



immerse

INTEGRATION MAPPING OF REFUGEE
AND MIGRANT CHILDREN

Working paper #2

REPORT ON INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCES AND MULTILINGUALISM OF REFUGEE AND MIGRANT CHILDREN



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IMMERSE is a Horizon2020 funded project aimed at mapping the integration of refugee and migrant children in Europe. IMMERSE main goal is to define a new generation of indicators on the integration and socio-educational inclusion of refugee and migrant children in Europe incorporating all relevant stakeholders (children and their families, researchers, NGOs, policymakers, educators or learning institutions) in the co-creation and validation of a dashboard of indicators in order to reflect their particular needs and expectations.

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Table of contents

Executive summary. Findings from Italy and Spain.....	1
1 State of the art.....	4
1.1 Introduction: culture and language.....	4
1.2 Approaches to cultural and linguistic diversity in migration contexts.....	5
1.3 Inclusive and Intercultural approach in education.....	6
1.4 Culture and language in the socio-educative inclusion of migrant children.....	9
2 Context.....	12
2.1 The Spanish case.....	12
2.1.1 Migration flows.....	12
2.1.2 Migration policies: from labour market regulation to social cohesion.....	15
2.1.3 Migrant children.....	17
2.2 The Italian case.....	22
3 Methodology.....	41
3.1 Research methods.....	42
3.1.1 Workshops (children and families)	43
3.1.2 World café.....	45
3.1.3 Interviews.....	47
3.2 Methods of recruitment.....	48
3.2.1 Recruitment in Spain.....	48
3.2.2 Workshops in Italy.....	50
4 Discussion of results.....	53
4.1 Results in the workshops with children and families.....	53
4.2 Results from the world café.....	72
4.3 Results from the interviews with experts.....	87
5 Conclusions.....	100
References.....	106



Executive summary. Findings from Italy and Spain

Migration is a source of significant challenges and opportunities in Europe, as increasing flows of people seek new homes across the continent. International migrants made up approximately 11% of the total European population in 2019, or 82.3 million people, 2.8 million of whom are refugees and over 7 million of whom are below the age of 19 (Migration Data Portal, 2019). Recent years have also seen migrants from a much more diverse range of origin countries making their way to Europe, including to countries that had not previously been common migrant destinations. This movement places the successful integration of migrants and refugees into their host countries at the centre of migration policy in Europe.

This report details work carried out by IMMERSE on the identification of indicators of migrant children socio-educational integration. By adopting a systems-based approach, influenced by Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1994), IMMERSE aimed at identifying indicators at the micro, meso and macro levels.

The inclusion of the voices of refugee and migrant children is essential to understand their lived experiences and to help plan appropriate social and educational integration systems. Therefore, in addition to including children and young people as research participants, there was also active involvement of migrant children and youth in the research design and monitoring of IMMERSE's work through the formation of a Children and Young People's Research Advisory Group (CRAG).

Schools are chief among the social institutions impacted by migrant flows as key sites of integration and support for migrant children. This report details research on the socio-educational integration of refugee and migrant children carried out as part of the Horizon2020 research project Integration Mapping of Refugee and Migrant Children in Europe (IMMERSE). Research teams in Italy and Spain conducted qualitative research focusing on the theme of Intercultural Competences and Multilingualism and its relationship to integration through the lens of migrant and refugee children's experiences of education and school in their host countries. For details on IMMERSE research focusing on psycho-social wellbeing and gender, please see the complementary reports compiled by the Irish and Greece research teams (D1.3

Report on Intercultural Psycho-social Wellbeing) and the German and Belgian research teams (D1.4 *Report on Gender Issues*).

Spain and Italy have been both traditionally Mediterranean countries of emigration. Recently in the 21st century this migration flow has changed been now host countries of immigration. This shift in the social mobility has led to a change in the ways of both countries to adapt to this new diversity and to restructure the economic, labour, geographic and social new realities. Currently, a percentage of 10.69% of the resident population in Spain and 8.7% of the resident population in Italy are foreign born. The majority of immigrants coming to both countries from the 90s to the last decade were largely economic migrants, but the new global context of the last years and the time passed since the firsts arrivals to these countries have posed new challenges related to the integration of second generation of migrant children and adolescent, and new profiles of migrants such as refugees and unaccompanied minors.

The findings of this report are based on qualitative data collection that took place between May and September of 2019. Participants were key stakeholders in the socio-educational integration of migrant and refugee children at three levels:

- Micro level – workshops with refugee and migrant children, aged 6-18 years, and workshops with parents of refugee and migrant children
- Meso level – workshops with educators and representatives working within the field of migrant services
- Macro level – individual interviews with policy-makers and experts in the fields of education and/or integration

In total, there were over 150 child and adult participants between the two countries representing a diverse range of ages, geographic, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, and personal circumstances, including unaccompanied minors.

Findings from these workshops and interviews pointed to critical factors affecting socio-educational integration, and we identified seven particularly salient themes connected to psycho-social wellbeing, five of which were common to both countries.



- Confidence and self-esteem
- Friendships
- Relationships with teachers
- Language
- Bullying and racism
- School climate, policy, and curriculum (Ireland)
- Access to education and academic achievement (Greece)
- Housing policy (Ireland) School resources (Greece)

The findings on integration from each country were not only highly aligned with each other, but also with the existing research literature. In particular, the importance of preserving their own cultural features even if incorporation of new traditions, lifestyles, consuming habits etc. from the host culture by all the children's groups were commented as an important factor to develop a sense of belonging to the host culture. Another crucial factor mediating this feeling of belonging were the presence of social bridges and the opportunities to develop intercultural competences that ease the interaction of children with the host society. The intercultural competences that have emerged as positive outcomes in the process of integration have been related to conflict and expectation management and language competence. In addition negative outcomes of not to be integrated have been identified such as isolating in intra-ethnic or same linguistic background communities, feelings of not to belong into the host society or negative attitudes, caution and distrust towards native people and institutions. Otherwise, positive outcomes of integration have been training and being prepared to face a multicultural environment, stablish social bridges with native peers and supporting bonds with the family, teachers and peers, an inclusive social climate, an intercultural identity in which they adopt the cultural features of the host society according to their personal values without renounce to their cultural heritage, the feeling of belonging in the host society and positive expectations towards the future and the school



