neighborhood where there is 30% of immigration, one of the schools houses 2% of the foreign population of the neighborhood and the other 60-70%. This is a reality. Therefore we wanted to generate a shock plan that is not linked to the nationality of the child but to its socioeconomic status that we call social vulnerability" (S3). So Barcelona is working in program of pre-assignation in order to better distribute migrant children in different schools, as well as better management of 'live enrollment' (matrícula viva) in different schools (also S4) [promoted by City Council of Barcelona].

"In the case of the Besòs neighborhood where their schools have a strong confluence of Roma students with students of foreign origin, we realize that in this case schools were asked to generate the time compaction. That is, do teaching from 9am to 2pm, lunch from 2pm to 3pm and do complementary activities from 3pm to 4:30pm . . . Therefore 5 hours allowed to work for projects and all these elements. Point number 2: lunch are done with the teachers, not with dining monitors, and therefore, the referents are the same. And point number 3: activities in the afternoon are made by entities with a high quality related with environment, theater, etc... They are not activities to entertain children, but really powerful activities of dance, music, theater, pool. Moreover, children are asked what they want to do and they choose by themselves" (S3) [promoted by City Council of Barcelona].

Magnet Schools (S13): program to make schools more attractive to families in order to combat school segregation. However, if there are no policies that accompany the environment (subject of ratios, distribution of students, live enrollment), if there are no policies that make this school do its job to combat segregated social composition, it is difficult for a Magnet School to be successful [promoted by Fundació Jaume Bofill, Catalonia].

Prometeus Project (S3): the project, which involves public secondary schools, is geared towards providing a guidance device based on actions to support these schools, as well as facilitating the transition to the university to students with economic difficulties and unfavorable environments [promoted by Universitat Pompeu Fabra and l'Associació Educativa Integral del Raval, Barcelona].

Anti-racist school project (S5): The project seeks to reflect on the "microracisms" at school and to create a space for denunciation and listening for racialized students [promoted by some migrant collectives].

The work of NGOs: "NGOs here at BCN are essential. That is to say, neither the City Council nor the Generalitat would be able to respond to all the needs that exist in this regard (SOS racism, migraestudium ...). . . all of them are indispensable. Because in the first place they have enough capillarity to be able to arrive wherever for the administration it is impossible to arrive by their own resources. Secondly, there is a very important recognition effect because of this very reality that it is not a municipal civil servant but a person, neighbor who is who comes to you and accompanies you, or vindicates . . . And then there is also a question of building coexistence. These organizations play a fundamental role in building social fabric" (S3).

"Vic is a population where there is a high percentage of migration since these arrivals began in the 1990s and 2000s. There was an agreement between all public and concerted schools that made an entry redistribution, let's say, with a collaboration on the part of the administrations to accompany the families so that those schools did not have difficulties to access certain services and give these families a help." (S4) [promoted by City Council of Vic, Catalonia].

Enxaneta Project (Projecte enxaneta)(S13): project for detecting in advance the academic disaffection in children and involve the family in their school education [promoted by University of Vic].

"We have a project underway at the University of Vic, which is very interesting. They work a lot on the subject of school continuity, in which the gender perspective plays a very important role. So, what they have done is that girls who are in educational levels of graduates, or higher cycle or university accompany girls who are in high school. They accompany them to work on the emotional issue so that they can say 'you can. I could, you could too'. This also helps families to visualize other options for their daughters. That could think: 'wow, are you in college? then my daughter could also be there'. So, this project was

to work among women. And now we have seen the importance of also working with the families, because these looks encourage the families. And to work with the educational teams. Because glances also come a lot from the gaze you have from school" (S7).

L'Associació Mares enllaç (Mothers Link Association): they propose a school mediation service that works to facilitate contact between the families of newly arrived students and schools. "Women from different origins that make bridges with those of their community. It has been a way to make them visible. In some classes, there is the Catalan delegate and the foreigner one" (S9) [Promoted by Associació Mares Enllaç, Vic].

"Good practices are those in which all the actors have to agree, from the Educational Inspectorate, the City Council, the Municipal Office of Education, and the concerted schools. Because in the end it also depends a lot on the reception. If you force students to go to certain schools or you tell them, 'the schools don't welcome you well', that family the next year will go to another school. That is to say, this is very important, the schools themselves have to be welcoming" (S4).

"For example, Joaquim Ruyra school (in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Barcelona), with a learning community that works very well -because the results are evident- but nobody knows how to put numbers on the table and say 'such an intervention has been made and has obtained these quantifiable results" (S1).

"The secondary school in 'la Mina' is also an example of good practice. It is making an impressive transformation as a school in the La Mina neighbourhood (Barcelona), because the management team is believing in the school project and overcoming fatality" (S1).

Samuntada School (in Sabadell, Barcelona) also have made a big transformation, and parents enroll their children for the educational project school offers, instead of which kind of population go (S1).

"One practice that works is when additional support takes place inside the classroom. Don't do fragmented support. Getting used to having more than one professional in the classroom and being able to rely on peers as a resource. This is: collaborative and cooperative work with more than one additional support professional within the classroom. We have seen these practices work, but all this requires additional resources, with the will of the teachers is not enough" (S1).

"We have also seen that it works very well when there are non-teaching figures within the school, for example social educators, social workers, dynamizers, etc. This is something that in other countries such as Sweden, Holland, United Kingdom, Austria have very integrated, but here there is still no other function than that of teacher. This has a direct repercussion on school connections" (S1).

"There are different studies that indicate that when the educational community is strong, when the educational community is more present and accompanies the educational process, school success is easier" (S7).

2.4 Bad practices

There are some schools that groups students in accordance with their academic level. "Level groups are a death sentence for many students who in high school end up in the lower groups. Not only do they generate a low expectation, but the boys internalize that they are of no use. This is terrible" (S1) (S4 too).

Proderai: "it is a protocol to prevent Islamist violent extremism . . . Teachers are asked to be able to 'denounce' the students. Does a teacher have this capacity? It's scolding and that entails lack of confidence on the part of the student towards the professor" (S6). "Proderai at schools wants the professors to become radicalization detectors, which seems to me to be very serious. Then schools are not only do not give what they have to give from the socio-educational point of view, but above you put the Proderai. This is causing strong tensions in the schools and pupils can feel extra monitored, that is not only they feel not well received and not belonging to the school, but also supervised" (S1) [initiative promoted by Catalan police, after the jihaddist attacks in Barcelona in 2017].

"Teachers ask for training about cultures of origin, and it is not the question. Because there is not a main culture and minor cultures" (S13).

"One thing that we saw very clearly is that the reception classrooms (aules d'acollida) have to be in line with the center's educational project" (S9). Otherwise, they become a space of segregation (S6).

2.5 What should be done

S1 and S2 agree that there is a need of better teacher training. "If the teacher is interested in reception of migrant children, he will embrace them well . . . Then I believe that a line that must be strengthened is the training of teaching staff in attention to diversity, specifically in cultural diversity and reception. Receive in the sense of understanding, of integrating into the group, that the group as a whole find bilateral integration. I think that there could be a more important commitment here in training" (S2).

"There is a lack of school network projects from the local administration. Projects must be proposed, evaluated and adapted to the needs of each neighbourhood. The problem is that no one in the government is evaluating these practices. No evaluation that puts evidence on the table. When you give extra money for high complexity centers, there is no evaluation to see what these resources have been used for" (S1).

"The school should be valued for its educational project and not for its student population" (S1).

