MIGRANT CHILDREN AND COMMUNITIES IN A TRANSFORMING EUROPE

Contemporary Debates on Migrant Children Integration

CREATE

Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe

The project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCreate) aims to stimulate inclusion of diverse groups of migrant children by adopting child-centered approach to migrant children integration on educational and policy level.
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1. Introduction[1]

Migrant children and their integration, whether in educational contexts or otherwise, is not an under-researched area. Research in this area is ongoing, and has generated tens of thousands of papers with new ones continually added. To cut through this material, we worked to review a few thousand of the most recent papers, with a few hundred becoming those that this paper is based on. This paper therefore aims to present some of the key contemporary debates on child migrants and their educational contexts, and what integration might mean.

First, the paper discusses identity and integration, drawing on ideas of acculturation and so how individuals, both migrants and those they meet, change in terms of their identity and community. Importantly, it notes that terms such as *bicultural* and *integration* simplify a multidimensional process, where there is neither coherence in any host or migrant aggregation, nor is any acculturation uniform. Further, it finds that alternative analogies of 'anchoring' also are useful for understanding how individuals have *attachments* to community or cultural structures, including schools as institutions.

Second, therefore, we turn to those community structures that provide such attachments, including religious institutions, other community groups and families as both attachment and an intermediary for attachments. This, of course, raises questions about when any attachments might actually be a barrier, as opposed to being a support, for making further attachments.

Third, the paper considers the status of asylum seeking and other unaccompanied children. Here it is noted that these young people have two extra barriers beyond those of the wider migrant cohort. They are more likely to have adverse experiences as part of their journey, including war in their origination and perilous crossings. They are also more likely to be disconnected from the community structures mentioned previously if they are, especially on arrival, placed into state care such as foster families or group homes.

The paper then moves on to a specific set of barriers related to hostility, stereotyping, or other conflict-type behaviours that may arise. It then discusses a key component, well-being, that could be both cause and outcome of integration *and* educational success.

Finally, this paper focuses on educational contexts themselves, and so those school-related barriers to integration and what goes on in schools to help integration and school success.

2. A note on method

The structure of the process borrowed from the ideas of the Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA), with a more rigorous attempt to make decisions on exclusion and inclusion of literature based on the connection to the research question, alongside a team-based approach to search, decision-making and analysis. Thus, the literature was a far less biased sample than would be the case if those searching were in one nation, working in one language or working within particular disciplinary boundaries.

The research team conducted a literature search using a set of search terms placed into a Boolean statement in order to catch variations on terminology. The searches were:

• (migrant or migration or refugee) AND (child or children) AND (integration or education or learning or well-being or inclusion or empowerment)

• (migrant or migration or refugee) AND (child or children) AND (stigma or racism or inequality or populism or intolerance or discrimination or bias)

These searches were used in Google Scholar and Proquest databases, and in the languages of the six different countries (UK, Denmark, Italy, Poland, Austria, Spain and Slovenia), generating a number of bibliography files. The searches were limited to papers since 2015.
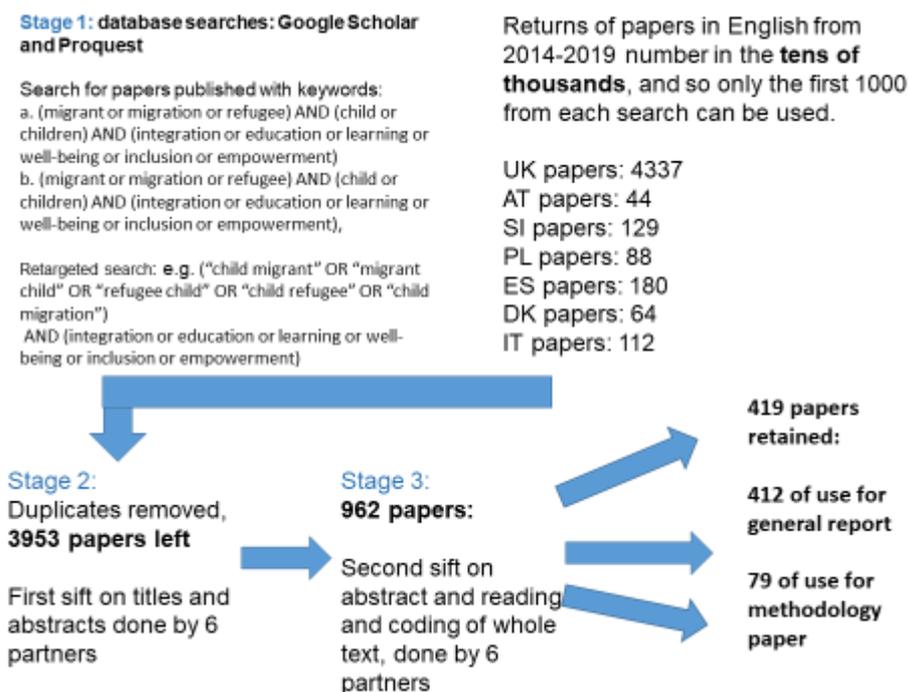
The files generated were then imported into EPPI Reviewer (https://eppi.ioe.ac.uk), an online system designed for systematic reviews and REAs. Once duplicate papers were removed, this system contained details of 3953 reports, books and academic papers to be

reviewed. EPPI reviewer was then used to allocate these randomly, and researchers then used titles (and abstracts where available) to make decisions on whether papers passed the first sift, and would be examined more closely. 962 of the papers were then allocated randomly to researchers for a second sift, with these being examined more closely using the abstracts, and full papers where a copy was available. Again, many references were rejected, leaving 419 papers that were read in greater detail for this report and the methodological discussion.

As part of this second sift, researchers also coded these 419 papers, according to an initial conceptual structure. This allowed the writing work to be split between the researchers, with each focusing their reading on those papers given the code they were covering. That said, some papers were coded for multiple topics.

3. Integration and Identity: the individual and society

3.1   Identity

'Identity', or rather the socio-cultural process of 'identification' with a group, is forged through difference (Hall, 1996), whereby conceptual boundaries are created that more or less delineate a set of 'us-s' and 'thems'. Identities talk is subject to criticism. First, on the grounds that a sense of identity can exclude and generate violence as well as be a source of pride, joy, strength and confidence (Sen, 2007). Second, on the grounds that 'essentialised notions of belonging' as a 'possessive attribute' downplays both the historical contingency that arises through identification 'processes' and the multiple and intersectional possibilities of identity (Anthias, 2008). In essence, the concept of 'identity' refers to heuristics which many find socially useful, which determine little if anything, but correlate with much.

