

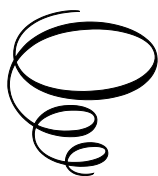
The Role of Teachers in the Successful Integration and Intercultural Education of Migrant Children

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By

Marijanca Ajša Vižintin

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To all teachers

To all teachers, who see the light of tomorrow's world,
in the children they teach.

To all teachers, who know how to get the
best from children, regardless of their mother tongue,
or the god they believe in, regardless of where they come from.

To all teachers, who love to teach and who spend
their lives learning how to teach better.

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INTRODUCTION

Migration is a permanent social phenomenon. Some migrant children migrate because their parents come to work in our countries. We need them and they need us. Others come because they have to, in order to save their lives. Some come and go simply because they want to. We should stop pretending that this is something new and special, because it is not. People have always migrated. They do so today and they will continue to do so in the future.

We use many different words for migrants: immigrants, foreigners, newcomers, (ethnic, linguistic, and religious) minorities. We call their children the children of immigrants, children with a migrant background, children of (ethnic, linguistic, or religious) minorities, foreign students or migrant pupils. We often distinguish between first- and second-generation migrants, sometimes even third and fourth generation. But are people born in the country where their parents migrated really migrants? Are children born in the receiving country actually still immigrants?

In this book, I use the term “migrant children”. Specifically, these are children who were born in another country. They often migrated in the context of family reunification. Often they have spent many years of their lives separated from at least one of their parents. They are generally the children of so-called economic migrants. When I use the term migrant children, I also include refugee children who have fled from violence, whether they migrate with or without their parents or other relatives. And, yes, it is true that many applicants for asylum migrated illegally, in many cases because there were no legal avenues open to them.

Most of these children begin to learn the language of the receiving country after their arrival. They speak their native language at home, which in most cases is not the same language as that of the environment or the language of instruction at school. Many migrant children have already attended preschool, primary school, or secondary school in the educational system of their countries of origin and are integrated into the educational system of the receiving country after their arrival.

The monograph *The Role of Teachers in the Successful Integration and Intercultural Education of Migrant Children* is divided into three parts: 1. From assimilation to integration, 2. The intercultural model of education, and; 3. The case study of Slovenia. I include in the book the theory,

knowledge, and insights of international and Slovenian academics and also incorporate my own experience and research. Many researchers in Slovenia are striving to develop an inclusive society and a system of intercultural education, which is why I believe it is important that they appear in this book side by side with internationally renowned experts. The knowledge and best practices from foreign countries cannot be simply copied and pasted into other countries or societies even when they are extremely positive. The current level of development in countries must first be evaluated and then be taken as the point of departure for new policies.

In the first part of the book *The Role of Teachers in the Successful Integration and Intercultural Education of Migrant Children*, I present the social and political conditions in which teachers work, which in general teachers cannot influence. The educational system is a constituent part of society, and schools are a product of the social system, political decisions, and relevant legislation, which is why we must first examine the integration and migrant policies of individual countries. These significantly impact the integration of new migrants in society and are often the cause of the real limitations teachers confront.

In most contemporary immigration countries, we find a mixture of various types of migrant policies. No country today relies exclusively on assimilation policies or multicultural policies. Assimilation policies in certain areas, such as education, may coexist with policies of differentiated exclusion and policies of pluralism in other areas, for example culture or citizenship (Bauböck, 1994; Castles and Miller, 2009; *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 2008; Bešter, 2007b; Lukšič Hacin, 2011). I will focus on integration, as integration is currently the dominant concept in Europe for processes of the inclusion of migrants in their new social environment and the consequences of these processes (Bešter, 2007a). The term is used in European documents, resolutions, recommendations, and research (for example, in the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 2008; *Living Together*, 2011) and as an umbrella term for policies of including migrants in society (Solano and Huddleston 2020). The first key characteristic of the integration model is that it is based on a definition of integration as a two-way (or indeed multi-directional) process: the programmes and measures of integration policies are directed both toward migrants and the majority population, and encourage reciprocal adaptation. The second key characteristic of the integration model is its foundation on the principles of interculturalism. Securing opportunities for the preservation, development, and expression of diverse cultural and ethnic identities and customs is one of the main goals of integration policies, which are aimed at encouraging intercultural dialogue and cooperation between different

ethnic/cultural groups, and between majority, migrant, and minority communities.

The underlying assumptions of intercultural education emerged from multicultural education. Multicultural education was developed in the US, Canada, and Australia in the 1970s in response to racism, ethnocentrism, and language discrimination in education. Multicultural education represented a part of the attempt to find solutions for the problems emerging from the cohabitation of an increasing number of different ethnic communities. At the core of multicultural education was anti-racism and anti-discrimination, with multicultural education also being understood as the foundation for all education (Grant and Sleeter, 2007; Nieto and Bode, 2008; Banks, 2010; Portera, 2011; Bennett, 2011).