"At the level of schools, it is needed more capacity to work with situations of need and change. Often schools are lost in protocols, roles, etc. instead of thinking what children and teachers need to work with them. Also there is a need for more resources for work with families, with the territory, more actions that foster more encounters between children of different possibilities, backgrounds ... It is not a guarantee of anything, but if you have no interaction... On a general level, political commitment is missed. They should stop talking about this problem and take action: training, housing, accompanying people ... educational policies are not alone: housing and work should be taken into consideration too. This requires working differently. Stop seeing this group (migrants) as a threat. But while they do not have a job... how do you create work or educational or social situations where the relationships between the people you want to integrate / include have some possibility?" (S9).

"We should issue many more visas than we do as well as facilitating labour regulations" (S11).

"The logical thing is that a State advances equally, that these territorial imbalances that sometimes occur do not occur . . . There is an intention to make a state regulation so that there are some minimums, then each autonomous community can go on specifying them" (S12).

3. Migrant Children's Needs

This section summarizes on how the experts see the migrant children's needs and if how the policies/programmes and/or practices address them, as well as, if there are any problematic points. It is divided in the following needs: linguistic issues; community and belonging; recognition.

3.1 Linguistic Issues

Children need to maintain their languages of origin with an intention of multiculturality (S10, S2, S12). But also facilities to learn catalan (compulsory school language in Catalonia) (S4). The situation in Catalonia is very exceptional. "The language of the school (Catalan) is not the language you listen in the neighborhoods you are living. Not only your community of reference or your family doesn't speak Catalan, but neither does the community or your neighborhood" (S1). However, "to achieve that they feel Catalan and Urdus is a wealth for everybody" (S2). In this way, "we must be much more flexible and not make the language a barrier to evaluation. . . The linguistic correction is usually put above the knowledge of curricular contents and this is very serious. There are a thousand OECD reports that

recommend that this is not the case and we are not paying attention to them" (S1).

Let's see a case:

"there is a case that I am writing now because we have finished the fieldwork recently with a project that we are doing. I have a girl, the example of a girl, who is now seven and will be eight years old, but I tracked the case when she was 6. It's a girl that is exposed to six languages and I wrote in the report: "six years, six languages." This means that the mother is Moroccan, speaks Darija, the father is Pakistani, speak Urdu, at school she learns Catalan, Spanish and English, and we have five ... yes, and she is going to classes in the mosque to learn the written Arabic that is not darija, it is not Moroccan Arabic, but it is Arabic classical to be able to read the Qur'an, and to be able to do the writing, etc, etc. Six languages, uh? Not to mention that parents met in France and occasionally they mix French in their interactions. This girl, six years old, begins primary school and is already in the school group, and is exposed to six languages. Do you think that you can evaluate her in the same way that a girl who speaks in Catalan at home and at school? You can not evaluate it equally. Well, the first evaluation of this girl considered her a handicapped girl ... a very sensitive and very good school.

We talked with the school, we explained the case, we said ... because, of course, I read the evaluation, parents were scattered. The mother, licensed in Law, and here nobody would say that because here she cleans houses, here cleaning houses, uh? The father has a store now, he worked in a restaurant, well ... some parents whose only obsession with migration is to provide educational and social opportunities to their children ... and they receive this first evaluation and they remain destroyed. Thinking that there is something wrong with her daughter, that she may have some kind of deficiency. When there's really nothing wrong with the girl. Of course, the school must understand that this girl can not be evaluated like the other local children. Then the school, very handsome, accepted to receive a training session. We explained the case, and school begins to understand that there is a whole part that it has to focus in another way, from the progress made by this girl. And, step by step, whenever she feels more secure, she will make a multiplication of learning. But you must treat it according to each one of these cases, right?" (S1).

3.2 Community and belonging

"The fact that they know the language is not enough, if not, look what happened at Ripoll [the young people who led the jihadist attack in Catalonia in 2017 came from Ripoll]. There is a key concept that is belonging. You can't talk about integration if you don't talk about belonging. And belonging has economic dimensions, emotional dimensions and symbolic dimensions. And if we do not pay attention to this, everything else is an indicator that can serve us, but of course we are not putting ourselves on these boys and girls' skin or in their lived experiences" (S1).

"Children need a social and associative network as well as learning spaces beyond the school. It is important that they have experiences with cultural associations, boy scouts associations, 'castellers' (human castles), etc. It is important that they perceive that the opportunities for consolidation of education of quality not only has to do with going to a good school, but also to have a good network of interrelationships, fostering a relation between different collectives and diverse social networks. And this probably not only helps these children have a better social cohesion, but it fosters social cohesion in general" (S2).

3.3 Recognition

"Not listening to them is terrible. They're forbidding us to listen to minors and young people. . . I am thinking, for example, of young Asian women, from Asian descent, who make videos online. And many other types of young people who are doing things and we don't provide enough space for them to be heard and seen" (S8).

"There is a need of equality, that everyone feels listened to and recognized. They need to feel like protagonists as everyone. Many times they feel and show that they want to be the same as the others and not have to explain so many things, but at the same time they want to explain it. After they finish high school they see that not everyone will have the same possibilities when they arrive at the workplace. 'Do not get here in case you are not able to make it', as with the university and the higher degrees. And then, many times, they have no social or family recognition. Teenagers have to break with what the family wants for them, but sometimes they do not feel good about one or the other" (S9).

"I think a fundamental issue is love and care. What you talk to these children is that they are remembered by the system that they have no future here, that the only future they have is that of exploitation. So, I think that we are doing something wrong as a system for these children to have integrated, even from a very young age that they are not loved. It is a system of systematic rejection" (S8).

Speaking of migrant mothers who take care of local children while their own children are cared for by their aunts or neighbors. "I think there's a lack of recognition of capabilities. In other words, it seems to me that we have very clear which are the good competences that a child or a good student should have, but we don't know how to recognise other competences in a much broader way" (S8).

"I think that the basic needs of migrant children would be the full recognition of citizenship, of belonging to the community in which they are. Recognize them as subjects of rights and obligations. Do not make their rights dependent on the condition of their parents" (S5).

"I am a little struck by this idea that young people are our future. Young people are our present too. They are part of the actors in our society. And I don't think it's recognized. Children have a personality from a very early age, and know the things they want and don't

want, and yet we treat them as incapable, from families to schools. It's something we should change" (S8) (also S1).

And not only that. They need the school value their parents. "There are professionals who do not have a broad view of the social world. In the world of education I believe that a professional who does not have a broad view of a child must be questioned a lot... of respect for his parents, of respect and of value" (S7).

4. Readiness for Change

This section summarizes on how much they know about the integration policies, with specific focus on education, and about recommendations from other fields/other stakeholders and who should make steps for change. It is divided in the following subsections: recommendations; obstacles; the role of research; new proposals.

4.1 Recommendations

A change of perspective, against the school segregation (S4). Towards a perspective of community and of recognition of the other:

"To think from the perspective of the subjects in the educational process. . . therefore the students, the teachers and the families. . . Identify the barriers that each of them finds in learning, participation and sociability to make the educational change. And this change of perspective involves many things: it implies taking into account the baggage of everybody, implies introducing the languages of everybody, implies making important educational transformations" (S1) (also S7, S4).

"We need to get to know each other better. And to know is to recognize the other. If I recognize you, we will be in an environment of equality" (S7) (also S8, S10). "To know which are the needs of each other" (S9). And build good schools (with a manageable ratio of students -S10-) and more horizontal districts (S7).

And this implies the involvement of all entities (S13, S3). More compromise and shared responsibilities (S10). Local administrations should have social inclusive projects, to be an active agent for change (S1, S5). But also schools should introduce coexistence and inclusive values in curriculum (S6) as well as having certain autonomy so that could adapt school to each reality (S2). "Once the president of India (woman) came and demanded treating more politics at school. 'Why do not you teach more politics?'-asked to us" (S10).