As with Anderson's 'imagined communities' (1983), the fact that many people believe in their importance requires us to attend to the heuristics of identity talk, while being aware of its limitations. Thus, we can note that while 'the same person can be, without any contradiction, an American citizen, of Caribbean origin, with African ancestry, a Christian, a liberal, a woman, a vegetarian, a long-distance runner... a theatre lover... a tennis fan, a jazz musician' (Sen, 2007, pp. xii–xiii), but be sure that here and now, much of the discourse and practise begins by viewing some form of ethno-religious identity as 'peerless and paramount' (Sen, 2007, p. 5). Given such assumptions about the cultures or civilisations, it is to be expected that work on young migrants' identities and belongings mostly uses this framing.

3.2   Integration, assimilation and acculturation

Much work in education and educational psychology implicitly or explicitly draws on the work of John Berry (1997) in distinguishing four modes of acculturation, based on attitudes to two dimensions, 'relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity' and 'relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups' (Berry 2011). Here, the 'integration thesis'

relates more successful 'psychological growth' (Copelj, Gill, & Love, 2017), 'identity formation' (Mooren, Bala, & Sleijpen, 2019) and 'psychosocial adaptation' (Haenni Hoti, Heinzmann, Müller, & Buholzer, 2017) to integration, that is the engagement with the new culture at the same time as maintaining the old (O'Toole Thommessen & Todd, 2018). Thus, a 'positive ethnic identity' (Ayón, Ojeda, & Ruano, 2018) and 'cultural pride' becomes the basis for a 'dual cultural identity' (Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstand, 2018) or 'hybrid identity' (Calderón & Lynn, 2019).

Furthermore, the same questions can be asked, in reverse, of those who have not moved but come into contact with those who have. Here this is conceptualized as the acculturation of the 'host', such that host adolescents also change some of their culture in response to the presence of difference (Mancini, Navas, López-Rodríguez, & Bottura, 2018).

Narratives of this kind provide the impulse for a number of approaches that, in one way or another, are attempts to avoid assimilation (the erasure or loss of the old identity), or separation or marginalisation caused by and by the reaction to prejudice and discrimination. Thus, states and parents are interested in supporting cultural identity for its own sake. Parents may aim to hold on to and preserve 'old ways' (see Bowie, Wojnar, & Isaak, 2017). Further, some writings (and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) and to some extent states, do see 'family cultural and language capital' (Moskal & Sime, 2016) as something to be supported. On the other side of the equation, there is positive encouragement to gain some new elements of cultural identity, including language acquisition and the assumed 'values' of the new society (see Casey, 2016).

At the same time, acculturation or resistance to acculturation can be the result of negative forces, or can be interpreted negatively. Thus, 'peer pressure' to assimilate (Pryce, Kelly, & Lawinger, 2018; Ricucci, 2016), the need for young people to position themselves in response to media stereotyping (Leurs, Omerović, Bruinenberg, & Sprenger, 2018), state questioning of 'parenting styles' (Johannesen & Appoh, 2016). A 'siege mentality' developed from the threats of prejudice and discrimination influences the type of acculturation, alongside the 'reasons for leaving… whether the bonds [with the previous place] were kept or broken… [and] the probability of return' (Markowska-Manista, Zakrzewska-Olędzka, & Chmiel-Antoniuk, 2018). Likewise, part of the rationale for holding on to 'old ways' is a fear of 'American lifestyle choices' (Bowie et al., 2017).

3.3   Complicating identity

This latter point, however, can be used as our point of departure. The idea of 'American lifestyle choices' meaning gangs and drugs demonstrates that neither the host or incomers' cultural forms are uniform across the whole population. Nor does culture come as a coherent or organic whole (see Appiah, 2018). The first of these critiques can be seen in ideas of 'segmented assimilation' (see Portes & Zhou, 1993) in which some assimilate or integrate into one strata of society and others into another strata of society. Work in this area has focused on the impact of different types of acculturation, especially how children's acculturation is
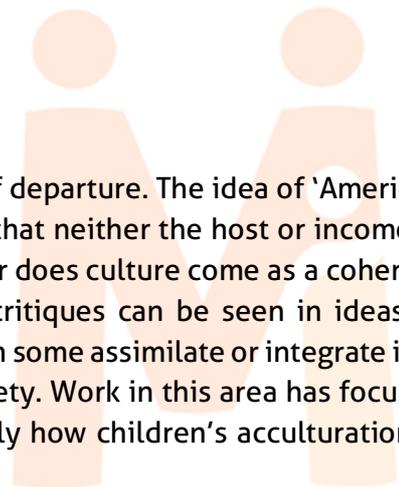
the same or differs from that of their parents (Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, & Mollenkopf, 2010). This literature introduces ideas of 'selective acculturation', whereby young people keep some part of their background, while adjusting to a new life. However, as Waters et al point out, this is not always a spur for success: 'Ethnic embeddedness and social capital are helpful when they connect people to those with significant resources. They are of far less use for groups that are more uniformly poor.' (2010)

Furthermore, this concept of 'selective acculturation' is rarely interrogated, and so is left referring to two 'cultures'. The reference to gangs and drugs previously should remind us that these can sit alongside any segment, and preclude nothing. Thus, 'selective acculturation' can be conceptualised as operating on any particular element, that is what Appiah refers to as cultural 'components'. In this mode, Sall (2019) explores African immigrant youth's acculturation in New York, finding 'adoption' of cuisine from the locality (including third types), 'distinction' in terms of the maintenance of language, and 'addition' of African fashion to the 'cultural pool'. This is also reflected in the idea of 'hyperdiversity' (Hoti, Andrea, Sybille, Marianne, & Alois, 2017; Kraftl, Bolt, & Van Kempen, 2018), whereby 'attitudes, lifestyles, behaviours and materialities' provide a multidimensional cultural space in which ethnonational or ethnoreligious identities are not paramount. Even without this shift, the 21st Century sees the possibility of regular return through cheap flights, or the maintenance of contact with family and friends 'back home' which then changes the status of the ethnonational identity as 'other'. In a study of flirtation between Europeans with Moroccan origins, while they are 'visiting 'home' during summer holidays', Wagner (2018) finds that the European differences (e.g. France or Belgium), languages and mentality are layered over and have more import than Moroccan-ness.