The intercultural approach was implemented mostly in connection with immigrants in industrial countries in Europe during the second half of the twentieth century when the continent was transformed from a region of mass emigration to one of mass immigration. Efforts were directed toward the democratization of instruction and equality of educational opportunities (Portera, 2011; Scheffer, 2011). Micheline Rey-Von Allmen (2011) places a crucial emphasis on the understanding of the term intercultural in intercultural education: namely, intercultural education is intended for the entire population, and interculturality must be developed in all social areas (not only in education). The education of teachers is essential as interculturality requires the objective and scientific description of a dynamic and changing reality. These points of departure must always be considered in the further development of intercultural education, both on the theoretical level and in its practical implementation in individual countries (Palaiologou and Dietz, 2012; Koegeler-Abdi and Parncutt, 2013; Vižintin, 2013a, 2016b, 2017; Hahl et al., 2015; Layne, Trémion and Dervin, 2015; Rignarsdóttir and Blöndal, 2015; Portera and Grant, 2017).

Research shows that migrant children in the European educational systems are in a worse position and achieve lower results than the children of the majority population. The integration of migrant children takes place on three levels: the macro level (the education system of individual countries), the meso or intermediate level (conditions in individual schools and the expectations of teachers), and the micro level (families and the influence of the macro and meso level on families). Employees at individual schools can do many things on their own. Friedrich Heckmann (2008) emphasizes that each individual school is important. Claudia Schanz (2006) adds that each school can choose whether to transition from a monocultural and monolithic organization to an inspiring school environment in which intercultural connections become an everyday activity, and that this choice

can be made by motivated teachers, pupils, and parents without external directives.

I conclude the first part of the book with ideas about what teachers can do on their own and what steps are necessary to allow them to do even more. Teaching universities that provide education for future teachers generally do not prepare them for the cultural diversity, multilingualism, and multiconfessional situations that they will encounter in the classroom. Committees who generate the teaching curricula that dictate how text and exercise books are written generally operate under the influence of nationalism and Eurocentrism, and tend toward explanations of history and the development of society exclusively from the perspective of the majority population. In general, migrants and their contributions to the development of society are not present in teaching material and therefore are not discussed in the classroom. The intercultural potential of all pupils is usually only addressed by individual subversive, courageous, and exceptional teachers who recognize the prevailing multiculturalism in the classroom and wider society, and attempt to develop intercultural practices. All teachers would be able to contribute to integration and deal with diversity in the classroom and society were they educated about these themes in teaching universities and were the appropriate content included in curricula and teaching material.

The second part of this book presents a model of intercultural education. This model identifies seven concrete criteria that should be developed in schools to promote the inclusion of migrant pupils and the development of intercultural education. It is interdisciplinary, including knowledge from linguistics, literature, intercultural pedagogy, psychology and sociology, and will only be realized through the commitment of teachers, pupils, parents, and the local community.

Each of the seven components of the intercultural model are discussed in an individual chapter: 1. interculturality as a principle; 2. systemic support for inclusion; 3. intercultural competence; 4. multiperspective curriculum; 5. intercultural dialogue; 6. cooperation with migrant parents; 7. cooperation with the local community.

The seven criteria of the model of intercultural education overlap and complement each other. It is not enough that we are only attentive to certain aspects of education (for example, teaching the language of the receiving country or grading) in order to support the successful inclusion of migrant children. Rather, it is necessary to develop the most complete perspective possible that actively includes all actors involved in the process of inclusion: pupils and their parents, migrants and non-migrants, teachers (including those who have experience of migration), migrants in the community and

their organizations, the local environment, and national organizations that influence the educational process and work to create an integrated society. The model, which emerges from the principles and experience of multicultural and intercultural pedagogy (Nieto and Bode, 2008; Bennett, 2011; Portera, 2011; Rey-Von Allmen, 2011) and from the experiences of and needs for the development of processes to integrate migrant children, focuses above all on the active role of teachers and, on opportunities for them to make improvements within the existing educational system. If we combine the seven criteria and work together in our community, we will develop our intercultural competence and our multicultural societies will become more inclusive, successful, and intercultural. The intercultural model of integration emerges from the conviction that all teachers have a choice about how to teach their pupils and conduct their classroom.