There is a need of more training (for teachers and families -S1-), teacher motivation and resources (S4). Teachers deserve a good job conditions (S3). Teacher community has to be an example of diversity. "We need migrant teachers at school" (S6). Guidance, accompaniment, monitoring (S3) and good assessment (S10, S13). "Collaboration with universities is indispensable: in all innovation programs there must always be universities

behind. Our policies must be able to put into practice and study them, to see if they work or not" (S10).

S1 also recommends implementing a mentoring program more often. It takes the case of Rotterdam, where it seems to work very well in the sense that it means personalised and informal support, so that there is more trust between the mentor and the foster child and this allows the children a progressive integration with the accompaniment.

Finally, S13 and S9 recommends paying attention to integration practices in 0-6.

4.2 Obstacles

Primary schools are more predisposed to changes than secondary school, where teachers are more resistant to work in teams and in a more collaborative way (S10). In addition to this, children feel more accompanied during primary school than during secondary school (S7).

We have a lot of work to do in collaboration between large and small-scale institutions and administrations. Municipalities and schools continue to promote significant changes, unlike national or European policies (S1, S13). More resources are also needed. After the 40% budget cuts in education, the possibilities for change are more difficult (S1).

Another obstacles are:

- the prejudices Spanish society has towards migrant population (S13)

- the studies presented by Academia usually use too technical language, so that they don't have a good dissemination among the institutions that could introduce changes. Thus, academia feel that it is not recognized by politicians and the distance for a collaborative work is bigger and bigger (S8)

- Administrations do not communicate their practices and initiatives well enough, so they do not have sufficient projection beyond the places where they are implemented (S10).

4.3 The Role of Research

"Educational research is in an opposite situation to medicine. You innovate and immediately experiment in a university hospital. You have cutting-edge research and practice, intervention. In education, on the other hand, you know that 50 years ago it works to do I don't know what and you go to school and they don't even know it. And it's the public administration's fault for not providing permanent training, continuous updating. Just as in medicine it is unthinkable to discover a cure for pancreatic cancer and 50 years later the medicine in question has not reached society, in education it is what happens. Therefore, this dissociation between research and experimentation must first be resolved, and the administration must set up university schools. All schools should be in collaboration with

some research project" (S1). S8, also suggests that Academia should collaborate more often with media and with NGO.

In addition to this, according to S2 "good practices should be better underpinned and disseminated. And those practices that are not well developed yet, we should start to study and test them". And research has an important role here as S3 claims: "the role of research is essential in the sense of inspiring policies, of diagnosing what are the realities and of continually evaluating the development of these policies".

4.4 New Proposals

"Now we will start 2 new projects:

One with money from state funds against gender violence. It is a project that will have a lot in common with the literacy project, but it will only be for women. It includes elements of empowerment, equality, prevention against violence, etc. The aim of the project's training is to leave them on the verge of doing an occupational training, they are people who normally do not have access to occupational training. . . The project seeks to increase the rate of female activity.

The other is also from the state fund against gender violence. It is a project to prevent genital mutilation and forced marriage. That is directly connected with education. Although in Catalonia genital mutilation is not common" (S11).

5. Other issues arising from the interviews

During the interviews, some terms of the project were explored:

Integration

"This term is problematic for us. We in the 'pact for interculturality' that we are developing will come out the concept of inclusion, the concept of equal rights, equal opportunities. Therefore, we will have to work with policies of inclusion for equal opportunities, with policies of interaction, and policies of recognition, of visualization. In other words, we are heading in this direction. And these are the concepts that allow us to think 'diverse society', what we are. Now the focus we are working with is this: inclusion, interaction and recognition" (S7).

"We talk about 'social and educational inclusion' and 'equal opportunities' in access, process and results. And how to make clear the inequalities. They move away from the idea of multiculturalism and go more towards showing them. . . We work with the concept of social inclusion. The idea of inclusion makes us more comfortable with a reference framework and not the people themselves. And social because we started to work from school, but we started to work with the community or we can not do anything" (S9).

Migration

"I work on migration, but I know it's not the right word. When someone has been here for 20 years they are no longer a migrant. But how to do it to recognize that they do have that backpack, because what I can't do is deny it. For example, what I have been able to see is that one of the things that black or racialized people tell us is 'I don't want you to say it's colorblind, that you don't care about colors. Because we live in a structural racism where colors matter. So admit it. And recognize where I come from'. I think you can't say third-generation migrant because we're not applying it to other contexts. For example, what am I? a second-generation Aragonese? No, I don't" (S8).

"I believe that the issue of ethnicity is also a blockade because it is a pigeonhole that does not apply only to the issue of backpackers from other countries. I could say that you would have to define yourself with essences that are actually super fluid. We're still not quite aware of that, that the culture is absolutely fluid. . . There are days when I feel Catalan and days when I would like a Swedish passport. And if I feel it here, born here..." (S8).

Other questions emerged

S4 poses the question: Why is Europe becoming more racist in recent years, especially rich countries such as Finland, Germany and Denmark, with their growing anti-migration policies promoted by right-wing parties?

S7 put special emphasis in the question of migrant children autonomy for choosing their future:

"When we speak in broad terms of school success, it's not that everyone ends up in college. It is that they follow their own goals and make their own decisions along the way. And this, in the project in Vic, the girls we interviewed said, 'Beware, it's not that all girls have to go to college. No. There will be girls who won't want to go to university, but it will be their own decision".

6. Main Findings and Discussion

There is a claim for holistic and coordinated policies and practices. Spain as a country, but also each region, should think about its political position towards migration and try to: firstly, find a coherence between national, regional and local policies; and, secondly, accept its plurality and diversity and work hand by hand, that is, in a more coordinated way to make the country such a one more welcoming and inclusive. So integration is not only an issue to be solved by schools, but by all the community and society. As a society we have to learn to listen and empathise with the other. Understand the position, backgrounds and needs to the other. Because it is not that 'we' are the society and the other invades us. All of us 'make' and conform our society. There is a need of pedagogy for teachers, families and society, both

migrant and local. In the end, what migrant children need is recognition, sense of 'real' belonging, not only national or legal, but also emotional and social. And a close and trustworthy accompaniment.

An interesting question that came up during the interviews it was that there was implicit that we talked about 'poor' migrant children. So, inclusion is not (only) an issue about migration, but about classism. There is a distinction between foreing and migrant. The richest people coming from different countries are considered foreign and their children are easy to include. They don't suffer any kind of discrimination, whereas the poorest do.

NGOs play an important role in migrant children. They work and have access to those families that municipalities or nation don't. They are the necessary extension, support and resources that governments cannot normally provide.

There are good practices that would need to be studied and assessed, in order to demonstrate them as good practices, as well as, detect which elements have helped those practices to become good. This would be easier if researchers work more often with policy-makers, NGOs, schools and other institutions.

Finally, some words are put in question, such as integration and migration, as the reality has more layers and is more complex than some institutions want to see.

7. Conclusions

In Spain there are many initiatives and programs to deal with migrant children integration. However, they are localized in some specific autonomous communities (such as Andalusia and Catalonia) and, into these communities, the practices are focused in specific cities (Barcelona, Vic, Ceuta, Melilla, etc.). The challenge, therefore, is to achieve better coordination and agreement for national integration policies.

There is a hidden question of gender that only few institutions are addressing, related to caring and upbringing own children or local children, as well as to regrouping and migrant women job conditions. In this way, there are several inequalities or dysfunctionalities in migrant policies for adults that affects to migrant children.