1 State of the art

1.1 Introduction: culture and language

Culture is generally defined as the learned and shared values, behaviours and beliefs of a group of people (Bennett, 1993, 2004). This fabric is made up of learned perceptions, acquired through socialization from early childhood, some of which are observable –such as manners, food or rituals– but most of them are hidden and non-observable, represented in the notion of subjective culture –such as core values, attitudes towards gender roles and the relationship between the individual and the collective. Once cultural mental programming –conditioned responses acquired from early childhood in our family, schools, religious institutions, etc. – has been installed in our brains it is extremely difficult to take on another culture. According to Barrett (2013), culture is an asset, tangible and intangible, a commodity which is reproduced to produce cultural capital and economic development. Culture enriches communities, builds bridges and fosters social and economic exchange. This enrichment is possible due to cultures being plural and permeable, rather than a fixed phenomenon (Council of Europe, 2008, p.13).

The relationship between culture and (verbal and non-verbal) communication has been comprehensively researched (Barrett, 2013; Hall, 1989, 1990; Knapp, Hall, & Horgan, 2014; Lewis, 2018), resulting in some useful frameworks that reveal the **significance of context in meaning and intention interpretation**. Hall's continuum of low-vs-high context cultures, for instance, is one of the frameworks to approach the study of cultural differences. Low-context cultures are direct, explicit and result-oriented. High-context cultures are indirect, implicit and relationship-oriented. Without the filter of context, the interaction between people from opposite cultures according to this scale is often hindered. In a similar manner, Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov (2010) have produced a 6-D model, based on extensive research that is expressed through six dimensions of national culture. This enables comparisons between countries on the attitudes towards power distance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term versus short-term orientation, and indulgence versus restraint.

Language and culture are closely intertwined. In the culture-acquiring process, language operates as our main tool for communication and socialization. Language plays a role of paramount importance because it not only serves the purpose of facilitating human interaction, but also



“translates internalized thought, through which [we] embody the ‘mentality’, the shared perceptions of a culture” (Schmidt, 2007). UNESCO describes language as “one of the most universal and diverse forms of expression of human culture, and perhaps even the most essential one” (UNESCO, 2006). At any rate, it is unthinkable today to conceive the learning of a new language outside the cultural dimension that is inherent to intercultural communicative competence (Baker, 2012, 2015).

Language and culture are one of the main dimensions or components identified in analytical and empirical approaches to migrants’ integration processes (Huddleston, Bilgili, Joki, & Vankova, 2015). For instance, Lacroix, (2013) understands the adaptation to the language and culture of the host country as a constitutive part of social integration, defining the identity integration as the subjective balance between the different influences received. Intercultural competences involving language identity, cultural awareness or cultural values conform what Heckmann & Schnapper (2016) call cultural integration. And language and cultural knowledge are considered ‘facilitators’ in the integration process by Ager & Strang (2004).

Language and cultural issues have also been included within integration measuring indicators: intercultural education is one of the dimensions of the Education Area in the MIPEX (and intercultural education, together with language training, forms part of the dimensions of the Equity and Diversity Area in the set of indicators about educational integration of immigrant students from Latin America developed by the Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación la Ciencia y la Cultura (2008).

1.2 Approaches to cultural and linguistic diversity in migration contexts

Regarding the integration of migrants, both in society generally and in the school specifically, several models have also been adopted across time and across countries. **Cultural assimilation** is the most contested model, and it has been used in countries like France and the United States (Alba & Nee, 2003). In the case of the United States, the acquisition of the English language and some external traits of the host country resulted in migrants’ acculturation, first, and the adoption, in time, of the core values of the American subjective culture. In contrast with this



approach, the prevailing models nowadays are **multiculturalism and interculturalism**, in spite of the fact that some experts find it difficult to separate both concepts (Levey, 2012; Meer & Modood, 2012) because of their inherent similarities. UNESCO establishes a clear distinction between both concepts and their use in educational settings: “Multicultural education uses learning about other cultures in order to produce acceptance, or at least tolerance, of these cultures. Intercultural Education aims to go beyond passive coexistence, to achieve a developing and sustainable way of living together in multicultural societies through the creation of understanding of, respect for and dialogue between the different cultural groups” (UNESCO, 2006:18). Multicultural communities live alongside each other and tolerate and respect each other’s’ culture, such as in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, but cultural exchanges are superficial, there is no cross-fertilisation, and core values and cultural patterns are not modified. **Interculturalism**, in contrast, aims at creating deep reciprocal connections among different cultures, resulting in a new cultural identity. This model has been implemented or endorsed in Canada, Italy and Spain, for instance, and is considered the current paradigm in the management of diversity (Abdallah-Preteuille, 2006; Giménez, 2010; Taylor, 2016).

As a matter of fact, interculturalism can also be controversial. Although it is the preferable model for many, others claim that it originates from a misrepresentation of multiculturalism (Modood, 2017). One of the main outstanding issues regards the fact that what interculturalists value is hybridity, fluidity of identities and choice of affiliation, which presumes that an individual easily takes an entrepreneurial stance towards her own culture; in this, interculturalism might underestimate the weight of culturally mediated collective ties on the individual agency (Meer, Modood, Zapata-Barrero, 2016). At this regard, adolescents and youngsters with a migrant background struggling with their cultural rootedness while innovating their background through original and mixed life-styles are exemplar. They are an especially vulnerable group when it comes to normative issues, as they struggle with them in the formation of their identity.