Recent psychological work has taken a similar track by considering 'domains' in which acculturation occurs (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Thus, cultural changes can occur in 'values, language, cultural traditions, social relations or identifications', school, consumer habits and more (Mancini et al., 2018, p. 72). Further Mancini et al (2018) divide these into 'central' and 'peripheral' domains, such that different forms of acculturation can be found which differ in terms of their importance to the individual and those who engage with them.

Indeed, we are then left with the question of who decides, what and how some elements of culture have importance, and so how this is operationalised at the level of individual experience. Van Praag et al (2016) found that 'students of immigrant descent perceive acculturation mainly in terms of the establishment of intergroup contact', whereas their teachers saw cultural maintenance as a threat to integration and successful life in Belgium. Further, these teachers saw at least some cultural maintenance as a strategy for resistance against school (e.g. Muslim students demands for halal food, despite their alcohol consumption).

Reacting against the stereotyping inherent in some forms of multicultural education, Fruja Amthor and Roxas propose a child-led and granular interpretation of identity and culture:

'suggest[ing] conceptual shifts to widen their scope to include newcomer youths' varied experiences and identity positions. These shifts are (a) advancing the role of genuine cross-cultural relationships over traditional forms of cross-cultural competence in multicultural educational spaces and (b) abdicating the search for cultural authenticity implied in some multicultural education practice in favor of facilitating cultural agency for newcomer youth' (2016).

Using the language of Grzmala-Kazlowska (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2018), this suggests that innumerable fields are available for 'social anchoring' (education, leisure, food, family, religion, literature, street-life and on) and that migrant integration, identity and community is a process of gaining new anchors and perhaps letting go of others. The question then remains: when should teachers, parents or others intervene, especially when some elements of identity are heading towards the socially undesirable?

4. Non-state structures: community, religion and family

Most obviously, community groups (including religious and other cultural associations) and family provide immediate sources of identity formation or social anchoring. This will be the case where others have gone before: where an established population is present, there are likely to be already existing groups that new migrants, old as well as young, can fit in to. There is, of course, an important debate here as to the possibilities that either such a base allows for more successful integration into wider society, or whether it becomes a crutch that makes wider integration unnecessary and so leaving society 'pillarised' or otherwise divided. Due to those concerns in the public sphere that it is those of other religions who would have most difficulty integrating, much of the literature in this area does consider religious-based community groups, whether those of the migrants' religions or other. Some of the work considered for this review also examines the role of community structures not based on religion, including those around music and art.

Further, migrant children who are accompanied by their parents are engaged in making new connections both independently of family *and* through or on behalf of their family. Again, the role of family may have positive and negative consequences. The literature here therefore discusses where parents are more closed if afraid of stereotyped reactions, where parents try to reinforce 'home' cultural norms, and where child engagement with wider society is done partially for parents who are engaging less.

4.1 Migrants' religion/groups

Studies stress the role of communities in the process of identity formation of migrants (Lee, 2018; Riaz, 2015), and most of these revolve around religious communities, rather than general community structures. This raises the question of the extent to which religion determines the identity of migrants (Lee 2018). On the one hand, scholars mention the

positive connection between secularization and adaptation to the host country; on the other hand, they argue against the perception that religion is an obstacle to integration (ibid.). In this context, it is important to emphasize that identity is both individual and contextual. This means, for instance, that cultural distances, reception, expected discrimination, social networks are only some of the factors that influence the process of identification. Thus, researchers find that descendants of migrants have stronger ethnic ties than their parents due to experiences of discrimination (ibid.). In relation to the assumption that national identity becomes stronger with each generation of migrants, researchers stress - against the classical assimilation concept - that ethnic and religious ties are still present in both the second and subsequent generations of migrants (ibid.). Particularly among Muslim groups, religiousness remains stable in the second generation: religiousness tends to determine ethnic and national identity and seems to be the primary identity among other identities (Lee, 2018; Ricucci, 2016). One study found that it is more likely - especially because minority religions outside the Judeo-Christian tradition were considered incompatible with so-called Western culture - that these migrants identify intensively with their minority in contradiction to their identification with the host country (Lee 2018). Religion or religious community in general can - especially for a group that might feel like outsiders - be an important part of an individual's life (Lee 2018; Riaz 2015; Ricucci 2015). Moreover, a study has also found out that religious identity is an essential part of the identity of less educated and newly arrived migrants (Lee 2018) and mostly among female migrants (Riaz 2015). Another study points out that migrant parents often try to involve young people in religious practice in order to share their culture of origin with them. Religious practice is used to establish links between family members. The underlying argumentation of the study is that cultural socialization is associated with positive ethnic identity development and a buffer for discrimination (Ayón et al., 2018). Religion therefore offers security and reassurance and can thus enable successful acculturation (Riaz 2015).

By contrast, another study finds that children of migrants of the second generation do not express the same enthusiasm or religiosity as the first generation. Children of migrants frequently struggle with stereotypical assignments: Because of their migration background, the children are attributed a religiousness that is often not shared by migrants at all. Often there is more to the life for these young people than religiousness and conservative cultural beliefs. But then again, because of the daily struggle with their families and ethnic communities, they choose the path of mediation and join the family of the Church, but without true commitment (Ricucci 2015). In this regard, it is important to highlight the different levels of religiosity and identity and the context in which one finds oneself (Lee 2018; Riaz 2015).

4.2   Other community groups

While some studies analyse the role played by religious community structures in supporting people with migration experience in adapting to the new life circumstances (e.g. Ricucci 2016), it is indisputable, that other community groups also contribute to the inclusion of newly arrived people. Three community groups are identified in the scholarly literature on integration of youth as pivotal: art-related communities, social work groups and schools.