Interculturality as a pedagogical-didactic principle should be adopted on the level of the entire educational system as one of the fundamental measures of the quality of education in schools. It must be present in each subject, in each hour of instruction – and should also be part of the development of the intercultural competence of all people in society. Interculturality is a general principle, not a specific pedagogical discipline. In pedagogy, it is the principle that should direct the planning, implementation, and evaluation of lessons, and permeate the entire educational process (Nieto and Bode, 2008; Bennett, 2011; Ermenc, 2007, 2010; Zudič Antonič, 2010). Interculturality as a pedagogical-didactic principle is more easily achieved if a school employs teachers who have their own experience of migration, teachers who have experienced culture shock, the process of migration and integration into a new society, the multiyear effort to learn the language of the receiving country, the dilemma about how to preserve and even build upon one's native language and culture while at the same time accepting certain (different) social rules in the receiving country, who have confronted the multiyear effort to acquire the necessary documentation for temporary residence, permanent residence, and citizenship. These teachers can contribute significantly to the inclusion of migrant children and their parents on the basis of their own knowledge and experience. Rather than using the term “teacher with migrant background”, I suggest the use of the new academic phrase “teacher with migrant experience”.

Legislation providing for systemic support include providing lessons in the language of the receiving country and individualized programmes for each migrant child. This provides enormous support in the period of adapted grading and assessment of knowledge because it enables teachers to precisely track progress during the early period of inclusion. The participation of migrant children in as many school activities as possible and

the preparation of other children or peers for the arrival of migrant children is recommended. Peers, under the proper leadership, can act as volunteers offering important support for the inclusion of migrant children.

Teachers who have spent their career developing their intercultural competence tend to be the most successful at developing these skills in their pupils. It would be ideal if teachers continued to acquire additional training throughout their careers, to collaborate in projects, and exchange examples of best practice. It is important that they understand the influence of their perspectives and expectations on pupils, and the fact that the teaching of the language of the receiving country and integration into the receiving society are both multiyear processes. Teachers must constantly develop their own multicultural sensitivity (Bennett, 1986) along with those of their pupils. I also recommend that teachers publish articles about their experience and knowledge, their search for solutions, and examples of good practices. Such articles promote the exchange of knowledge and the ongoing development of intercultural education.

Teachers can cultivate the awareness that our culture already is multicultural, multilinguistic, and multiconfessional in all the subjects they teach. Teaching material can be used to promote interculturality in the classroom and the school. If this kind of material is not (yet) available, I recommend that teachers prepare it independently. While teachers wait for changes in curricula and teaching material, they can introduce new content and texts in their classrooms while respecting the existing curricula and teaching goals. Carl A. Grant and Christine E. Sleeter (2007) believe that high-quality teachers select and use a range of sources in a deliberate way. Often, such teachers are active in local communities and devote time to their own professional development.

I encourage teachers to critically read existing teaching material in order to analyse stereotypes and prejudices in the material, and then be able to discuss discriminatory practices with their pupils. Teachers should create initiatives for eliminating stereotypes, prejudices, and discriminatory practices from teaching material and for creating multiperspective and multicultural curricula and teaching material that provide a range of viewpoints. As an example, I recommend literature classes where teachers include not only books written by the majority population living within the borders of the receiving country, but also read literature by transborder populations, minorities, and migrants, as well as texts that thematize and critically deal with the inclusion/exclusion of migrants and minorities.

The development of intercultural competence and simply the awareness that our society is multicultural are the foundations for the development of intercultural dialogue in schools. Teachers are able to develop intercultural

dialogue that responds to the actual multiculturalism in schools with the cooperation of migrant children and their parents. Literature can be purchased in the native languages of migrant children, not only in the majority language and foreign languages that are taught in the school system. Multilingualism in education should be immediately apparent: in the school bulletin, in announcements on the school website, in exhibitions, and in the school library. Teachers should support lessons in the native languages and cultures of the migrant pupils, and should encourage reading in both their native languages and the language of the receiving country. The native language plays a key role in the development and preservation of original culture and identity, and at the same time provides an important foundation for the learning of other languages.

It often happens that schools are “symbolically” intercultural. They invite people who have travelled to different countries to come and present the places where they have been. Pupils also give presentations about different countries in various classes and for various projects. Foreign languages are presented that are taught at school. The school library usually has material in both the language of the majority and in the foreign languages that are taught at the school. There is nothing wrong with this, but it is too little to be able to talk about intercultural dialogue and intercultural education if the actual multiculturalism, multilingualism and multiconfessional of the school remains anonymous, invisible, and overlooked.

Teachers can plan and implement intercultural classes and school events in cooperation with migrant parents, teachers of native languages, and local migrant associations. Such classes and events should present not only the food and folklore of originating countries. Indeed, such activities often tend to reinforce stereotypes and prejudices as they tend to be “traditional” while contemporary life is often very different. It is important that, in addition to food and dance, the active role of migrants in society is presented along with their scientific, economic, literary, and artistic (both classical/canonical and contemporary) achievements and activities. Educators should invite migrant parents to educational organizations and allow them to present what they know, how they make a living, what they do in their free time, etc. Migrants (immigrants and emigrants) and indeed people who have never migrated have different kinds of educational backgrounds and work in different professions. Certainly, there are among them not only cooks, dancers, and singers, but also lovers of literature and other arts, athletes, scientists, researchers, doctors, nurses, entrepreneurs, writers, teachers, journalists, translators, etc.