1.3 Inclusive and Intercultural approach in education

During the 20th century, educational models and responses to diversity – encompassing cultural and linguistic diversity but also disability and other sources of pupils’ diversity – have experienced a significant transformation. Former segregationist paradigms were gradually

transformed into integration models that sought to eliminate all forms of pupils’ segregation, and these finally evolved into today’s inclusive education models (Ainscow, 2005; Barton, 2005; Buchem, 2013; Slee & Allan, 2001; Tomlinson, 2005; Troyna, 1994; UNESCO, 1994; Verdugo, 2003). The Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) became a landmark in the inclusive movement as the first official document that reflects not only the term “inclusion” per se, but also the recognition of a novel approach to education for the whole community. Inclusive education has since emerged as the prevalent model to overcome the difficulties in the integration of diverse students.

Table 1. Evolution of educational models of diversity management

	SEGREGATION	INTEGRATION	INCLUSION
Approximate periods	Before 1960s	From 1960s to 1990s	1990s to the present
Basic principle	Essentialism	Normalization	Inclusion
Directionality of effort	Unidirectional: Educational System categorised students according to established criteria and “provided” for them.	Unidirectional: students need to adjust to an ordinary context	Bidirectional: school must provide support and resources to enhance the students’ adjustment
Model of school	Special school	Integrated schools	Inclusive school

Source: own elaboration

Three main elements define inclusive education (Ainscow, 2016): (1) Diversity as a positive stimulus for fostering learning: so, presence and participation of all students is required. (2) Active identification and removal of barriers: equality should be promoted ensuring that the most vulnerable groups are active parts of their community and their educational system. (3) Inclusion is process-based: becoming an iterative process, in continuous search of the better ways to respond to diversity. Inclusive education theories state that all the pupils have the potential to participate and successfully contribute to the community, but full integration cannot be accomplished by just altering the language or assimilating the students into mainstream schools and classes. Specifically addressing the needs of diverse students is key for reaching full integration.



An inclusive approach for migrants involves taking into account some of their specific barriers, which have largely – but not only – have to do with cultural and linguistic barriers. Models of intercultural education provide one possible answer to model this. UNESCO defines three principles of intercultural education: (1) respecting the culture of the learner through the provision of culturally appropriate and responsive quality education for all; (2) providing every learner with the cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to achieve active and full participation in society, which is related to the concept of global citizenship (UNESCO, 2014); and (3) providing cultural knowledge and skills that enable them to contribute to respect, understanding and solidarity among individuals, ethnic, social, cultural and religious groups and nations (UNESCO, 2010). As pointed out by Huber et al., (2012), intercultural education must entail the active deconstruction of ethnocentric stereotypes and prejudices. A crucial component of interculturalism is educating in religious pluralism and combating religious-based discrimination. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to emphasize the existence of different religious systems and perspectives in order to help develop tolerance towards religious diversity and the right to choose which faith to profess (Jackson and McKenna, 2005, Jackson 2014). However, as schools engage in social inclusion and cohesion, they should clarify the difference between faith, knowledge and prejudice in order to prevent segregation or monoculturalism (Coulby & Zambeta, 2008).

From the macro perspective, identification of new minority groups is prerequisite to distributing resources adequately (Vertovec, 2007). Then, it is necessary to encompass official agendas on educational standards and social inclusion as well as the local school culture. So public policy design is required (Ainscow, 2016). In June 2016, the EU Integration Action Plan of Third-Country Nationals was adopted. One of its main actions focused on education, and aimed at promoting language training, stressed the participation of migrant children in Early Childhood Education and Care, and spelled out teacher training and civic education as priorities in this area. In order to be able to implement those actions, the European Commission stressed the importance of key policy measures such as the support for skills and language assessment and the development of intercultural awareness. Together with cultural values, language skills and intercultural awareness are crucial to provide support for integration and to remove stereotypes and the barriers for the participation of migrant children. In particular, some key policies emphasize the



need to promote intercultural dialogue and cultural awareness, for instance, by means of the development of handbooks and toolboxes for educational stakeholders.

The meso level, largely represented by the schools, also requires policy design. Intercultural education requires a shared framework that maintains a positive attitude towards the students and their ability for learning (Topping & Maloney, 2005). In this regard, collaborative teamwork and commitment on common inclusion values among the different staff members is necessary (Ainscow, Hopkins, Southworth, & West 2014), establishing networks among staff and students (CEC, 1994). As well as incorporating intercultural education programs including a multi-religious perspective and providing teachers with methods in orienting students in their school and career choices, promoting classroom interactions and positive school climates (Thapa et al. 2013), Finally, and dealing with the micro level, family involvement would allow parents to participate in the planning and implementation of inclusive school strategies, pointing to the need to build bridges between schools and families (Topping & Maloney, 2005).

1.4 Culture and language in the socio-educative inclusion of migrant children

In the case of many refugee and migrant children, their relationship with a new culture is built around the learning of a new language allowing them to construct their multilingual identity (Fisher, Evans, Forbes, Gayton, & Liu, 2018), participate in classroom dynamics and develop friendships with their class-mates. It has been suggested that success in school is partly due to a student's level of competence in the language and customs of the local culture (Cutmore et al., 2018). In some instances, the development of language skills in the language of the host country can be channelled through the use of a lingua franca, namely English, but also other languages (Ann, Flores, Hou, & Diao, 2018). The importance of language skills for integration is highlighted by Paola & Brunello, (2016:28), pointing out that competencies in **several languages might “enhance the ability to learn and generate intercultural benefits”**.

Linguistic competence is often treated as an independent variable, for example, to explain low educational achievement among migrant. However, linguistic competence can also be treated as a dependent variable, given that it is an intrinsic and necessary part of the integration process for



those migrant children who do not speak the national language (Heckmann, 2008). Linguistic competencies are fundamental for the empowerment of the individual in democratic and plural societies, as they condition school achievement, promote access to other cultures and encourage openness to cultural exchange (UNESCO, 2006: 13). In its Index questionnaire for the Intercultural Cities Programme, the Council of Europe (2018) devotes a chapter to language issues and the development of intercultural competences, including the provision of courses on minority/migrant languages and training courses for staff in administration and public services.

Achieving linguistic competence is dependent on a number of individual and situational factors.