Youth art-related communities are discussed among scholars as spaces for one's identity development and hence, inclusion in the receiving society (c.f. Lewis, McLeod, & Li, 2018; Lundberg, 2016). Quadros and Vu (2017) have studied how Swedish choral directors include refugees into their choirs or musical groups, and how such efforts at inclusion are received. The results have shown that music has a central role in mobilising communities and generating intercultural understanding beyond verbal communication. However, the study also shows that the Western European choir singing may appear culturally remote for refugees, and these inclusive musical initiatives may need new models of community music engagement. Rothchild (2015) has also contributed to the discussion of migrant's inclusion through artistic activities. Based on the example of hip-hop academy in Hamburg, the author shows that bringing migrant youth who are interested in music together is rather insufficient for their feeling of belonging or expression of their identity. In the context of the Academy, and institutionalized artistic activities, hip-hop is claimed to be the city's tool of discipline and soft power rather than inclusion or youth self-expression. A study on applied theatre projects with young refugee arrivals in Australia (Balfour, Bundy, Burton, Dunn, & Woodrow, 2015) has shown that theatre can be used for increasing migrant inclusion and resilience in manifold ways. Drama classes can be adopted as a method to enhance language competency among primary school pupils, as means of creating opportunities for cultural competency in the secondary school context and of exploring different forms of expression and communication about the transition process among youth unaccompanied minors (ibid.).

Social work and related community groups are indicated in the literature as a further key aspect of integration of persons with migration experience. Social work is especially valued for the process of integration for its functions of service provision and providing the youth with orientation (cf. Valtonen 2016). However, social work goes beyond the dimension of concrete provision of social services. Even more central for the issue of integration is social workers' contribution to the group relations and management of group dynamics. The central role that social work plays in the process of inclusion of migrant people has been shown by Viola, Biondo and Mosso (2018). The study explores the Italian social work practice with migrants and concludes that "social workers promote integration and individual empowerment, building a 'relational bridge' between cultural diversities, migrants' heritage, and the mainstream culture" (Viola, Biondo, & Mosso, 2018, p. 483). A study from US conducted by Lin & Wiley (2017) has shown that social work done by migrants themselves is advantageous in the effort to involve newly arrived migrants in the local society. They claim that individual immigration and acculturation experiences of migrant social workers create unique leadership opportunities for working with newly arrived children in the US.

### 4.3   Family relationship

The literature also stresses the important role of family structures in the integration process of young people. The research assumes that there is a significant influence of migration on family relations, e.g. migration can destabilize family relations, leading to loss of recognition and belonging, and a significant influence of family relations on the migration

process (Sime 2018). Destabilization is caused, for instance, by the fact that children are often trapped in a structural conflict between two cultures and this leads to family migration often being a difficult issue for children (Moskal & Sime, 2016; Nakeyar, Esses, & Reid, 2018; Pustułka, 2014; Säävälä, Turjanmaa, & Alitolppa-Niitamo, 2017; Sime, 2018). Particularly in the school context, a study shows that children from migrant families can function as closed gates to the flow of information due to concerns about their family's public image and consciously try not to impose additional burdens on their parents and at the same time withstand the pressure of their parents. The lack of information often leads to a lack of integration of children (Säävälä 2017). Moreover, other studies have shown that Polish parents often choose schools where other Polish children already attend in the hope that their children will receive support from their Polish peers. However, this can lead to slower language acquisition and a restriction of the children's network, as it only allows the reproduction of the parents' host culture. This support shows that the network of a family that is a form of social capital does not necessarily lead to a successful integration process (Rerak-Zampou, 2014; Trevena, McGhee, & Heath, 2016). In this context, a study along Somali-born parents emphasises that in order to achieve a successful parenting transition, parents need parenting support. In particular, schools and social services can overcome barriers that prevent a lack of knowledge about the new country's systems related to parenthood (Osman, Klingberg-Allvin, Flacking, & Schon, 2016).

On the other hand, a study found that the family can act as a crucial support network for refugee youth in overcoming barriers to success and psychosocial well-being (Nakeyar et al., 2018). Another study states that the scientific commitment and achievements of children and young people can be strengthened through supportive family relationships. In the study, the children expressed their motivation in interviews to learn in the interest of their parents, who often made sacrifices to give their children better opportunities. In addition, children often act as translators or interpreters for parents who are unable to communicate in the host country, which can also support the children's willingness to integrate as they feel responsible for supporting their families. Besides they also get support with their transnational network, for instance their grandparents in their origin country (Moskal & Sime, 2016). A family network (depending on the socio-economic status of the family) can also support and enable its child's participation in extracurricular activities, where social networks have generally been established and strengthened, (Rerak-Zampou, 2014).

5. Asylum seeking and other unaccompanied child migrants

Some child migrants, however, are not embedded into migrant community structures and do not have access to both formal and non-formal education. Asylum seeking and other unaccompanied children do not have immediate recourse to those organisations their family connect too, although they may do so independently. They may also be housed by the state, fostered or otherwise have transitional arrangements that lack the stability that enables long-term integration.
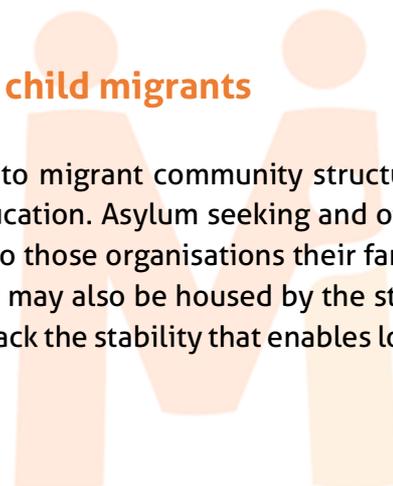
Furthermore, while those migrating with family may have experiences that lead to trauma, the possibility that asylum-seeking children have been sent away from home having such experiences, and the fact that journeys made without family may themselves add further trauma, they are more likely to need assistance. Such assistance may also be less forthcoming if an unaccompanied child has no adult with them who are ready to assert any rights.

5.1   Legal protection and ground-level practices

While unaccompanied migrant children do have legal rights courtesy of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, these are not always fully fulfilled in practice (Luangrath 2016). Where such children are undocumented, individuals may be fearful of engaging with the educational system, or the system may refuse them. Even where paperwork is in order, there may be limited access to education for refugee children and minors (Uyan-Semerci & Erdogan 2018) or other failures to provide resources that should be available. Further, unaccompanied children do not have the support of parents to assert their rights, but are reliant on support organisations where they exist, including NGOs providing support for refugee children in the educational system (Hanna 2014). 'Implementation of… rights is often conditional, because children have an uncertain citizenship status' (Karlsson 2017)

Indeed, a key component of this experience is the early transitional period, which may involve forms of detention, asylum centres (Karlsson 2017) or transitional houses (Malmsten 2014) as 'home'. 'Research on asylum-seeking children's experiences of the reception period has shown that they live in housing conditions that do not meet their needs and are inconsistent with their rights' (Karlsson 2017). Evidence from the EU's Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) note that such social isolation affects access to other basic rights such as education, largely hampered by long waiting periods, language barriers, residing in remote locations, lack of information on educational opportunities, bureaucracy, limited financial support for asylum applicants, and racism. Some of these are discussed below.