Finally, there is a need for a more inclusive society, where different organizations work together sharing the same aims. That is, a good practice of inclusion for new arrived children, but also assure a continuity in their rights and job possibilities when they become adults.



UNITED KINGDOM[9]

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1. Introduction

This report explores some of the themes, policies and practices related to migrant children's integration in the UK. The main findings are drawn from initial discussions with key stakeholders in the field of migrant education, and summarised in the context of contemporary debates in this area. The discussion on Integration in the UK has been a long debated one. A review of evidence on previous research and studies suggest caution that the concept of integration needs to be carefully unpacked and contextualised in any social context. Recent data, courtesy of United Nations, place the total number of international migrants in the UK at 8.8 million, representing 13.4% of the total population. However, any question posed about British policy on the integration of migrants can result in a question in reply: 'which migrants?', 'where in the UK?', and 'what part of policy?', or 'what part of the state?'. The latter questions relate to the devolved nature of British governance and the different histories of its constituent nations (and regions). They also reflect the presence of many components of migrant integration policy that are neither articulated in one single document, nor mandated in detail from the top down. The first question, however, reflects a long history of different kinds of migration to the UK, and with this variety, there are differences in the kinds of needs the migrants present.

[9] The responsibility for the overall content of this report lays with its authors. The views expressed by the stakeholders we have interviewed do not necessarily represent an endorsement of the findings published here.

Post-war migration to Britain includes a number of 'waves', with different origins and aggregate rationales:

- Windrush: after the British Nationality Act 1948 (which created the status of 'Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies' as the national citizenship of the United Kingdom and its colonies), and the encouraging of ex-Empire/Commonwealth 'subjects' to come to help rebuild Britain. Caribbean transport workers, subcontinental doctors are the stereotype. Some will have been to Britain before as colonial subjects and also served in the British forces in World War II;
- Post-war displaced people and Cold War refugees: Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians;
- Ireland: Britain's post-war boom attracted many Irish people. Prior to the 2000s financial crisis, ongoing sectarian violence and its economic aftermath was another factor for migration to the UK;
- Early 1970s migration of Ugandan Asians: almost 30,000 South Asians, who were citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies, migrated to the UK;
- 1990s: break-up of Yugoslavia and refugees from the war;
- 2000s: refugees from components of the 'war on terror' and related conflicts (Kurdistan, Afghanistan);
- 2000s: recruitment of healthcare staff from India (Prasad 2004);
- 2004: A8 enlargement of EU;
- 2010s: more refugees from several places: Syria, Iran, Iraq, Eritrea.

Thus, some groups do not have language barriers (where the leaving country was English-speaking) and cultural difference varies significantly across different populations. Many of the groups have conflict backgrounds, hence will arrive traumatised to some degree. Others are migrants with economic reasons as the key driver, and these have sometimes begun by thinking of themselves as temporary *gastarbeiter* but then as time passes and houses/partners/children come along, the temporary nature morphs into 'not going back'.

2. Sample

The organisations we have approached range from more central institutions operating across the country to smaller scale local entities. The first category includes national charities dedicated to funding work influencing migration policy, associations overseeing the teaching of English as an Additional Language (EAL) or an independent policy think tank focusing on migration and integration. The second category, on the other hand, is comprised of regional bodies such as local authorities dedicated to supporting schools across Greater Manchester in their work with migrant children, supplementary schools or grassroots charities working directly with refugees and asylum seekers. Table 1 at the end of this document lists the 11 institutions we have approached for interviews and describes in more detail their profile. On a reflective note, we must also mention the difficulties and challenges in contacting various

stakeholders for an open and honest discussion on this contested topic, with many (particularly small NGOs supporting migrant families and communities) faced with pressures of time, resources and priorities.

Moreover, the degree to which these institutions are directly involved in working migrant children varies from case to case. Paul Hamlyn Foundation, one of the largest charitable grant-making organisations in the UK, has a more strategic approach, supporting organisations impacting on migration policies and integration efforts in various forms: policy influencing, strategic communications, research, legal work and strategic litigation, community organising, mobilising or leadership development.

A related interest in policy is visible in the work of another stakeholder we approached, namely a UK researcher for Employment/Social Policy whose activity is specifically oriented towards Migration and Integration in schools. Our interviewee has produced reports based on a recent project into newly arrived migrants (3-5 years) in the UK, having worked with different schools and local stakeholders (Manzoni and Rolfe 2019).

Similarly, NALDIC, the national subject association for English as an Additional Language, is acting as an intermediary in the process of migrant children integration by effectively supporting schools and teachers to engage with children coming from different linguistic, cultural and migration backgrounds. The association is arguing for good education with specialist language knowledge where necessary. While there is a more technical side to their activity, which has to do with language pedagogy in the mainstream curricular context, the association believes that in the current culturally and linguistically diverse school environment its work should not be niche, but rather part of every teacher's work.

On the other hand, services such as Salford Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service (EMTAS) or the Education and Skills department at the Manchester City Council are more directly involved with supporting not just the schools, but also migrant children at the local level. EMTAS is a very inclusive, child- and family-centred organisation. 'We are very much against schools that may segregate these children in any way', says the EMTAS representative we have interviewed. In a position that similarly involves direct contact with migrant children is the representative of one local Supplementary School. Specifically, we have interviewed the Co-ordinator Provider of a Supplementary School for Indian Arts and Culture based in Central Manchester. This is based in a local school and delivers education through arts and culture. Classes are provided during Saturdays, are open to all backgrounds in relation to diversity, special needs and abilities and range from music to dance, yoga, languages etc.

A similar creative approach to language learning is delivered by the Mother Tongue Other Tongue Project (MTOT), whose co-ordinator has also been approached for interview. MTOT is a multi-lingual poetry competition that celebrates cultural diversity and the many languages spoken in the UK schools. Nationally, the Routes into Languages programme (the co-ordinator of the MTOT project) encourages young people in schools to study languages, which have been identified as a Strategic and Vulnerable subjects by the Higher Education Funding Council for

England (HEFCE). One of the major aims of Routes into Languages project based in the North West is to boost recruitment to language degrees in higher education. This has led to supporting children who are bilingual in background, primarily due to migrant backgrounds.

Three of our interviewees have a specific expertise in religious aspects of migrant integration, as faith education plays an important role in reception communities across the UK. The first of them is coordinator for a national body concerned with faith schools and their role in cohesion and integration. The organisation he represents is a multi-faith campaigning group that is trying to make schools more inclusive and prevent them from selecting students in accordance with faith. The organisation has high profile supporters and members (other campaigning organisations and some religious groups). This is of particular importance since one third of state schools in England are faith schools (Harrison 2011). The second is Co-Chair of the Muslim Jewish Forum of Greater Manchester, member of the Manchester Challenging Hate Forum, and Chairman until recently of the Conservative Muslim Forum, an affiliated group within the British Conservative Party. This person is a retired accountant, but has been active in politics since the 1980s and as the chair of the governing party's Muslim group has had the ear of many British ministers. The third interviewee is working as a government advisor, with a focus on preventing extremism, as well as working on equality and diversity in higher education and schools.

Finally, the local branch of City of Sanctuary, a grassroots movement aiming to provide a welcome to people seeking sanctuary, is involved on a daily basis with migrants of all ages through offering basic services such as signposting them to English or arts classes and engaging them in volunteering activities. Its principle is to find a common ground with such people and learn together, through building bridges, recognising similarities and challenging stereotypes.