Regarding individual factors, age becomes paramount, as second language acquisition is easier up to puberty. So, especial support will be needed for young immigrants who arrive during puberty and older – and for the second generation adolescents who do not know the national language well enough (Esser, 2006). A 2017 EU thematic report highlights the significance of language proficiency in successful reception and integration, as well as the issues posed by the variety of background and the diversity of ages and initial levels (Staring, Day, & Meierkord, 2016). The linguistic and cultural distance between first and second language is a factor that affects language acquisition (Chiswick & Miller, 2004).

To develop linguistic competence is also strictly interrelated with learning to communicate in socially and culturally appropriate ways in different contexts of interaction (Byram et al. 2002).

Nevertheless, language skills development should be accompanied by actions destined to encourage the awareness of cultural diversity and to increase tolerance and understanding of different cultural values by all students. In recent years, cultural awareness has been recognised as an important dimension of language teaching, in fact, “given the closely intertwined nature of culture and language, it is difficult to teach language without an acknowledgement of the cultural context in which it is used”(Baker, 2012:62). **Language skills and intercultural awareness become, thus, two of the most important pillars for newly arrived migrant students’ integration.** Likewise, the Council of Europe (2014:24) highlights that “competence in a language is crucial to understanding the cultural perspectives, beliefs and practices to which it is linked” and closely links it with intercultural competence. Learning to communicate in socially and culturally



appropriate ways in different contexts of interaction is also crucial in achieving linguistic competence (Byram, Gribkova, & Starkey, 2002).

For their part, situational factors can be analysed from the micro (family), meso (school) and macro (society) scope. The cultural, economic and social capital of the family – and of course the language spoken at home – affect language acquisition together with general educational attainment. In fact, the level of parental education can explain up to a third of the differences in linguistic competence achieved between native and migrant students in primary school (Azzolini, 2014). Language spoken at home is also a crucial factor facilitating or impeding students' integration. An EU report on the academic success of students with migrant backgrounds reveals that “speaking a non-resident language at home may hinder the uptake of the resident language and indicate possibly poor integration of the family with the resident nation, [will] also impact parents' capacity to assist with schoolwork and interact with the school” (Cutmore et al., 2018:23). The same report refers to evidence that students' literacy improves if the language spoken at home is that of the host country.

In the meso domain, schools become crucial for children learning the language (Mohamed & Thomas, 2017) through preparatory classes for recently arrived children that provide time and space for the teaching and learning of the language spoken in mainstream classes (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice et al., 2019). Nevertheless, schools that lack preparatory classes might introduce the role of a linguistic/intercultural mediator that helps remove cultural and linguistic barriers and acts as a communication facilitator between individuals, families and communities. Furthermore, the promotion of participatory approaches in school and non-formal education fosters the acquisition of communication competences. Finally, at the macro level, the development of language support policies to help children cope with the first stages of schooling in the host country is critical for their ability to access the curriculum and to prepare them for their success at school (Baidak, Balcon, Motiejunaite, & European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017). It is important to highlight that public attitudes of prejudice and xenophobia towards migrants by the native population have a negatively influence in language learning (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Another key factor that mediates the process of



language acquisition and that should be therefore considered is the role of social networks and other traditional media that might either hinder or boost the process.

Nonetheless, the value of bilingualism is non-controversial, as well as the positive effects of maintaining one's first language, emphasizing the **added value of helping migrant students maintain their mother tongue**. Maintaining existing languages is not a common practice in Europe, where, in 2017, only six countries provided classes in their mother tongue to migrant children. It also poses the question of 'translanguaging', i.e. "the use of different languages by teachers and students for communication and learning" (Staring et al., 2016). Interestingly, a different perspective is also offered by means in the concept 'translanguaging'. i.e. the use of words belonging to two different language systems at the same time in different contexts. Going beyond mere code-switching, 'translanguaging' implies a holistic conceptualization that is currently being explored because of its pedagogical implications (Cenoz, 2017; Macswan, 2017). Recent data from the European Commission DG-EAC estimate that "**growing numbers of schoolchildren in the European Union have a different mother tongue than the main language of instruction used in school**". The proportion varies considerably between EU countries, ranging from 1% in Poland to 40 % in Luxembourg". This trend is **considered as an asset, rather than a problem** and has been explored on a report on the multilingual classroom (European Commission: Directorate-General for Education and Culture, 2015), which provides a set of recommendations aimed at improving migrant children's educational achievements.

2 Context

2.1 The Spanish case

2.1.1 Migration flows

According to data from the Municipal Population Register¹, in 1998 there were approximately 637,000 citizens of foreign nationality in Spain, which represented 1.6% of the total population.

¹ The Municipal Register is the administrative registry where the residents of the municipality are listed and its management corresponds to the respective municipalities, being subsequently coordinated by the National Statistics Institute (INE). The current management system starts on January 1, 1998; from then on the INE offers comparable annual figures

The latest official data, from January 1, 2019, slightly exceeds five million people, a 10.7% of the population registered that year in Spain (see table 1).

Table 2. Evolution of the population registered in Spain since 1998 to 2019, according to your nationality

Year	Total	Spanish	Foreign	% Foreign
2019	47,007,367	41,982,103	5,025,264	10.69
2018	46,722,980	41,988,289	4,734,691	10.13
2017	46,572,132	41,999,325	4,572,807	9.82
2016	46,557,008	41,938,427	4,618,581	9.92
2015	46,624,382	41,894,738	4,729,644	10.14
2014	46,771,341	41,747,854	5,023,487	10.74
2013	47,129,783	41,583,545	5,546,238	11.77
2012	47,265,321	41,529,063	5,736,258	12.14
2011	47,190,493	41,439,006	5,751,487	12.19
2010	47,021,031	41,273,297	5,747,734	12.22
2009	46,745,807	41,097,136	5,648,671	12.08
2008	46,157,822	40,889,060	5,268,762	11.41
2007	45,200,737	40,681,183	4,519,554	10.00
2006	44,708,964	40,564,798	4,144,166	9.27
2005	44,108,530	40,377,920	3,730,610	8.46
2004	43,197,684	40,163,358	3,034,326	7.02
2003	42,717,064	40,052,896	2,664,168	6.24
2002	41,837,894	39,859,948	1,977,946	4.73
2001	41,116,842	39,746,185	1,370,657	3.33
2000	40,499,791	39,575,911	923,879	2.28
1999	40,202,160	39,453,204	748,954	1.86
1998	39,852,651	39,215,566	637,085	1.60