5.2   Trauma, mental health and responses

Asylum seeking and other unaccompanied children are also more likely than other child migrants to have experienced extremes, such as unsafe journeys, war and other conflict. Thus, they have higher rates of psychiatric disorders (post-traumatic stress disorder, depression and anxiety disorders) of refugee children than other populations (Anagnostopoulos et al. 2016), mental disorders including posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and anxiety (Hall, 2016). Important in this process is the first assessment of the needs of young refugee arriving in Europe (Hebebrand at a. 2016), and then the identification of psychosocial needs of refugee children in the domains of social support, security, culture, and education (Cisse 2018). However, where those first few weeks involve detention, there are further consequences on well-being of refugee children and minors (Zwi et al. 2018).

Thus, many responses to such experiences use art or narrative approaches to give voice

and to then push back against more negative perceptions of refugees and asylum seekers. Such work includes art, literature, music, theatre in the integration of refugee children in minors (Balfour et al. 2015, Crawford 2017), and responses to stereotyping representations of refugee children through media literacy and production (Leurs 2018). Other activities includes participation in musical play for well-being of bicultural children, refugee and migrant children (Marsh 2017) and digital storytelling as a mean to giving voice to excluded (Moutafidou & Bratitsis 2018). Further, this work can also be used as part of the response to trauma, with narrative therapy, expressive arts therapy and mindfulness strategies as a preventative intervention to help refugee children in a trauma-informed, culturally, and developmentally sensitive way (Lundberg 2016).

6. Barriers to integration, education and well-being: racism and conflict

6.1   Conflict and integration

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

In this review there were few papers that solely considered the problem of addressing the possible conflict between people arriving in the Western countries and its host societies. Most of the literature touches these particular issues indirectly, usually exploring the patterns of education or social policy in the given country. It is also shown that some, especially Western, countries deny the existence of discrimination practices due to developed equality or diversity policies: instead discrimination is discussed as reason and justification for integration policies.

While education itself is a basic human right, and if open to diversity and based on equity principles it becomes the tool to build resilience, social cohesion and trust, migrant children can have difficulties gaining full access. They are often torn apart between inclusion and exclusion processes around the concept of "otherness", discrimination and ethnic labeling (Ahlund and Jonsson 2016, Atamturk 2018, Jensen et al. 2012, Agirdag et al. 2012; Rosenbaum 2001; Ross and Broh 2000; Ross and Mirowsky 1989; Van Houtte and Stevens 2010).

As the consequence, underachievement, poor school performance or drop-outs among migrant or minority children is connected to three main issues – the socio-economics of the family, interschool relations and the structure and ideology of educational system. All those factors mediate the conflict that may arise between peers and students and teachers or more generally – the local community. Especially the experience of ethnic discrimination has detrimental consequences in these dimensions affecting self-esteem, psychological resilience, depressive symptoms or feelings of futility of a child at stake (Fisher et al. 2000; Thomas et al. 2009; van Dijk et al. 2011; Wong et al. 2003, Agirdag et al. 2012; Rosenbaum 2001; Ross and Broh 2000; Ross and Mirowsky 1989; Van Houtte and Stevens 2010, D'hondt et al. 2016)

6.2   Institutional and interpersonal discrimination

First, we note that institutional and indirect discrimination is prevalent but as its cause is not 'prejudiced individuals', and the ideals of integration and non-discrimination are often part of national narratives, it is not brought to the fore. A strong ideology to avoid differences and put emphasis on common values and experiences which result in pressure on sameness. This is leading to assimilation and construction of national identity on racial and religious grounds, excluding those who differ. This contradiction to officially accepted integrative and inclusive approach could be illustrated by the use of the language (often derogatory to migrants – describing them as not normal) and integration practices, where migrants are forced to participate in intercultural events to disclose their cultural heritage, also constructed around the otherness (Ahlund and Jonsson 2016, Moskal and North 2017).

Furthermore, other inequalities that correlate with ethnicity can create unequal outcomes. The socio-economic status of the migrant children is often categorized as one of the major source of underprivilege and discrimination. Poor children are frequently excluded and marginalized, restricted from participating in activities and deprived from fundamental economic, social, cultural and political rights (Forbes et al. 2016, Medaric and Zakelj 2014). These affect mainly the minorities with long-term history of social exclusion as Roma people (Sime et al 2018, Vrabiescu 2016) or the asylum seekers and refugees (Tosten et al. 2017.

More often cited in the literature, and demonstrating the need for integration policy, is the prejudice and discrimination that comes from individuals. Thus, such work considers individual case studies on personal relations and experiences in peer-to-peer context (Priestad et al. 2014, Fangen and Lynnebakke 2014, Krajl, Zakelj and Ramesa 2013). Often, the conflict situation is only mentioned in order to illustrate the dynamics of discrimination and racism in different societal contexts, explain the realm of ethnic discrimination and justify the reasoning behind the construction of remedies against discriminatory behaviours or fostering the particular models of integration programs. The cause of violence is rarely explained, though the issue of interethnic violence in schools often remains an under-researched and inadequately discussed phenomenon (Medaric and Zakelj 2014). Reviewing the violence prevention strategies Eisner and Malti (2012) reported that little progress has

been made in "expanding the evidence base", "developing and testing prevention strategies" and in "improving knowledge of mechanisms and active components".

In this review of literature we found however a few papers that directly refers to the problem of interethnic violence and discrimination. It is generally agreed that physical forms of violence are rather rare, although more subtle forms of aggression like verbal harassment, bullying and rudeness are widespread and common within the school environment. It is also agreed that attitude of pupils towards their migrant peers is driven by the wider societal context and the prevailing media discourse (Medaric, Zakelj 2014, Erjavec et al. 2000, Zavratnik et al. 2008, Toš et al. 2009, Kirbiš et al. 2012). Researches showed also that younger generation tend to be more tolerant and levels of violence lower down with the age progression of students, however younger student more often asks for help while older ones more often fights back, which may escalate the conflict (Medaric, Zakelj 2014).