The last two criteria in the model of intercultural education reveal that teachers cannot do everything on their own. Preschools, primary and secondary schools, residential homes for students, music schools, and adult education centres should cooperate with migrant parents, and also find and make use of support in the local community as educational organizations are part of the broader social system. Close cooperation with and support of migrant parents have long-term positive impacts because they facilitate the inclusion of migrant children and develop trust between parents and teachers. It is important to look for different forms and methods of cooperation that will allow the active inclusion and cooperation of parents in the process. For this reason, it is necessary to listen to the needs of the parents and for both parties to place the concern for the child at the centre of the relationship. The inclusion of migrant children will be faster and more successful if information is gathered about the migrant children's level of schooling, previous knowledge and achievements, weak and strong areas, understanding of languages, and all of this information is recorded in the children's individualized programmes. Preschools and schools should offer migrant parents as much information as possible about the educational system and the support that is expected from parents in the process of inclusion. Other forms of support are comprised of providing parents with as much information as possible about ways to advance their own integration into the local community and wider society.

Local organizations offer numerous forms of support for the successful integration of migrant children and parents, the development of the intercultural competence of all members of society, and the development of intercultural dialogue. Like cooperation with migrant parents, the opening of schools to the local community and cooperation with organizations in the local community has a positive influence on all involved. I also recommend cooperation with other educational organizations, local communities, volunteer associations, adult education centres that provide courses in the language of the receiving country, local libraries, organizations responsible for the development of education, research institutes, universities, organizations that have an official impact on the integration of migrants (centres for social work, administrative units, employment offices), embassies of the countries from which migrants come, migrant and minority associations, other migrants, teachers of the native languages and cultures of migrants, and individuals who are active in the field of integrating migrant children and intercultural dialogue.

The third part of the book *The Role of Teachers in the Successful Integration and Intercultural Education of Migrant Children* focuses on Slovenia, a Central European country with a population of two million. It

offers a critical look at professional development in the field of the inclusion of migrant children and related changes in the laws and regulations that have taken place in the twenty-first century. The latter have had a positive influence on the integration of migrant children and have introduced a number of long-term solutions in Slovenia, for example, the possibility of two-year adapted assessment and grading periods in primary schools since 2008, and intensive courses in the Slovenian language in secondary schools since 2018.

Most migrants who moved to and become employed in Slovenia during the twenty-first century come from the successor countries of Yugoslavia. There are also children (of first-generation migrants) who were born in other countries and moved to Slovenia (mostly in the context of family reunification) and entered the Slovenian school system at different ages. These children are mostly from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Serbia. In the process of integrating migrant children, it is often forgotten that their experience and therefore starting points are different from each other. The quality and success of inclusion is often the result of whether teachers recognize the differences between children and parents from various countries and cities. The families of migrant children are often reunified gradually; only rarely does the whole family migrate at the same time. Individual family members go back to their native countries and return to Slovenia for a variety of reasons, for example, because of the loss of employment or the failure to be integrated into society. Sometimes migrants move from place to place within Slovenia because of housing costs, changes in employment, lack of acceptance in one place, etc. The most difficult cases are generally the migrants who were forced to migrate to Slovenia.

Official statistics show that from 2010 to 2017 emigration from Slovenia and immigration into Slovenia was fairly balanced (from 14,000 to 18,000 each year), as was the educational profile of both immigrants and emigrants (SURS, 2017). From 2018 to 2020, the number of immigrants and emigrants were more similar to the years prior to the economic crisis of 2008 and 2009: approximately 30,000 immigrants entered Slovenia, and about half that number of emigrants left.

During the period from 1995 to 2015, 19,889 applications for international asylum were filed in Slovenia and 393 were accepted, which means that Slovenia granted protection to only 1.97% of applicants during that period. Many applicants who were forced to wait for an extended period of time for a decision about their rights for international protection went to other countries. In 2016, 1,308 applications for international asylum were filed in Slovenia. The highest number of applicants came from Afghanistan, Syria,

Iraq, and Pakistan. International asylum was granted to 170 applicants in Slovenia in 2016 (13% of the 1,308 applicants), including some children (Statistical information on foreigners in Slovenia 2015–2016).