Source: INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística-National Statistics Institute)

Since 1998, the foreign population experienced continued growth for over a decade. In 2010, 12.2% of the total number of residents in the country, almost 6 million people, were foreign citizens. This percentage remains constant until 2012. Between that year and 2017, there is a decrease of almost 1,180,000 people. The figures for 2018 and 2019 seem to show a reversal of this trend. However, these figures do not imply that more than one million people have left the

country during the toughest years of the crisis. Apart from the figures of return or re-emigration, a huge number of foreigners got their Spanish citizenship during that period. In Spain, in 1998 593,573 people hold Spanish citizenship; this number increased up to 2,220,975 in January 2019. This figure represents 32.9% of the 6,742,948 registered citizens born abroad, or 4.7% of the total population residing in Spain.

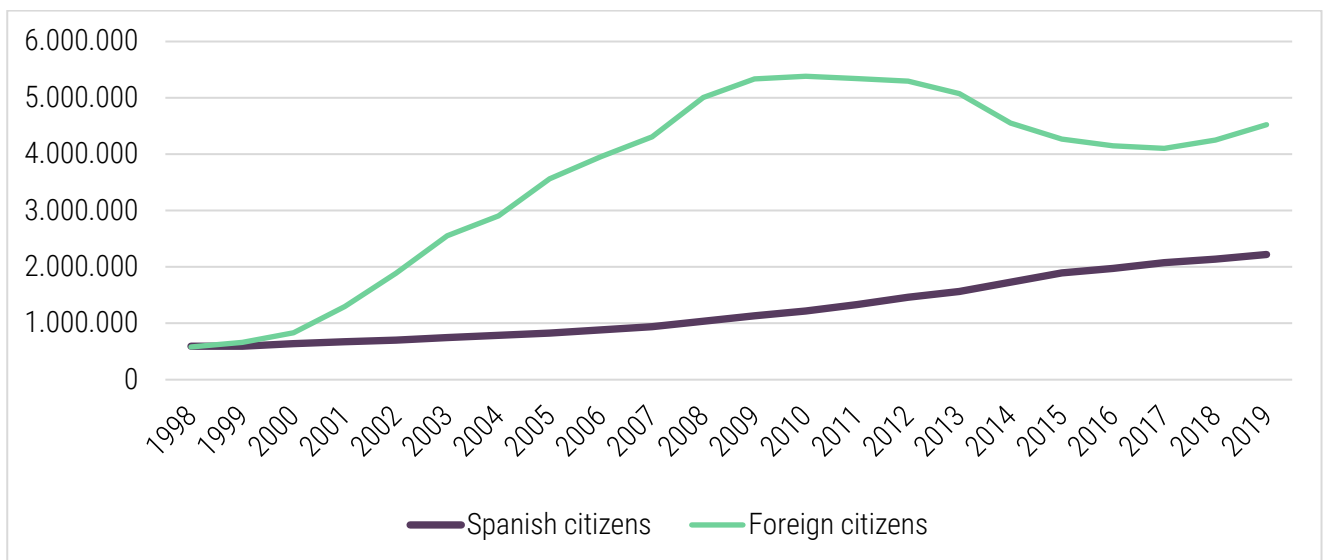
Table 3, which differentiates between people registered by country of origin and by nationality and Figure 1, which shows the evolution of the foreign-born registered population according to their nationality, illustrate this situation.

TABLE 2 Population resident in Spain, by place of birth and nationality as of January 1, 2019

	Spanish nationality	Foreign nationality	Total
Spanish born	39,761,128	503,291	40,264,419
Foreign born	2,220,975	4,521,973	6,742,948
Total	41,982,103	5,025,264	47,007,367

Source: INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística-National Statistics Institute)

Figure 1. Graph Evolution of foreign-origin population, registered in Spain, split by nationality



Source: INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística-National Statistics Institute)



Another relevant fact is the individuals of foreign nationality who were born in Spain. In other words, the incipient second generation. In 1998 there were 56,890 people, while in 2019 they had risen to 4,503,291, which represents 1.1% of the total population residing in the country.

The foreign population resident in Spain is younger than the Spanish one. In 2019 the average age of foreigners is 36.1 years vs 44.2 for Spaniards. Indeed, most of migrants in Spain stay in the country for economic reasons (that is enter the labour market). Moreover for this same year 2019, while 63.7% of the Spanish population is of working age and 19.6% exceeds the retirement age, 77.5% of foreigners are in active age and only 6.2% are over 65 years old.

Citizens of foreign origin residing in Spain are concentrated by country of birth, being Morocco the most frequent place of origin, (660,066 people, 13.1% of foreign population in 2019), followed by Romania, (574,160 people, 11.4%). The nationalities of Central and South America represent 26.3% of total foreigners. Very visible groups, such as Sub-Saharanans and Chinese, however, only represent 4.4% (counting all countries in sub-Saharan Africa), and 3.6% foreign population, respectively.

2.1.2 Migration policies: from labour market regulation to social cohesion

The regulation of migration in Spain has always been linked to the evolution of immigrants in the labour market. The first immigration law dates from 1985 (*Organic Law 7/1985 on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain*). The first attempt to design a migration policy dates from 1994, with the *Plan for the Social Integration of Immigrants (PISI)*.