It is also observed that when violence occurs, it generally does so in relation to those who diverge from the norm in any sense (Edlind and Francia 2017). Furthermore the acceptance of violence seems to increase when it becomes accepted to ignore or loath those who differ from the norm (Allport, 1954; Kumashiro, 2001; Nussbaum, 2012; Waghid & Nuraan, 2013; Young, 1990; Žižek, 2008). It was finally observed that across many immigrant groups, bullying and peer aggression were consistently significantly higher for non-official language speaking first generation immigrant adolescents compared to third generation and native-born adolescents. This suggests that risks related to violence are greater when an immigrant adolescent speaks a language other than the primary language of the host country (Pottie et al. 2015), and the experience of racism is therefore uneven. Further, visible difference in skin colour means that such issues extend to those who are not migrants, but have some form of migrant background (Ahlund and Jonsson 2016, Jensen et al 2012, Priestad et al 2014).

Finally, we note a distinction between the perception or racist behaviour in educational system between old and new EU countries. In Western discourse we observe the denial strategies in reference to discrimination recognition. People and researchers are distancing the problem (racism and prejudice only in small towns and villages, where there is no migrants), attach the definition with the intent, diminishing and scaling down the problem, accusing migrant pupils of politicising racism – pulling the racist card whenever pressured or expected to perform better (Jensen et al. 2012). In Central and Eastern Europe experience of racist behaviour is seen as common experience of migrants and minorities, something inevitably connected with their presence in the host country. In both Worlds the academic discourse is focused around the possible remedies and shaping the integration process in a way that could eliminate the conflict and other problems caused by racism and discrimination.

6.3   Responding to discrimination

The literature also, on occasion, refers to ways that any conflict is responded to. This includes those responses that come without prompting, and those which are being promoted

through training or other intervention, and also those that are focused on migrant children themselves, and those which address teachers, other children or any others.

First it is noted that new arrivals, when negotiating their multicultural identity, try to avoid being positioned as victims, as vulnerable or exposed to cultural clashes and contradictions. Much like other migrants, the students can be seen to contest and renegotiate the ways they are categorised and labelled by the majority culture (Ahlund and Jonsson 2016), and this may not always be positive. Some of the papers shows how migrant children adapt to the new situation, what psychological mechanism they are using or what kind of behaviour they perform, including violence in order to negotiate their statuses (Ahlund and Jonsson 2016, Jensen et al. 2012, Moskal and North 2017, Priestad et al. 2014, Fangen and Lynnebakke 2014). Most of the studies demonstrate that diversity and tolerance education and real experience with the otherness lower the prejudice level, open children to critical thinking and sensitise them with higher levels of empathy (Priestad et al. 2014, Vizintin 2013,Triliva et al. 2014, Kralj, Zakelj, Ramesa 2013, Panichella and Ambrosini 2018).

The literature also notes interventions focused on migrant children and their peers. They explore also the problem of tools and strategies of sensitising children to issues related to diversity, social justice and antiracism (Banks, 2006; Benson and Poliner, 1997; Connolly, Fitzpatrick, Gallager, and Harris, 2006; Derman-Sparks and Brunson-Phillips, 1997; Grant and Sleeter, 1998; Harris, Nikels, Mims, and Mims, 2007; McFarland, Siebold, Aguilar, and Sarmiento, 2007, Triliva et al. 2014).

A second set of responses are those focused on the broader environment, the teachers and other staff. This includes structural development, social involvement, empowerment, but also teachers' competences and skills (Forbes et al. 2016, Moskal and North 2017, Edling and Francia 2017, Andersson, Ascher, Björnberg and Eastmond, 2010; Ascher and Hjern, 2013). An emphasis is given to those strategies that counter teachers tendency to lower expectations towards migrant students and to perceive them through stereotypes (Peterson et al., 2016; Rubie-Davies et al., 2006; Tenenbaum and Ruck, 2007, Glock, Krolak- Schwerdt, Klapproth, and Böhmer, 2013; Glock, Krolak-Schwerdt, and Pit-ten Cate, 2015; Parks and Kennedy, 2007). Furthermore, it is generally accepted that intercultural curriculum, teaching diversity and tolerance, the understood of other play important factor in conflict resolution, respect to migrant communities and their farther inclusion in the host societies (Atamturk 2018, Margiotta 2017).

7. The contribution of health and mental health to child well-being and integration

Well-being, the wider state of health and happiness, is theorised as having a potentially reciprocal relationship with migrant child integration and education. While the literature studied for this review sees integration as contributing to well-being, at the same time the

ability of migrants to integrate is predicated on the full range of well-being, enabling people to live a full life. Thus, while this paper is largely focused on educational and social outcomes as route to child well-being, we must also consider physical and mental health. Further, education itself contributes to health, whether by migrants being better able to access services, or through education staff being more attuned to needs.

7.1 The role of education in health and well-being

Some studies point at education and schooling as promoting well-being (Soriano and Cala, 2018) or point at the relation to and the importance of depending on educational institutions (Tonheim, M. et al. 2015). Several studies provide recommendations as how to develop health and psychosocial well-being in school and through education (Tonheim, M. et al. 2015; Mooren et. al. 2019; Anastassiou, 2017). Other studies point at different directions, when studying well-being in education. Communication between migrant parents and school, suffering direction and dialogue as adolescent serve as 'translaters' and thereby manipulating information to protect the family (Säävälä and Turjanmaa, 2017) and hope as a pathway and agency marker in education programmes that promote hope (Jani et.al., 2016).

School-based programmes supporting and enhancing mental health or well-being are mentioned in several studies. Collaboration between mental health care and school professionals (Mooren et. al., 2019), mentorship-programmes (Nakyar et. al. 20018) and training teachers and trainers (Anastassiou 2017) are some of the recommendations. Education is playing an important role in social integration, economic ability, acculturation and as an indicator of a secure life (Nicolai et. al, 2016; Plener et. al., 2017; Uyan-Semerci and Erdogan, 2017) even though further data should be collected to support these findings and determine in specifically which areas of life education is important.

Other studies are pointing to challenges of integration and well-being in schools and education. The low level of education of migrant children is discussed, referring to socio-economic background and biases in the curriculum (Harte et, al., 2016) as Nakyar et. al. (2018) considers school and health care should also focus on immigrant youth as facing the same challenges with independency and liberation as other young people. Other studies demand policies of education and schools to actually prepare refugee and immigrants youth to problem solving and fostering intercultural understanding (Wiseman and Shannon, 2017; Campos-Saborío and Núñez-Rivas, 2018).