I conclude the book with reflections about hyphenated identities. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is still necessary to explain that communities within specific national borders were and still are diverse, that in all countries officially recognized minority and/or migrant communities as well as not officially recognized minority and/or migrant communities live alongside the dominant majority. Most contemporary theorists do not understand culture and identity as fixed and unchangeable categories, as something that is inherited and does not change from birth to death; indeed, quite the opposite. I support the notion of hyphenated identity rather than imperfect or incomplete identity. The expression hyphenated identity (Milharčič Hladnik, 2011b, 2015a; Milharčič Hladnik and Lukšič Hacin, 2011; *Living Together*, 2011) recognizes and complements mixed culture (Sedmak, 2011, 2015), and also develops and clarifies it. Hyphenated identity allows people to freely, proudly, and voluntarily define themselves as belonging to many cultures, many languages, many ethnic groups, religions, etc. Hyphenated identity (*and-and-and*) does not judge that one identity is superior to another but presents all identities as being of equal value. It does not force us to believe we are incomplete (*half-half*), but that our linguistic/cultural/ethnic starting points are equal (Vižintin, 2015a). Hyphenated identity is not the only possible response to the multiethnicity and multilingualism with which so many children grow up in hyphenated, mixed families. Teachers can present it to pupils as one of many possible answers to actual family, school, and social diversity.

This book contains the experience and knowledge I have acquired since 2010 as a researcher of migration at the Slovenian Migration Institute of ZRC SAZU, as a lecturer in the European Masters in Migration and Intercultural Relations programme (EMMIR, University of Nova Gorica, since 2018) and at the University of Stavanger, Norway, and before that as an assistant for Slovenian language and literature at the University of Ljubljana and as a teacher and librarian at the Hrpelje Primary School (2003–2009). I am also grateful to have had the opportunity to participate in international and Slovenian projects and programmes where I learned so much, such as Eduka – Educating for Diversity (2011–2014), Social, Economic and Cultural History of Slovenian Emigration 1945–991 (2017–2020), Trans-making – Art / Culture / Economy to Democratize Society (2017–2020), and Only (with) Others Are We (2016–2021).

At the Slovenian Migration Institute of ZRC SAZU, I was the coordinator of the Slovenian five-year national programme Only (with) Others Are We

(2016-2021), which gave me regular exposure to pedagogical practice in Slovenia. During lectures and workshops, I exchanged and discussed experience with teachers in preschools, primary and secondary schools in regional centres all over Slovenia as well as in schools in Italy with Slovenian as the language of instruction. In the project *Only (with) Others Are We*, we offered teachers five 16-hour seminars in which we developed their social, citizenship, and intercultural competences. We ran 326 seminars in more than a hundred different locations in which a total of 10,208 teachers participated.

I got to know extraordinary teachers who were looking for new ways forward on the basis of intercultural teaching goals, legislative possibilities, and respect for the pupils who were included in the process. Their concrete actions had a positive influence on the inclusion of migrant pupils. And yet I am also aware of the increase in intolerance and xenophobia after 2015 (also among teachers), about the increasing number of migrant children who are coming to Slovenia, the pressure on teachers who do not know how to integrate them into their classes, and the conviction among many of them that it is not their obligation to do so. Thus, I am aware of how much work there is still to be done in the field of intercultural education.

In the development of the model of intercultural education, I relied significantly on the work of researchers of multicultural and intercultural pedagogy, especially Sonia Nieto, Patty Bode (2008), and Christine I. Bennett (2011), Michelle Rey-Von Allmen (2011), and Agostino Portera (2011). The Slovenian researchers Klara Skubic Ermenc (2003, 2007) and Nives Zudič Antonič (2010) had a strong influence on my decision to use the term intercultural (rather than multicultural) education. I decided on the use of the term intercultural because the prefix *inter-* brings added value, emphasizing cooperation between different groups, and highlighting interdependence, interaction, and exchange (Zudič Antonič, 2010; Rey-Von Allmen, 2011; Portera, 2011; Layne, Trémion and Dervin, 2015).

I was not only influenced by multi- and intercultural pedagogical theories. I was also influenced by the specific pedagogical experiences I accumulated in primary school during my six years of teaching Slovenian language and literature in the upper grades of primary school (in many European countries this would be the lower grades of secondary school) and at the universities. My subsequent training, post-graduate studies, and acquisition of knowledge about how to teach Slovenian as a second language were also important.

The knowledge I attained in the field of migration, about migration as a permanent part of the human condition, about immigrants themselves, who are also emigrants, about the transformation of identity and culture, and

becoming aware of prejudices in order to overcome them also had a crucial impact on my work: Marjan Drnovšek (1991, 2012), Vesna Mikolič (2004, 2016), Milena Mileva Blažić (2006, 2013); Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2009), Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik (2010, 2011b, 2018); Marina Lukšič Hacin (1999, 2011, 2019), Karmen Medica (2010a, b, 2011); Paul Scheffer, 2011; Janja Žitnik Serafin (2012, 2014, 2015), et al.