As immigration takes shape in our country, regulatory and political developments are consolidated. Thus, in 1996 *the Aliens Regulation (Royal Decree 155/1996)* is published and in 2000 *the Organic Law 4/2000, on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain and their social integration* and its successive reforms. The migration policy of this period is reflected in the *Global Programme for the Regulation and Coordination of Immigration 2001-2004 (GRECO Programme)*, which addresses the reception of immigrants and their access to information, health care, incorporation to labour market, the fight against racism and xenophobia together with the development aid in the countries of origin. In 2005, the *Support Fund for the reception and*



integration of immigrants and their educational reinforcement was created. This fund helped catalyse integration policies at the regional and local level.

Already in the first years of the economic crisis, the *Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration (PECI) 2007-2010* is published. This Plan was intended to promote the integration of immigrants into society through the recognition of rights and obligations similar to those of the Spaniards. The plan established the conditions for these rights and obligations to be effective; promoted the understanding of migrations by Spanish society and its adaptation to the new social reality; and, finally, improved the adequacy of public services aimed at all citizens, immigrants and Spaniards, on equal terms.

The last reform, in force, of the Immigration Law, *Organic Law 2/2009 on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain and their social integration* also takes place in this period. The main objectives of the law are aligned with the guidelines set by the EU and in dialogue with the regional authorities and social actors. It also highlights the consolidation of the *Support Fund for the integration of immigrants*.

During the final years of the economic downturn (2011-2014), the *Law on Foreigners* is developed through *Royal Decree 557/2011*, which approves the *Regulation of the Organic Law 4/2000, on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain and their social integration*. Also in 2011 the *II PECI 2011-2014* is published. The II Strategic Plan offers an overview of the indicators for the successful design of integration policies. In addition to the classic political lines on immigration (employment, education, health, housing), some innovations should be highlighted: the participatory methodology used in its design, the promotion of social cohesion policies and the management of diversity. It must be commented that could not be carried out due to lack of budget.

In 2011, the *Comprehensive Strategy against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and other related intolerance* was approved. This Strategy frames the state policy aimed at equal treatment and non-discrimination and it is governed by the principles established by the PECI 2011-2014.



During the years of the crisis, despite the fact that nominally there were no migration policies, there were funded programs aimed at enhance dialogue, citizen coexistence, the sense of belonging and responsibility towards the host society and the management of diversity in areas with significant presence of third-country nationals. On the other hand, the *National Social Inclusion Plan 2013-2016* stands out, which, although it is aimed at the vulnerable population in general, proposes a series of measures aimed at improving the effectiveness of the population's welfare guarantee system.

2.1.3 Migrant children

FACTS AND FIGURES

In Spain, as of January 1, 2018, there were a total of 724.972 foreigners under 17 years old, which represents 10% of the total population residing in the country of the same age group.

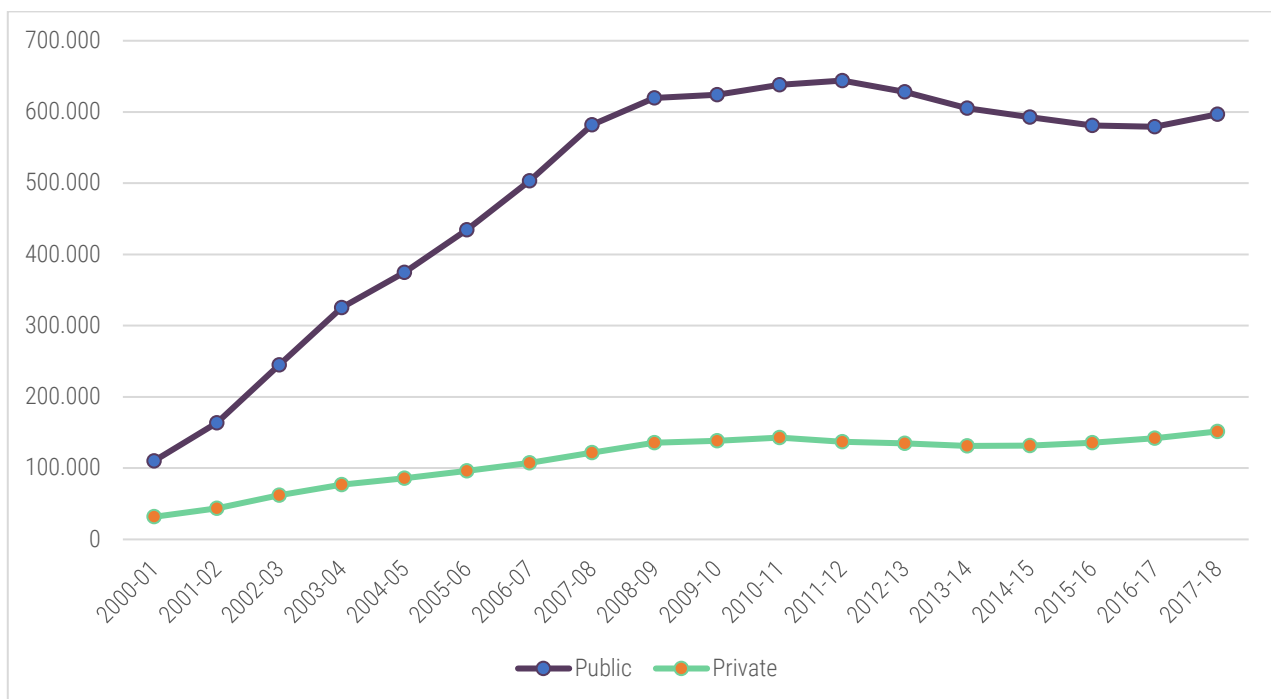
Graph 1. Foreigners from zero to 17 years old. Percentage of foreigners over the total resident population of the same age



SOURCE: INE, Municipal Population Register

With respect to the evolution of foreign students in Spain, the approximately 141,916 children enrolled in the 2000-2001 academic year become 748,429 in the 2017-2018 academic year, 8.8% of the total number of students enrolled. Graph 1 shows an increase in foreign children until 2009, at which time there is a slight decrease. This fact is due to the acquisition of Spanish nationality by these children and not because they have returned to their places of origin. That is, many foreign minors become minors of immigrant origin.