7.2 The significance of the process of migration/flight on child mental health

In several studies, the significance of children's or youth experiences with pre-flight, flight and the arrival at the host country are accentuated. The circumstances under the pre-flight or the flight can have tremendous impact on children's health and well-being and both current social, psychological and relational problems or difficulties can be tied to these experiences. The impact of current detention on the social–emotional well-being of children seeking asylum is significant. Children in detention had significantly more social, emotional and behavioral difficulties than children living in the community and the removal of post-

arrival detention is the most powerful intervention available to host countries (Zwi, K. et al. 2018). Regarding health issues, the physical and psychological diseases of refugees must be understood in the different cultural contexts of pre-flight, flight and arrival, claims Anagnostopoulos et. al (2016). For both the perspectives on health and resilience, the context of the whole flight must be taken into consideration as the pre-travel experiences, 'flight'-experiences and the arrival at the hosting country are interdependent and key to children's well-being or not (Anagnostopoulos et. al., 2016; Battersby et. al/ISSOP, 2018). Also, studies call attention to the European attitude toward young refugees as a possible 'risk' determinant, leading to deportation-based fear, amongst other things (Anagnostopoulos et. al., 2016; Vega, 2018).

7.3   Policy as key to children and youth's health and well-being

Health and well-being on the level of policy, curriculum and political documents are mentioned in several studies. In others, policies are key data or guiding discussions and findings. In Almudena (2017) the subjective child well-being is analyzed. One purpose of the research is to scrutinize to what extend family policies can explain differences in subjective child well-being in different European countries. Jante and Harte (2016) examine the demographic and economic challenges in EU from a child- and family- focused perspective and the policy of the EU countries on the problem. They document that migrant children perform poorer than local children, especially if the language of the new country is not their mother tongue. Forbes and Sime (2016) analyse Scottish educational policy and the underperforming of migrant children. Using intersectional and critical theory they point out a shift in Scottish educational policy: the problem is no longer seen as just an educational problem. It is seen as a socio-economic problem too. In Cox and McDonald (2018) the analysis and critique of the 'Green Paper' in the UK is in focus, adopting a children's right perspective. The 'Green Paper' addresses the mental health and well-being needs of refugee children and young people in England and Wales, identifying strengths, limitations and challenges for future policy and practice. However, there analysis shows that the overarching challenge is that the paper is premised on Western-centric models in its understanding of the experiences of refugee children and young people and it fails to recognize the significance of culture and diversity.

7.4   Child-friendly or focused child-perspective

Studies that enhance, investigate or extensively work with a child-perspective are numerous (Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan, 2017; Lawrence et. al., 2018; Luangrath, 2016, Malmsten, 2014; Sedmak and Medarić, 2017). A focused child- perspective in Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan (2017) examines the perspectives of children's well-being in Turkey while letting children describe what "a(n) un/happy child" is. In Bergstrom-Wuolo at al (2018) the health of 25 newly arrived immigrants in Sweden is scrutinized. The immigrants are drawing and writing letters to explore health from their perspective. In Lawrence et al. (2018) the indicators of refugee children's well-being is explored through a "child-friendly computer-

assisted interview" (CAI), underlining the importance of experiences from war or conflict and from the resettlement phase, stressing that that children's perspective must be included in planning of intervention strategies. Housing strategies are explored, pointing at the violation of the UN convention of Rights of the Child in provisional housing in Ireland (Luangrath, 2016) and children's perspectives on living in transitional houses in Sweden (Malmsten, 2014). Sedmak and Medarić (2017) investigate unaccompanied children's subjective views with regard to their perceptions of daily life and their well-being, concluding that the best interest of the child (UNCRC) is not met due to unclear national politics regarding unaccompanied minors.

8. Educational contexts

Finally, this paper focuses on the educational contexts themselves. This includes the processes that connect the experiences of migrants to educational attainment, and so the role of integration in schools as generating positive outcomes. Further, this includes policy and practice that operates on the school system, including teachers, parents and migrant children.

8.1 Multiple barriers

In the sections above, this report has noted issues of identity, language, community and belonging, the trauma and stress for all migrants but especially for lone and asylum-seeking children, and the role of discriminations, hatreds and conflicts. However, further barriers are identified that, while not limited to migrant children, may be correlated in some context. These include:

- limited access to high quality early childhood education and care (Huddleston & Wolffhardt, 2016, p. 25; Darmody, Byrne & McGinnity, 2014)

- concentration in disadvantaged schools (Huddleston & Wolffhardt, 2016; Darmody, Byrne & McGinnity, 2014)

- low socioeconomic status (Harte, Herrera, & Stepanek, 2016)

- difficulties related with choosing school (Condon, Hill, & Bryson, 2018; Trevena, McGhee & Heath Sue, 2016)

- parental influence (Harte, Herrera, & Stepanek, 2016)

- 'housing problems... difficulties accessing social services . . . and the parents not having steady employment" (Metu, 2014, p. 94)

These are in addition to the language barriers, and the bias of support to 'the majority culture and [imposition of] it as dominant in teaching' (Milenkova & Hristova 2017). Indeed,

any cultural difference can also change teacher expectations (Akifyeva & Alieva 2018), such that children are treated differently. This includes differences in the recognition and regulation of emotions (Kaloyirou, 2018), with teachers not well trained in multiculturalism competencies so they feel less prepared to deal with migrant children (Aydin, Gundogdu & Akgul, 2019; Koelher, 2017; Castellanos, 2018). Other barriers in school engagement are the gap between migrant families and school (Sime, Fassetta, & McClung, 2018).

8.2   School-based solutions

Solutions proposed in the literature start with support for school attendance from the very youngest age. Lunga, Bislimi, Momani, Nouns, & Sobane (2018) propose a set of policies recommendations for G20 countries related to migrant children's access to school. Jager (2016) claims that "The key is awareness and the commitment to include all children in the preschool education programs . . . [in order to] guarantee the right to quality education for all children and that we behave as responsible citizens towards the most vulnerable" (p. 157).