In addition to theoretical knowledge from various disciplines (linguistics, literature, pedagogy, sociology, and history) and working with local communities (including NGOs, youth centres, and libraries), the most important element of my research was talking and collaborating with people who had migrated, listening to their needs, experiences of integration, and life stories. Theoretical knowledge must be tested and verified in practice, and supplemented with research. The statements of migrant children, their parents, and their teachers which were collected during research in Slovenian schools (mostly in semi-structured interviews) are also included in this book (Vižintin 2013a, 2014b). This approach gives “people the opportunity to describe historical events and social concepts with their own experiences, which enriches sociological and humanist knowledge”. The concept of education must be geared toward participation and equality, a critical approach, and “discussion with, rather than discussions about, those who are most affected by it” (Schanz, 2006, 27).

If curricula and documents contain the goal to develop intercultural competence and national consciousness in class (*White Paper on Education in the Republic of Slovenia*, Krek, Metljak, 2011), then we must create teaching material that contains both, not just national consciousness. If migrants are invisible both in the teaching material and in the actual delivery of content in the classroom, then we must develop material that will make them visible and seen as active members of society. If there is no material for teaching the language of the receiving country, then it must be developed. If beginners’ intensive language courses in the language of the receiving country have been approved in legislation but have not been provided, teachers must be assisted in how to include such instruction in their classes.

Cooperation between schools, researchers, and ministries of education is necessary in order to respond to the needs of teachers and effect long-term changes in the legislation that regulates the educational process and the development of intercultural education.

Rey-Von Allmen (2011, 38) appeals not only to teachers but also to academia, “calling for an objective and scientific description of our dynamic and changing reality”. This book is one of the stones in this mosaic. It is not the only stone, but it strives to take into account various theoretical

foundations, field research, and pedagogical experience that will contribute to the development of intercultural education. Schools are a part of society, which is why I think teachers have the potential to influence the course of society during the twenty-first century.

How many new walls, how many barbed-wire fences will be erected during this century? How many will be erected in Europe, which is supposed to be the cradle of democracy, equality, and human rights? Why are such rights intended only for a select few? No amount of discussion about multicultural and intercultural education, not even the model of intercultural education I present in the second part of this book, means that all the principles and criteria regarding the inclusion of migrant children will actually be respected. In fact, experience suggests the opposite. And this is why we must continue to work from a range of perspectives, using diverse criteria to explain the factors that influence the inclusion of migrant children in their new schools and to present a reasonable structure for how the inclusion of migrant children should actually be accomplished. The intercultural model of inclusion provides one possible structure. It strives for the development of intercultural education, and the supported and successful inclusion of migrant children.

International organizations (for example, MIPEX, OECD, Eurydice) provide reports about the integration of migrants in different countries. With their criteria and observations, the international comparisons offered in these reports enable a wider perspective on the circumstances of individual countries and comparisons between them. We can learn from them, acquire new insights, and correct our shortcomings. We can find solutions, which, because of long-standing traditions or habits or systemic limitations, we were not capable of seeing if we only looked inside our own countries. We must learn and demand changes.

Like Portera (2011), I agree that the question of peaceful cohabitation remains unresolved and this despite the fact that human beings have always migrated, left their places of origin, and settled into new environments. Or as Mlekuž puts it: "Since time immemorial, the human species has been a migratory species; since time immemorial, *homo sapiens* has been *homo migrants*" (2011, 28). In addition to peaceful cohabitation, we also need action. Because this book is dedicated to teachers, I focus on the actions of teachers. They can influence what happens in their classrooms.

I would like to thank Cambridge Scholars Publishing for publishing the book, the American-Slovenian writer and translator Erica Johnson Debeljak for translating it, the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS) and the Slovenian Migration Institute of ZRC SAZU for financing the translation. I thank my colleagues at ZRC SAZU, and particularly at the Slovenian Migration

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I would like to thank the Iraqi-Slovenian painter Arkan Al Nawas for permission to use his beautiful painting *Looking for New Pathways (Iščemo nove poti)* for the cover of this book.

I am grateful to all the teachers who have inspired me with their dedicated and innovative work, and to all those from whom I have had the opportunity to learn. There are many of them and many are mentioned in this book. I am most grateful to my family, friends, and colleagues who believed in me and supported my work. Thank you.

PART 1

FROM ASSIMILATION TO INTEGRATION

CHAPTER 1.1

MIGRANT POLICIES

Methods of integrating migrants into their new environment differ depending on their general level of inclusion in the new social environment (or their exclusion from it) and on the degree to which migrants preserve and maintain their original culture. The policies with which a country regulates relations between the majority community and migrants who have settled on its territory provide the framework for the integration of migrants. These include immigration policies or migrant integration policies (Bešter, 2007b; Castles and Miller, 2009, 250; Solano and Huddleston, 2020). We may also speak of various types, forms, or models of migrant policies (Bešter, 2007b), which vary considerably: “from ‘exclusionary’ approaches that keep migrants as a separate (and usually disadvantaged) part of the population, through ‘assimilationist’ approaches that offer full membership but at the price of abandoning migrants’ original languages and cultures, to ‘multicultural’ approaches that offer both full membership and recognition of cultural differences” (Castles and Miller, 2009, 309).