3. Identification of Policies and Practices within Reception Communities

Overall, there was very little mention of policies on integration either at EU, national or local level. The situation has been characterised by one interviewee as a 'reckless laissez faire approach' which contrasts with situations in countries such as Canada, where the approach is much more proactive and consists of support for people who migrate, language classes, early support, 'all properly set up'. An interesting observation made by our Policy Expert was that there is no explicit UK national policy on integration, with no specific focus on migrant integration. Therefore, the focus moves to educational policies at school level. The representative of the Muslim Jewish Forum echoes this point, admitting that he is not sure what the national policies on migration are. Such a national-wide focus is nevertheless needed in order to reduce educational inequalities, particularly in educational performance of newly arriving migrant children across the UK (Manzoni and Rolfe 2019). Such findings on education and integration are extremely relevant since they directly affects societal integration.

The main integration policy in the UK relates to the Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) introduced in 1999, which brought some local changes in the educational sector. However, in all interviews we find that the stakeholders do not share the positive effects of such policies – this perhaps reflects changes in the recent past, politically, ideologically and in relation to austerity, that do not support migrant integration. All of them underscored the importance of a policy on integration that is tackled effectively at policy level, through focus, funding or local support. From 2011, support for new arrivals and ethnic minorities has been drastically reduced, with the EMA grant subsumed into a more general school funding allocation, the Direct Schools Grant (Manzoni and Rolfe 2019). This change has shifted support away from new arrivals and ethnic minorities and has also reduced access to professional qualifications, staff development and specialist roles for teachers and other school staff working with this specific group of learners (Hutchinson 2018).

In many ways, it can be thus argued that the UK has had a migrant integration policy for some time. Indeed, migration has been part of the UK political discourse since the 1960s, as we have already indicated in our previous report on the national and legal provisions on migration. This migration integration policy has nevertheless been done quite stealthily. At top there has been a vision, while at the bottom there is good work. But it is achieved by a) funding designed for those with particular vulnerabilities (the poorest, those without English, BME) or area-based and b) by allowing local bodies to decide how to spend the money. There is also an ambivalence noted by the representative of the Muslim Jewish Forum with regard to including the migrant issue in policy debates for fear that the idea of integration can appear both punitive and retributive. On the one hand, the government is concerned that talk on integration is seen as punitive by BME voters, as opposed to being about opportunity. Yet, if the government focuses too much on the opportunities, this might be regarded as special favours by other segments of the population. This situation often results in the debate on migrant integration being systematically avoided.

3.1 Hostile environment, changing policies

An overall 'regression of rights' for migrants in the last five years is also noticed by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation representative. Some of the issues that his foundation is facing on a regular basis because of this are increasing costs of application fees for settled status, the lack of legal aid for immigration cases and the increasingly prevalent practice of data sharing on immigrants between governmental departments. More related to children are the recent impact of Brexit pushing them to apply for settled status in the country and the university fees that many migrant young people turning 18 realise they need to pay (as often they have not acquired this settled status). The situation across the country is nevertheless different from nation to nation, observes the representative from NALDIC: 'At a national level, the hostile environment in England has been tremendously damaging and contrasts the ambitious and positive policy agenda in Scotland. However, the policy goals of both are tempered by the experiences of those on the ground: the longer experience of inward migration in England means that expertise is found throughout the country; whereas Scotland, as a relatively new country of immigration, is still building capacity in the workforce'.

Representatives of charities working in the field similarly describe a 'dehumanizing and disempowering' state of affairs, and argue that austerity is contributing to an overall lack of compassion towards migrants. At the school level this can translate into a lack of understanding and knowledge about migration issues amongst some staff. Some teachers lack confidence when working with migrant children and families and may not ask the right questions for fear of not appearing politically correct. On rare occasions staff have felt that teaching migrant children with little or no English was over and above their role and duties according to one local authority. Changes in policies and financing have equally affected how services for migrant children are delivered across the country. Last year, the Department for Education has requested schools to stop collecting pupil nationality data, making it, according to the representative from NALDIC, both harder to identify and support migrant children and communicate with schools. This policy change effectively means that there are increasing gaps for children to fall through without being noticed.

3.2 Faith schools

With over a third of all schools in England categorised as faith schools, their role in the integration of migrant children is considered extremely important if not highly contested amongst our interviewees. We noticed a general call for efforts to tackle fragmented or insular identities that such schools might promote by encouraging wider debates on identity formation, not based purely on religion or cultural beliefs. To illuminate the role of religion within the national school system, we present an overview of the composition of British schools and the place occupied by faith schools within this context.

For historical reasons, combined with recent policy changes, the composition of British schools differs across the constituent nations, and is changing over time. Within the state sector (i.e. those other than the 'private/independent/public' schools where fees are paid) there are a various models of funding, governance and education. The differences relate to the degree of control coming from national and/or local governments, the involvement of other bodies (religious groups, companies, charities) and the possibility of selection of pupils by religion or ability. It is this selection, and related issues of religious instruction, religious education, and religious influence over the wider curriculum, that makes such schools relevant to integration debates.

For reasons of space, we present the English nomenclature for schools: the issues are similar in the other nations, although with different proportions of these types due to different histories. 'Community schools' are controlled by the local authority (LA); academies (often converted from other types of school, and including free schools) have relinquished this control to be more independent; grammar schools (selecting on ability) are sometimes LA controlled or sometimes not, and only in some areas; foundation and voluntary schools are funded mainly or entirely by the LA, but are linked to a charitable body, usually religious. In Scotland most schools are non-denominational, with the faith schools largely being Catholic. In Wales, the small faith school sector includes Catholic and Church in Wales, and in Northern Ireland 45% of schools have a Catholic character. In England, over a third of primary schools

and around 20% of secondary schools have a religious character, most Christian, but some of other religions where requests have been made for parity. Some of these schools can discriminate in admissions, but not all, and parents may also choose to self-discriminate.

While the provision of schools for other religions could be seen as a boost for integration – as it brings these religions into the state sector – it is otherwise seen as a problem for integration. First, there is a fear that there is a long-term logic of divided schooling, with each religious group having its own schools system, mirroring the divisions in Northern Ireland. On a more subtle level, schools that discriminate on religion (or ability) are believed to be part of the mechanisms that allow the more privileged sections of society to choose schools that are dominated by these sections. Thus, Ted Cantle's work on 'parallel lives' has pointed to the way that religious schools contribute to 'segregation by faith and social class… as well as ethnicity' (Cantle 2013). Further, there are different arrangements for religious education in different types of schools, with some having opt-outs from the local standard.

3.3 Austerity and funding constraints

Similarly, many of the migrant integration services, funded by local authorities in the past, have been either shrank or disappeared altogether, resulting in a significant reduction in specialist staffing at local authorities. The national grant-making organisation is receiving, as a result, an increasing number of applications from organisations who want to deliver integration services and who are struggling to find funding. One such integration service, run by a local city council, has been disbanded five years ago and has been replaced with a small team of advisers. In local areas where services are still in place, the local council does not fund them directly, but indirectly, through schools, which do not always chose to rely on the service. Shrinking funding for integration services also translates in a series of negative consequences:

- a small number of civil society organisations operating in the sector;
- a disproportionate focus amongst these organisations on legal expertise directed towards asylum seekers and refugees;
- the lack of a set of measurements for English proficiency integrated within the broader school curriculum;
- the lack of ring-fenced funding for EAL;
- the inadequacy of a positive action policy at the level of the local authority;
- an excessive focus on academic achievement at school level.