For linguistic difficulties, Iliescu (2017) proposes that schools take a translanguaging approach, which 'might help teachers find pedagogical tools to maintain and develop these students' linguistic and cultural experience and make them regard it as an asset rather than a hindrance' (p. 293). Meanwhile, Vižintin (2016) argues the need to promote an intercultural competence for teachers and students in the learning process. Janta & Harte (2016) consider important to ensure that migrant students learn the language of instruction and maintain a relationship with their mother tongue, as it could be useful to build relationships between educators and parents, although this is not always possible (Bešter & Medvešek, 2015). Further, Wofford & Tibi (2018) suggest including not only children but also families in school language learning programs.

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

Regarding teacher's multicultural skills, Vižintin (2018), Cekada (2012) and Suárez-Orozco (2017) propose to implement intercultural competencies to teach social diversity, although Vižintin (2018) considers this is difficult because students need time to adapt themselves and teachers need continuous training on the field of intercultural education. Wellman & Bey (2015) propose art teaching-training programs as they enhance sensitivities, and foster community navigating through difference. Atabong (2016) argues that it is important to build and offer antiracism programmes in and out of schools. Bajaj, Argenal & Canlas (2017) also proposes: the construction of a pedagogical curriculum oriented to the critical conscience in human rights and inequalities; the creation of ways for reciprocal

learning between families or communities and schools; and attention to the material conditions of students and famílies' lives.

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

Thomas (2017), Fruja Amthor (2017), Thijs & Verkuyten (2014) and Tuinhof de Moed (2015) highlight the need to introduce migrant children symbolic cultural artifacts in school. Meanwhile, according to Crawford's study, music education programs have a positive impact in refugee students. Specifically, "fostering a sense of well-being, social inclusion (a sense of belonging), and an enhanced engagement with learning" (Crawford 2017, p. 353). Leurs, Omerović, Bruinenberg, & Sprenger (2018) state that media literacy education contributes to strengthening their participation and resilience. Castaño-Muñoz, Colucci & Smith (2018) propose free digital learning (FDL) initiatives for migrants and refugees.

Some studies also acknowledge the need to consider not only schools for a better integration process, but also the environment and the community (Mlinar, 2019; Vižintin, 2013). Dovigo (2018) talks about "a shift from a school-centered view to a network-based perspective focused on active cooperation between services and communities" (p. 48).

According to Asadi (2015) it is hard to promote the refugee youth long-term success without a policy based on a "holistic approach to their educational journey, with particular attention to the areas of learning and the social and emotional needs of the students" (p. 199). That policies require the construction of a welcoming atmosphere, effective leadership, holistic programming, evaluation programs with explicit inclusion process, and a child-centered learning supported by political and cultural leaders. Ahad and Benton (2018) mentions six policy priorities: 1) ensure that professionals are equipped for diversity, 2) address students' diverse needs across the entire education trajectory, 3) unlock the broader role of schools as integration actors, 4) build governance structures that can withstand crisis, 5) design content and pedagogy for 21st century challenges. Medarić & Žakelj (2014) adds the need of having policies and legislation to deal with violence.

Miller, Ziaian & Esterman (2018) ask for specific funding that dictates 'the ways in which schools can support their students, such as funding for support staff or to implement particular programmes' (p. 350). Młynarczuk-Sokołowska (2017) talks about some countries in which 'educational legislation gives foreigners the possibility of additional free [host country language] courses' (p. 171).

9. Conclusions

No single report can possibly summarise all that is known or argued about migrant children and integration: at the time of writing, the number of Google scholar returns for a search on all of the words *migrant*, *child*, and *integration* is around 168,000 texts, with six thousand published in the first half of 2019. This work is being produced all over the world, across academic disciplines including medicine and health research, economics, sociology, anthropology, geography, education studies, psychology, political and policy studies, and more. This literature review has used a relatively systematic approach to gain some insight into the most recent work, with a cross-disciplinary approach, and how this also reaches back to previous debates and scholarship.

The few thousand recent papers that we reviewed were reduced down to the few hundred that we, as a group, thought had most relevance to the integration and education of migrants children. As presented here, it begins with those discussions of identity, culture, community and belonging that are found in sociological and psychological literature, emphasising the need to avoid the simplifications of 'ethnicities' and 'cultures', and suggesting other approaches – particularly ideas of 'anchoring' and bottom-up cultural - that may be fruitful. The review then moves onto both the community structures – religious, familial and other – that contribute to such processes, *and* the position of those who arrive *unaccompanied* and are so not embedded or anchored into such structures on arrival.

The review then moves onto two key barriers to integration. The first, that most obviously distinguishes the migrant child from other children, is the institutional and interpersonal discrimination and prejudice, that is forms of racisms. This includes some discussion of research that examines existing approaches to tackling this. The second addresses health and mental health, under the rubric of *well-being*, noting that well-being and integration can be interrelated.

Finally, the review shifts to discuss the specific context of schools and education. While schools themselves might be the source of barriers to migrant success, literature here argues for the the importance of education in the integration of migrant children (McBrien 2005), in a very holistic way. Thus, it is argued that education enables 'the possibility of breaking out of cycles of chronic poverty' (Nicolai; Wales; Aiazzi, 2017, p. 3) and 'holds the potential to minimize the likelihood of marginalization, neglect and ghettoization of newcomers, by providing social connections and aiding in community development' (Nofal, 2017, p. 8). It therefore provides migrant children 'the opportunity . . . to live in a relatively safe and harmonious land' (Nordgren, 2017, p. 86) contributing 'to children's well-being and sound, healthy development' (Naidoo, 2016, p. 5). A recent report by the National Institute on Economic and Social Research (NIESR) found that schools in the UK played an important role in actively social integration with twin aims, that is to create an inclusive environment for pupils and families and to optimise the performance of pupils who might need additional support (See Manzoni and Rolfe 2019). Thus, education plays an important role in the successful integration across all areas of learning and school life, which is in turn increasingly transformed by new waves of migration and mobilities.

10. References

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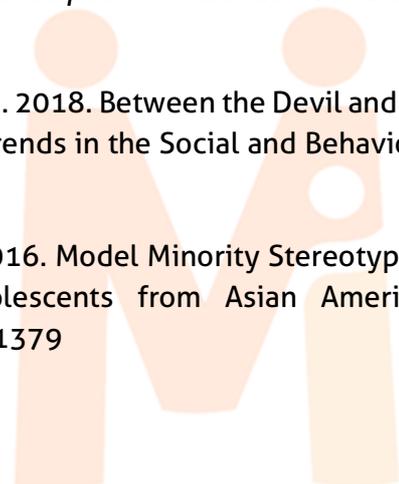
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