Western Europe encountered its largest influx of migrants after the Second World War, and its migrant policies were primarily directed toward the integration of migrants into the labour market and the social welfare system. Migration most often took place for economic reasons: receiving countries accepted migrants because they needed more workers. Migrant workers in Western Europe generally came from former colonies and from Southern and Eastern European countries with whom receiving countries had special agreements (the guest worker system). The underlying assumption of these policies was that migrants represented a temporary work force, and they would return to their countries of origin after they had completed the necessary work.

In this book, the country where migrants work or live is referred to as “the receiving country” as opposed to “the host country”. As Janja Žitnik Serafin (2012) explains, the term “host country” is inappropriate and misleading. She uses the terms “receiving society/country, majority society”. Her arguments are explained with a Slovenian example, but I think

they can be applied to other countries as well: “These immigrants are not guests in Slovenia. Slovenia may have hosted refugees, foreign consultants, political and other delegations, but it can hardly be said to host the workers that pay contributions into state coffers and upon whom the Slovenian economy directly relies” (Žitnik Serafin, 2012, 38).

A typical policy of differentiated exclusion dictates that migrants are included in a specific sphere of social life (usually, the labour market) but do not have access to other spheres (the social security system, citizenship, political participation). This exclusion is sometimes a consequence of legal mechanisms (limited naturalization or strict divisions between the rights of citizens and those of non-citizens), and sometimes of unofficial practices (racism and discrimination). In these countries, a relatively poor socio-economic position is typical for members of migrant minorities. The exclusionary approach to migrants usually emerges from the notion that migrants are in the receiving country only temporarily. Their permanent settlement represents a possibility that threatens the receiving society on the economic, social, cultural, and political levels. This model is most typical of Western European countries in which migrant workers were known as guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*), for example, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Belgium. Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (2009) also find this model in the Gulf States, Japan, and certain newer receiving countries in Southeast Europe.

Only later – above all when it becomes clear that immigration is not only a temporary phenomenon and that many migrants will remain in the receiving countries (Bauböck, 1994, 14) – do individual countries begin to treat immigrants in a more holistic manner and to promote measures that will integrate them into cultural, political, educational, and other spheres (Bešter, 2007b, 117). Castles and Miller (2009, 247-250) enumerate the following models of integration:

- Assimilation: this model anticipates the integration of migrants into the majority society to the extent that migrants lose their native linguistic, cultural, and social characteristics, and “melt” into the majority community. The role of the receiving country in the assimilation process is to provide favourable conditions for rapid individual adaptation and acceptance into the majority culture and its values. This model (the so-called melting pot) prevailed in “traditional immigration countries”, for example, in the US at the beginning of the twentieth century, and was also used in other migrant destination countries such as the UK, Canada, and Australia. It was thought only white people could be assimilated, and, as a

result, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the US had racially selective immigration laws.

- **Integration:** in this model, countries gradually abandoned overt assimilation policies and replaced them with integration policies. This change generally came as a consequence of the recognition that in practice individual migrants do not assimilate, but often create different social, cultural, and political associations, and preserve their native language. In addition, the clear concentration of immigrants in certain jobs and residential settlements led to the ongoing connection of ethnic immigrants of the same origin and socio- economic status. Today, according to Castles and Miller (2009, 247), France most closely approximates this model.
- **Multiculturalism:** in this model, migrant populations are accepted as ethnic minorities that differ from the majority population, and retain their language, cultural, social behaviour, and ways of organizing through many generations. Immigrants should be granted equal rights as citizens in all areas of social life, and it should not be demanded that they give up their specific differences – with the exception that they are required to accept certain key values of the receiving society. The following are the two main variants of multiculturalism:
 - Cultural diversity and the existence of ethnic communities are officially accepted, but the receiving country does not support the preservation of ethnic cultures or social justice by putting in place specific measures that would help to achieve those goals. The US is the primary example of this variant of multiculturalism.
 - Multiculturalism is the national policy. The majority community accepts cultural diversity and enacts measures that protect the equal rights of minorities. The multiculturalism that developed in Canada developed into other forms between the 1970s and 1990s in Australia, the UK, the Netherlands, and Sweden. In specific sectors (such as education), we find multicultural policies in other countries as well (Castles and Miller, 2009, 247-250).