The lack of policy, funding and support for home language was also picked upon in all conversations, although the MTOT co-ordinator noted some funding was available through British Council. There are a number of initiatives pursued through outreach programmes and links with Music colleges, NGOs and Universities. One such example is the Our Migration story initiative that has recently won the The Guardian University Award (The Guardian 2019). The MTOT Project also received the Queen's Anniversary Prize for Higher and Further Education in

November 2019.

3.4 Good practices-Schools as Welcoming Sites, Supplementary Education, Language Development and Community Engagement

Despite this pessimistic picture, there are good practices at the local level, particularly in the work that schools do in relation to the integration of newly arrived children. Based on research with 15 schools, both primary and secondary in England, the policy expert reported of examples of excellent schools and classroom level interactions through teacher's initiatives. Schools were seen as welcoming sites for migrant and new families, providing information and services that allow for settling down of families and children. There is good support in relation to learning English Language, mentoring activities, and engaging parents in school activities and supported by translation/interpretation service which all have a positive effect on learning and pupil performance. This is confirmed by representatives of local councils too who work directly with schools across Greater Manchester. According to them, there are good practices available and the schools can find useful guidance from NALDIC, NASSEA (Northern Association of Support Services for Equality & Achievement). The integration efforts done by some schools across Manchester and Salford is being recognised by the charity City of Sanctuary, whose program, Schools of Sanctuary, helps their students, staff and wider community understand what it means to be seeking sanctuary and to extend a welcome to everyone as equal, valued members of the school community.

Outside the formal education, the role of supplementary schools is considered essential for improving the overall achievements of migrant children. Despite the diverse nature of supplementary schools provision, the significance of supplementary school education on overall pupil school achievement has been brought out in a research study by Paul Hamlyn Foundation (Evans and Gillan-Thomas 2015). Such provision is important in areas with high migrant community concentration, thus an important need for migrant communities.

Another best practice is represented by the Mother Tongue Other Tongue project at Manchester Metropolitan University, which grew out of the National Route into Languages Programme. Although funding has reduced for these programmes, such projects have made a great impact into promoting foreign languages. Although migration is not the focus on the project, it is found that promotion of home languages is popular particularly among second and third generation migrant background children. The project started as a pilot in 2012 with 500 children participating, which increased to 6,000 in 2016. The programme is endorsed and supported by the Poet Laureate Dame Carol Duffy (based in the English Department) and by a number of celebrities from fields such as education, sports, literature and who were themselves second generation immigrant children. The success of the MTOT project has been further endorsed with the Royal College of Music developing a musical programme on Migrant roots based on selected works from the Poetry competition as part of the MIRO initiative (Manchester International Roots Orchestra).

Another inspiring example in Manchester is Stone Flowers, a project that supports traumatised refugee and asylum seeker torture survivors living in the UK through regular therapeutic music sessions. Its aim is to bring together people who are often without family and hope. As sessions develop, survivors have begun to write original songs with messages of hope, peace and resilience. According to the initiators of the project, music helps survivors to 'move beyond trauma to rediscover feelings of motivation and self-esteem, becoming the architects of their own recovery, using music as a strategy for coping with stress and anxiety'. Stone Flowers members have fled war, conflict and violence from places such as Iran, Egypt, Sri Lanka, Syria, Afghanistan, Cameroon and the DRC. Since 2011, the project has worked with over 200 torture survivors and recorded two studio albums.

A series of best practices can be noticed at the school levels as well, as it is witnessed by representatives of local councils which we have interviewed. One such successful enterprise is the Hampshire New Arrival Ambassador Programme, adopted by one council in partnership with local schools, which is training migrant children to welcome new children with migrant backgrounds. The same council has been involved in doing school exchanges, which literally involved swapping multicultural schools with schools that are predominantly white from across the region: 'The area is so diverse and these children live so close in their own little community that going across the city is so exciting and so different'. Moreover, the council has been encouraging schools to welcome into their premises migrant artists to perform music or drama sessions. Also, the Red Cross has been invited to do workshops across local schools, including one on raising awareness about asylum seekers and refugees. Some of our schools in Manchester and Salford area are collaborating with their local communities by getting involved in local churches that are supporting asylum seekers and refugees.

In parallel to the school curriculum, there is also the work undertaken by the charity Oxfam through the project 'Education for global citizenship' which has received praise from our stakeholders. Conceived not as an additional school subject, but as a framework for learning, reaching beyond school to the wider community, the programme is promoted in class through the existing curriculum or through new initiatives and activities. The project is laid out from primary school to secondary school, every year group having links to every school topic and aims to encourage young people to develop the knowledge, skills and values they need to engage with the world.

Paul Hamlyn Foundation has similarly provided a shortlist of inspiring good practices in migrant integration that the charity has financed throughout the years. 'Let us Learn' is such an inspiring initiative, promoting young people with lived experience of migration and enabling them to lead change. The initiative started from a focusing on the question of education, then broadened out to wider issues around fees and around legal aid. In relation to public narrative, the work of 'On Road Media', a charity that tackles social problems by improving media coverage of misrepresented groups and issues, is similarly exemplary. One of the charity's projects, 'The Media Movers' is concerned with strategic communication work with young migrants to change the media debate on migration through strategic and 'deep communication' approach. The project focuses specifically on the wellbeing and safeguarding of young people, while at the same time developing personal relationships with strategic

figures in the media to try to influence the narrative on migration. Finally, one other project funded by Paul Hamlyn Foundation is the Strategic Legal Fund, a source of grants for legal work that can make a significant difference to vulnerable young migrants in UK. The foundation has a pooled fund, with four other foundations, and together they fund pre-litigation research and third-party interventions, around strategic legal cases relating to migrant children and young people.

3.5 What role for research

Within this context, the majority of our stakeholders agree that the role of research is paramount, but argue that research should nevertheless be done in close cooperation with teachers. NALDIC is directly concerned with research in this field, with the publication of a practitioners' magazine and the recent launch of EAL Research Network as a special interest group at the British Association of Applied Linguists. For its part, the grant-making organisation is also funding research that, together with local authorities, develops strategic approaches to integration in their cities.

To conclude, all representatives of these institutions offer a pessimistic oultook on the state of migrant integration and policies in the country. Three main issues impacting on how migrant integration takes place in the UK context have become apparent across the interviews. First, there is a lack of comprehensive national policy on integration, with the devolvement of responsibilities to the school level. Second, a general hostile environment towards immigration at decisional levels can be noticed, which reflects the negative public and media attitudes discussed elsewhere in this document. Third, one can observe that a series of changing policies and a climate of austerity are negatively impacting on the funding of integration services and on their overall quality. Within this context, there are nevertheless good practices, ranging from proactive actions at school level to welcome immigrants, to projects dealing with challenging media stereotypes or with conducting research designed to inform strategic legal cases.

4. Migrant children's needs

The needs of migrant children are both related to school and outside school environments. Migration and legal status were seen an important area of concern alongside their proficiency in English and other languages, their educational history and their links to the local community. Similarly, more generic needs are often times not met when their immigration status is not settled: access to healthcare for young people who don't have a status; access to housing or to free school meals when their parents don't have any recourse to public funds. Poverty and discrimination can also be more prevalent amongst migrant children, particularly for those living in remote areas of the country. This latter point is further complicated by what kind of migrant children are under discussion, as is pointed out by the representative of City of Sanctuary: 'You might have an 8-years-old refugee or local resident and they all need different things, even if they are the same age and gender'.