Graph 2. Foreign students in non-university education by ownership of the centre, courses 2000-2001 to 2017-2018



SOURCE: Statistics of non-university education. Subdirectorate General for Statistics and Studies of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

As Graph 2 shows, in the 2000-2001 academic year, 77% of foreign students enrolled in non-university education were enrolled in publicly owned centres; this percentage amounted to 79% in the 2017-2018 academic year. The rate of schooling in public centres is much higher for foreign students: native students opt for publicly owned centres at a percentage close to 67%. In the period 2000-2018. In the case of foreign students in this time interval, the percentage of students enrolled in publicly owned is around 80% for that same time interval.

With regard to the distribution of foreign students by educational level, in 2017-2018 8% of foreign students were enrolled in vocational training while only 6% of natives chose this itinerary.

This fact seems to be confirmed if the total number of students enrolled (which includes foreigners and Spanish) is analysed, it is seen how those enrolled in FP amount to 8% (same as foreigners) while those enrolled in high school represent 8% compared to 6% of foreigners. Regarding the remaining levels, 21% of foreign students attend pre-primary school, 21% primary education, 24% go to secondary school and 6% attend non-compulsory secondary education.

Regarding the geographical distribution of foreign students, in year 2017-2018, 67% of these children are in four Spanish regions: Catalonia, Madrid, Valencian Community and Andalusia. However, the analysis of the relative weight (that is, the concentration with respect to the total number of students enrolled), allows us to obtain very different conclusions: In 2017-2018, five Spanish regions (Catalonia, Balearic Islands, Rioja, Murcia and Aragón) have a percentage of students in their classrooms greater than 12%. Melilla, Madrid and C. Valenciana offer percentages between 10 and 12%. In other regions, as to Galicia and Extremadura, foreigners do not reach 3% of the total number of students.

As far as the origin place of this children is concerned, in 2017-2018 31% came from Africa and 29% from Europe. Only 19% were from Latin America. This is due to the fact that Latin Americans rapidly access Spanish nationality (so they become Spanish citizens and disappear from foreign citizens' statistics).

INCLUSIVE EDUCATION AND SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL INTEGRATION OF MIGRANT AND REFUGEE CHILDREN IN THE SPANISH EDUCATION SYSTEM

Spain guarantees basic and free schooling up to 16 for all migrant and refugee children. For this purpose, the system provides some mechanisms and compensation measures migrant background children's attainment of their Degrees in Compulsory Secondary Education or in Initial Vocational Training.

Educational inclusion is one of the basic principles of the education system in Spain. Accordingly, the system regulates and finances a series of resources and measures to facilitate its implementation in all centres totally and partly supported by public funds. The attention to

diversity is specifically deployed in all the educational stages: Infant Education (0-6 years) and Primary (7-12 years) and Compulsory Secondary Education (13-16).

The programmes and specific actions for attention to diversity that address many of the socio-educational needs presented by migrant and refugee children are the following:

1. Specialized Spanish learning classrooms

Those students of foreign origin and refugees that show serious deficiencies in Spanish or in the official language of the autonomous community will receive specific attention that, in any situation, will be carried out with the appropriate support and simultaneously to their schooling in ordinary groups.

This programme receives different names in the different Autonomous Communities, such as Reception Classrooms in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Murcia; Language Reinforcement Programs, in the Basque Country; Temporary Language Adaptation Classrooms, in Andalusia and Extremadura; Language Immersion Classrooms, in Navarra and La Rioja; Programs of Reception to the Educational System, in the Valencian Community; Liaison Classrooms, in the Community of Madrid.

2. 'Improvement Learning and Performance' Programme (PMAR)

This programme is aimed at students from the 2nd year of Compulsory Secondary Education. Its main objective is that students who undergo these programs take the fourth (and last) course in the ordinary way and obtain Grade in Compulsory Secondary Education. For this purpose, specific methodology will be used through the organization of contents, practical activities and materials.

3. Compensation of inequalities in education in the school context (formal education)

The compensation of inequalities in education is carried out through specific programs in schools, geographic areas or in supportive school units where necessary, in order to guarantee the educational attention of students who require it. These main measures, split by educational level, are the following:

- Primary education
 - *Support in ordinary groups*, to reinforce basic learning in Spanish Language and Literature and Mathematics.
 - *Support groups outside the classroom*, to acquire or reinforce the learning of Spanish Language and Literature and Mathematics. These support groups are organised outside the classroom, for a maximum of fifteen hours per week.
- Compulsory Secondary Education
 - *Specific groups of educational compensation*. This resource offers educational attention to students who have serious difficulties in adapting to the classroom, demotivation towards school work and risk of early school leaving. This programme is specifically targeted to students of the first two years. The teaching-learning process experiences significant curricular adaptations in the subjects of Spanish Language and Literature, Foreign Language, Mathematics, Social Sciences and Nature Sciences. There are 10-15 students per group.
 - *Singular specific groups*. Aimed at students of the first two years who present a serious maladjustment to the school framework, manifested in behaviours incompatible with the normal development of school life and / or severe absenteeism. The curricular contents are organized in workshops around three areas: Practical scope, Linguistic and social scope and Scientific-mathematical scope. Personal mentoring and counselling are one of the cornerstones of this programme.
 - *Educational compensation classrooms*. The recipients of this programme are students from 15 years old that negatively value the school framework and present serious difficulties in adapting to it, or have followed a late schooling process or very irregular. The curriculum is structured into workshops in three areas: practical, linguistic-social and scientific-mathematical fields. Personal mentoring and counselling are one of the cornerstones of this programme.

4. Programmes for compensation of inequalities in education in non-formal contexts

The main two programmes are the following:

- School support, and support programme in Primary Education: This program is implemented through work or support organized in extracurricular hours to improve the learning in Spanish, Literature and Mathematics and to improve the performance in the studies.
- Reinforce (*Refuerza*) Programme. This programme has been specifically developed and implemented by the Community of Madrid. The programme aims to promote students' school success and improve academic results in Spanish Language and Literature and Mathematics. The planned activities (2 hours of language and literature and 2 of mathematics) take place outside of school hours but within the same centre.