Today no country employs exclusively assimilationist or multicultural policies. Virtually all receiving countries use a mix of different kinds of migrant policies. Assimilationist policies in certain sectors, such as education, can coexist with policies of differentiated exclusion or with pluralist policies in other sectors, for example, in those that deal with culture or citizenship (Castles and Miller, 2009; *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 2008; Bešter, 2007b; Portes and DeWind, 2007).

Migrant policies affect both the receiving society and the migrants themselves. Policies that view migrants as temporary residents will most likely be discriminatory. An official ideology of temporary migration (or circular migration) creates expectations in the receiving society: if temporary residence transforms into permanent settlement, any difficulties that arise from the situation are perceived to be the responsibility of the migrants.

In countries where permanent immigration is accepted and the settlers are granted secure residence status and civil rights, a long-term perspective is possible. Where the myth of short-term sojourn is maintained, immigrants' perspectives are inevitably contradictory. Return to the country of origin may be difficult or impossible, but permanence in the immigration country is doubtful. Such immigrants settle and form ethnic groups, but they cannot plan a future as part of the wider society. The result is isolation, separatism, and emphasis on differences. Thus, discriminatory immigration policies cannot stop the completion of the migratory policies, but they can be the first step towards the marginalization of the future settlers (Castles and Miller, 2009, 252).

Since the 1970s, Australia, Canada, the UK, Sweden, and the Netherlands have officially used the word multicultural to describe social policies related to migrants and minorities. In the UK, they are also sometimes referred to as "race policies", in Sweden "immigration policies", and in the Netherlands "minority policies". In all of these countries, multicultural policies have come under criticism in recent years (Entzinger, 2003, 59). In certain cases, the term "multicultural" has been replaced with words such as "integration", "social cohesion", and "collective citizenship values", but Castles and Miller (2009, 262) believe that many of the previous social policies were simply preserved under new names.

As a reason for the success of multicultural policies in Canada and Australia, Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska (2003, 12-15) claim that they address the entire population, not just immigrants. In Europe, multicultural policies are aimed mostly at immigrants in an effort to transform immigrants into ethnic minorities. Sweden launched its official policy of multiculturalism in 1975, renaming the set of laws as integration policies in the 1990s (with the Minister of Immigration becoming the Minister of Integration). The promotion of cultural pluralism overlooked (or deliberately ignored) the socio-economic chasm between migrants and the domestic population. The politics of multiculturalism made integration policies obligatory based on an understanding of multiculturalism as a social fact rather than the goal of national policies. Similarly, the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* (2008) and *Living Together* (2011), reports produced

by the Council of Europe, also reject multiculturalism as a policy for the integration of migrants:

Neither of these models, assimilation or multiculturalism, is applied singularly and wholly in any state. Elements of them combine with aspects of the emerging interculturalist paradigm, which incorporates the best of both. It takes from assimilation the focus on the individual; it takes from multiculturalism the recognition of cultural diversity. And it adds the new element, critical to integration and social cohesion, of dialogue on the basis of equal dignity and shared values (*White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 2008, 19).

A number of European politicians, for example, in Germany, the UK, and France, have reflected on the failure of multiculturalism.¹ They often cite as a reason for the failure the misunderstanding of the term multiculturalism, that the term is used in many ways and has different meanings for different people in different countries.² Also, because we do not know if the term refers to an ideology, a policy, or a social reality, it often causes more confusion than it offers explanations. For this reason, the Council of Europe decided to avoid the use of the term, preferring to focus on the identification of policies and approaches that will facilitate the combination of diversity and freedom in European countries (*Living Together*, 2011, 10).

“Multiculturalism is a modern concept that is used today in a variety of situations and contexts. The many uses and understandings of the term has resulted in the concept losing its meaning or – stated more precisely – today multiculturalism can mean everything and therefore says almost nothing” (Lukšič Hacin, 2011, 147-148). What’s more, the term multiculturalism often connotes a “consumer product”: “The obligation of cultures or ethnic minorities is to makes their cultures ‘commercially interesting’, to trivialize them, to adapt them to the standards of the Western consumer world, to

¹ Angela Merkel’s speech to members of the Youth Union, Potsdam, 16.10.2010; David Cameron’s speech at the Munich Security Conference, 5. 2. 2011; Nicolas Sarkozy’s interview for Paroles de Français (TF 1), 11.2.2011 (*Living Together*, 2011, 10).

² The term multiculturalism is used as “an explanation of various phenomena, ranging from the integration of migrant workers and post-colonial immigrants into European nation states, to, for example, the demands of the Francophone community in Quebec for affirmation of their cultural, linguistic, and political identity, and also debates about the western ‘canons’ of philosophy, literature, and art. The term has lost its practical meaning because of the confused use of all of these examples” (Benhabib, in Medica, 2010a, 298).