Some of our interviewees argue that access to school can provide some of the emotional, health and wellbeing benefits that migrant children need, as well as the security and structure to further develop as individuals: 'When properly delivered, school access can have ripple effects. Thus, migrant children can make friends, start socialising, learn. And if children are settled in school, that can lead to the parents being supported as well. Yet, this is not always straightforward since schools don't always acknowledge these needs'. The representative from EMTAS argues that sometimes schools misinterpret the behaviour of migrant children and reach false conclusions: 'Examples include saying that the children are lazy, are switching off and know more English than they are letting on. 'Zoning out' can be perfectly normal when observing international new arrivals in schools, who can often be exhausted listening to English all day. On the other hand, perceived behavioural issues can be a sign of more deep rooted issues such as trauma. Children from an asylum and refugee background may not want to disclose their status due to fear to of stigmatisation and prejudice and it may these very children that need the extra support and help with their emotional health and wellbeing'.

Sometimes, still, the school curriculum does not properly reflect the needs of migrant children. Disciplines such as History are still not reflecting the diversity of migrant children's backgrounds. One stakeholder considers that there needs to be a push and a lobby for including Muslims in the History classes taught in schools. While the current version of History is objectively accurate, it is argued that it misses nevertheless the significant relationships with the rest of the world. However with homogenous curriculum across the schools, cultural heritage of children is still to be appreciated: 'If children come from 'different backgrounds' then they are seen to have 'special needs' or 'teachers' to work with migrant cultures'. However teachers who are willing to support language development are not equipped with training or specialist support themselves, as one teacher commented that she realised there was 16 languages spoken in her classroom.

For integration to be meaningful, it often relies on a small number of committed stakeholders such as teachers. Yet they are so important, argue our respondents, as this allows shy kids to express themselves, allow parental engagement in children's development and promote an inclusive learning model. Still, the teachers' commitment can be difficult to achieve when they do not live where they work and thus do not engage enough with their local community. Being visible in the community can make a difference, argues the representative from City of Sanctuary: 'Sometimes children go home saying, "Oh, my teacher said this", and if it's very against what the parents said, parents will say "Oh, we'll just take another teacher". It's just like dialogue, there's not this community cohesion'.

One aspect that was highlighted in the interviews was that the needs of migrant children were varied and differed by context. For example, schools located near hospitals and universities had high mix of migrant children yet had a high student turnover, due to movement of parents who worked in these sectors, highlighting the roles of economic migration and its impact on local dynamics. Many schools played a welcoming role in receiving such families, and need support in increasing interactions in schools.

It is generally agreed amongst our respondents that because of their language and other barriers they face, migrant children need allocation of additional funding compared to the rest of the children. Yet, on the other hand, it is noted that the general lack of funding should not be used as an excuse for failure to deliver expected outcomes. According to one of the respondents, funding will always be an issue, but the main concerns must nevertheless remain training and raising awareness amongst school staff. Moreover, there is a need for planning for population growth as well as a more active response to the migration issue that goes beyond the mere statement that 'migration is good'. Having said that, the stakeholders we have interviewed consider that children are generally more resilient than it is generally believed and that they eventually manage to integrate if left, particularly by their parents, to do so. Thus, the respondents consider it's a mistake for the school system to add extra barriers, arguing that when children build trust when they grow up together with those of different backgrounds. This helps their integration, inculcate them against scare tactics from the hard right since once they have grown up with someone from different background they will know that 'such tactics are nonsense'.

4.1 Whose responsibility?

Overall, the respondents do not think that the needs of migrant children are properly met and believe that the views of people who have migrated are not taken into consideration enough in the development and evaluation of policies. With dwindling resources, services which are closing and over-stretched schools, high school migrant children who might have just arrived in the UK can go through very difficult times, says the representative of a local council: 'They are 14-15 years old unaccompanied asylum-seeking children, it's horrendous for them, living on their own in care homes, their parents dead, trying to learn English, trying to integrate, trying to make friends, trying to get to college'. One reason for which these needs are not properly met can be linked, according to one stakeholder, to the monopoly that the Home Office currently has over all issues related to migration. According to him, the Department for Education has very little contribution to migration policy, which leads to the development of less child-friendly policies. While some of our stakeholders advocate for a more prominent role given to the grassroots and the local level organisations, others argue that within the established educational system different stakeholders must share responsibility for the integration of migrant children: the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), teachers, but also local authorities and the multi-academy trusts, which are groups of schools in partnership with each other.

4.2 Contested practices- Mainstreaming or Segregating Support?

Some of the practices and conducts that contrast with migrant children's needs are often hidden from view. According to our interviewees, there are 'bad practice' in certain parts of the UK, where large groups of migrant children have been excluded, or put on reduced timetables. The children have then been taught in 'units' by non-specialist staff, 'with little attempts to get them re-integrated into the mainstream curriculum'. The ethnic group which

appears to be most vulnerable to this is Eastern European Roma children. Sometimes unaccompanied asylum-seeking children may even be placed with adults, despite the fact that they are children (Shah 2017). Our informants argue that a key issue for change is the recognition of the effect that strategies such as segregation or mainstream support have in addressing the needs of certain groups of children.

To conclude, when assessing migrant children's needs, the views of our interviewees differed according to the areas of expertise of their institution. These ranged from needs to be met outside the school environment, such as healthcare and housing, to more educational-oriented necessities that can be met in classrooms. Generally, it is felt that the Department for Education should be given more say on the topic of migrant children. In relation to schools, the role of teachers is essential to address both educational and more generic wellbeing needs. Similarly, an adequate curriculum that reflects the ethnic diversity in classes can make a significant difference in providing inclusive more teaching. The role of communities, on the other hand, must be enhanced, either through mainstream schools being more involved in the life of their communities or through supplementary schools.

5. Readiness for change

To stay up to date on issues regarding migrant integration, some of the charities we have approached are participating in integration networks and other regular meetings with their grantees to update on new policies, learn about what different organisations are doing, share intelligence and strategies or develop responses to green papers. More locally, one of the city councils has recently launched an inclusion strategy, which deals with migrants' induction into schools and developing approaches to prevent their exclusion. Its development involved consultations with schools, young people, parents, elective members and a wide range of education department representatives.

All organisations are both acquainted with the work and achievements of similar players in the field and collaborate more or less intensively with them. NALDIC is engaged in an 'ecosystem' which is still small scale, but which includes consultancies working as private businesses, bilingual bookshops, organisations working with specific language impairments and bilingual children. Similarly, the local councils we approached work with local partners and NGOs, as well as with different teams doing similar work in the area. 'There is a strong community of educational professionals in this field and a lot of people on a voluntary basis', explains one of their representatives. In the case of smaller and under-resourced institutions such as charities working with refugees, the initiative often comes from individuals themselves, as explains one of their staff who tries to make herself aware 'of everything that's happening' and which sometimes involves volunteering with other organisations working with refugees.

Change is needed in the area of migrant children integration, argue the majority of respondents, particularly in generating a feeling of welcoming and in delivering adequate training to those working in the field. One respondent vividly describes what she expects from

those involved in reshaping the system: 'They should have a heart, that would help! You've got to look and have a bigger picture. The idea of not letting asylum seekers work because it becomes a pull factor it's really ridiculous'. For most respondents, the main challenges to change are represented by funding, but also by expectations coming from those who they work with. City of Sanctuary is confronted with increasing pressure from those they are supposed to assist with help:

> We used to have more events, several a month, now we can only do one or two because we pay people's bus fare so it's accessible. So, as bus fares increase, as more people want to come to our events, we either have to say no or we have to do fewer events. Now, we want to make sure that nobody is left out, so we've chosen to support everybody, but to do fewer events. And also trying to help people, as is with lots of charity jobs, you go above and beyond and actually that's not very sustainable. So, you might have helped somebody in this way, but then somebody else expects you to help them and actually, you have to say no because you can't. Or they expect us to help with their lawyers and solicitors. We can't do that, we don't do anything with immigration cases, it's not our background, it's even illegal to help their immigration case if you are not a lawyer, so we just steer way clear of that, but often people cannot understand that.

5.1 Change or be changed

The preparedness for change differs substantially across the surveyed organisations. Paul Hamlyn Foundation has prepared its own theory of change outlining the role of the institution as a funder of the civil society in the migration field. The organisation is thus trying to build a more solid movement around migrants' rights, since the current one is struggling to manage with the scale of the challenge. Other organisations seem less proactive, due principally to the uncertainty of their future. One of the services operating within a local council is expecting, for example, a significant restructuring in 2021, when the service will no longer be able to access public funding and will have to trade their services directly with individual schools. No de-delegated money back from schools will have huge implications for their service and the employees will need new skills such as marketing and sales, publicity. 'All local authority EMA services which are funded by the de-delegated schools forum process face a significant challenge if the current arrangements for a band on de-delegation from April 2021 remains. At this point EMA services will have no central funding and will have to trade directly with individual schools. It will be very difficult for EMA teams to survive in their current form. It looks threatening, it's a weakness that we have to deal with and it's not in our control', confesses their representative. This uncertainty is echoed by the representative from City of Sanctuary, who describes how fluctuating funding impacts on their capacity to react to changes in the field: 'Sometimes we have more people to support, less people to support, sometimes funding is more or less available, based on whether it's a priority or not. It's much more that we react because of something that's happened affecting the people that we work with'.

5.2 Role of research

The role of research within such a challenging context is considered essential in order to get the arguments across, to help organisations to better adapt and respond in the future and gather evidence that can further inform ideas and strategies. Moreover, since change needs to be monitored and evaluated, research is seen as very important in order to reflect on the learning and to draw lessons from both successes and failures. For some respondents, research is more than just validating certain ways of working and ensuring one's on the right track. Research can lead to policies being changed: 'It's not just a recommendation, but it's the law and it has to happen'. This research must be done nevertheless in closer collaboration with the relevant stakeholders as there is an expectation schools benefit as well as a result. One of the city council staff succinctly puts this: 'Research can be a bit isolated and away from real life. But there's nothing more real than a school. Interviewing people is not enough in itself, research needs to be done over a longer period, have more than one conversation with children and look at progress'.

To conclude, the knowledge about migrant integration is generally felt as adequate amongst the interviewees with most of them proactively involved in or even coordinating relevant networks dedicated to such issues or developing inclusion strategies within their organisations. Concerning their readiness for change, the situation differs across the sample. The larger national organisations tend to be more resilient and acting as drivers of change, while the local and smaller enterprises feel that they have less control over these processes.

6. Main findings and discussion

Integration is a complex process, and not simply about access to education, labour market and other services, or about changing attitudes of minority population. It is a multi-dimensional process, suggesting pathways to inclusive education – a concept based on a rights-based quality education, which emphasizes equity in access and participation, and responds positively to the individual learning needs and competencies of all children. Inclusive education places the responsibility of adaptation on the education system rather than the individual child. In the UK, the publication of the *Integrated Communities Strategy* in May 2018 suggests that the government has recognised the need for a more 'hands-on' approach to integration (See Griffith 2018). In particular, the paper suggests the need for an integration strategy which aims to maximise the contribution of all migrants. As immigration control has become tighter, integration policy has become increasingly hands-off – left largely to individuals and local authorities with little direction from central government (DCLG 2012, cited in Griffith 2018). Thus, investment into integration needs to be strengthened against the backdrop of austerity, spending cuts and local public spending for supporting stakeholders who are key to integration.

Some of the notable findings from this short exercise relate to (1) ambivalent or lack of comprehensive national policy on integration, with the devolvement of responsibilities to the

school level; (2) a general hostile environment towards immigration at macro levels, reflecting the general negative public and media attitudes; (3) the changing policies and a climate of austerity which are negatively impacting on the funding of integration services and on their overall quality. Yet what is positively noted is that despite these, good practices are observed at the local levels through the work of schools, charities and third sector, ranging from proactive actions at school level to welcome immigrants, to projects dealing with everyday integration support and challenging media stereotypes or with conducting research designed to inform strategic legal cases.

Stakeholder engagagement is key to successful integration. We find that engaging parents in the educational process can further assist integration and improve pupil performance. It is important that schools develop fruitful partnerships with parents from early on, something that can be done through actions such as providing translation and interpretation services, offering support with English language for parents as children act as interpreters (particularly for migrants from Eastern Europe and Far East) or organising coffee mornings and social events. Such approaches can help both host communities who have little contact with other cultures and migrant communities who might feel isolated.

Outside the standard school curriculum, the role of supplementary schools is essential in achieving an overall better attainment. It is thus important that migrant children are able to speak safely about their migrant experience in a normalised educational context, rather than in compartmentalised debates on migration. Having said that, it is important to reduce the inward looking nature of multicultural communities and work towards broader integration at all levels. The role of faith schools is thus debatable in relation to migrant children integration and our respondents have called for efforts to tackle fragmented or insular identities by encouraging wider debates on identity formation, not based purely on religion or cultural beliefs.

Role of universities and research in linking with schools for understanding integration is seen, in conclusion, as extremely important. Respondents have expressed their desire to see research done in collaboration *with* schools rather than *on* schools and have highlighted the need for support for teachers through toolkits and training as they oftentimes work in isolation.

The recognition of schools as welcoming sites for migrant communities is thus of paramount importance, as it indeed transpires throughout the interviews we have conducted. An essential role in equipping schools with the necessary tools to welcome migrant children is played by the members of staff themselves, with a general view that they must be supported to teach multi-lingual classrooms. While funding constraints across the country reduce the support that schools can offer, it is nevertheless agreed that learning English through tailored provision and full immersion in class environments, rather than segregation, represent the best way to assist with the integration of migrant children. The well cited Huddleston report (2016) aptly talks about 'Time for Europe to get migrant integration right' and puts emphasis on integration as long-term social investment. Most importantly, it is key to deliver quality inclusive education that responds to the diversity of needs of all children.

In a context where there is no explicit and overarching policy strategy that addresses the integration of migrant children in the UK schools, it largely falls on the latter's responsibility to respond to the needs of these pupils.

7. Annexes

Table 1

Title of institution	Interviewee function	Profile of the institution
1. Paul Hamlyn Foundation	Grants Manager	National independent funding body
2. City of Sanctuary	Development Assistant for Manchester area	National Charity working with refugees and asylum seekers
3. NALDIC	Vice-chair	The national subject association for English as Additional Language; charity and company limited by guarantee
4. Salford Ethnic Minority And Traveller Achievement Service (EMTAS)	Head of Service	Service delivered by local council
5. The Education and Skills Department at the Manchester City Council	Safeguarding Lead for Education	Department within local council
6. Supplementary School	Co-ordinator	Community based initiative to provide additional educational support for children also attending mainstream schools.
7. Mother Tongue Other Tongue	Coordinator	Education project; poetry competition
8. Policy/Think Tank Researcher	Researcher	Focus on migration and integration
9. National Body concerned with faith schools	Coordinator	Faith schools teach a general curriculum but has a particular religious character or formal links with a religious or faith-based organisation.
10. The Muslim Jewish Forum of Greater Manchester	Co-chair	Develops the cultural and social ties between the Muslim and Jewish communities of Greater Manchester
11. UK Government	Advisor	Focuses on preventing extremism

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