2.2 The Italian case

1 Migration to Italy: a rapidly changing scenario

Fitting the so-called 'Mediterranean model of immigration', Italy is characterized by a rapid transformation from a country of emigration to a country of immigration, and by a public ill-prepared for the settlement of immigrants.

On the one hand, since the mid1980s, the end of communism in countries belonging to the former Soviet bloc has encouraged the development of migration flows to Italy from Eastern Europe. On the other hand, subsequently the expansion of globalization fostered an unprecedented international mobility and the growth and/or consolidation of communities from the African and Asian continents in the Italian peninsula. According to data provided by the National Statistics Institute (ISTAT 2019), the immigrant population residing in Italy has doubled in just ten years, increasing from 2,402,157 people in 2005 to 4,235,059 people in 2010 up to 5,014,437 people in 2015.

Table 3. Number of immigrants in Italy

Year	Total number of immigrants	Percentage change over prior year
2004	1.990.159	-
2005	2.402.157	+20,7%
2006	2.670.514	+11,2%
2007	2.938.922	+10,1%
2008	3.432.651	+16,8%
2009	3.891.295	+13,4%
2010	4.235.059	+8,8%
2011	4.570.317	+7,9%
2012	4.052.081	-11,3%
2013	4.387.721	+8,3%
2014	4.922.085	+12,2%
2015	5.014.437	+1,9%
2016	5.026.124	+0,2%
2017	5.046.994	+0,4%
2018	5.144.440	+1,9%
2019	5.255.503	+2,2%

Source: ISTAT (2019)

As showed by table 1, currently the foreign population in the Italian peninsula counts 5,255,503 people (2019), and includes 8.7% of the resident population. After a period of progressive annual growth rate around 10% from 2005 to 2014, with a drastic drop in 2012 probably due to the economic crisis, the presence of immigrants seems to stabilize since 2015 through an annual growth rate that does not exceed 2%. To understand the weight of migration on the Italian population, it should also be noted that there is a progressive decline in births in our country. In this sense, migration has constituted and continues to represent a real injection of youth: if in Italy minors represent on average 16.2% of the resident population, 0-17 year olds of origin, foreigners make up 20.2% of residents of non-Italian citizenship. As of 1 January 2019, 1 out of 5 foreigners is under 18 years of age (Save the Children, 2019).

The overall presence of foreign minors in Italy exceeds one million units and represents 10.6% of the Italian juvenile population.



Generally, immigrants are more concentrated in the regions belonging to Northern and Central Italy, in which subsist a major economic fabric and labour market. Again according to ISTAT (2019), the foreign communities are settled mainly in regions such as Lombardy (22,5% of foreigners on whole immigrant population), Emilia-Romagna (10,4%), Veneto (9,5%) and Piedmont (8,1%), and in some regions belonging to Central Italy such as Lazio (13%) and Toscana (7,9%). At the same time here is a peak of migrant's presence in the two Southern Italian regions Campania (5,0%) and Sicily (3,8%).

The largest immigrant community in Italy is the Romanian, which accounts for 23% of the whole number of immigrants, followed by those ones of Albania (8.4%), Morocco (8.0%), China (5.7%), and Ukraine (4.5%). Moreover, other national communities are also settled in the various Italian regions, especially those ones from Central and Eastern Europe (Moldova, Poland, and Bulgaria), from some African countries (Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, and Tunisia), and from some parts of the Asia (Philippines, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka). Despite a homogeneous distribution of immigrant nationalities in the Italian territories, it appears present a more nuanced Romanian presence in Lazio and Veneto, a Chinese one in Tuscany, and an Egyptian one in Lombardy.

According to the latest data provided by the ISMU Foundation (ISMU, 2019), in 2018 the number of refugees in the world has increased, though the number of asylum seekers in Italy has decreased. In the European scenario, Germany is the country that receives the largest number of refugees (1,063,800 people), while Italy hosts a refugee population of 189,000 units, equal to 0.9% of world's refugees. In the last few years, indeed, the number of asylum seekers in the Italian territory decreased due to the large drop concerning migrants arriving by sea in the south of the peninsula. This situation favoured a real fall in the number of asylum applications between 2017 and 2018, which is decreased amounts to 59%. On the other hand, in the same two years refugee status in Italy was granted on average to only 7-8% of asylum seekers, a figure that amounts to approximately solely 7,000 migrants in 2018. Besides, also the number of migrants present in reception centres is drastically falling, as it rose from 183,681 people in December 2017 to 112,906 people in May 2019.

According to the data regularly recorded by the General Directorate of Immigration and the integration policies of the Ministry of Interior (2019), between 1 January 2011 and 31 December



2017 **103,274 minors** arrived in Italy by sea, 78,4031 of whom (76%) were unaccompanied. In absolute terms, there was a six-fold increase in the number of unaccompanied minors (UAMs) arriving. In terms of **nationality**, there was an increase in the number of minors from Eritrea, Gambia and Egypt, with a large increase in the number of UAMs, including girls, from Nigeria.

After the emergence that has catheterized this recent period, in the last 3 years there has been a strong decrease also in the number of Unaccompanied Migrant Minors (UAMs) arrived in Italy. According to the official of data updated by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies², at 30 June 2019 7,272 unaccompanied foreign minors were present in Italy. Disappearances of UAMs, at 06.30.2019, regard 4,736 cases. Among these, the most numerous citizenships are represented by Tunisia (13.8%), Eritrea (11.9%), Afghanistan (11.9%) and Somalia (8.1%). There was a 44.7% decrease compared to the same period of the previous year and a 59.3% decrease in presences amounts compared to 2017.

Sicily is confirmed as the region that hosts the greatest number of UAMs (2,066, equal to 28.4% of the total), followed by Lombardy (11.2%), Emilia Romagna (8.7%), Friuli-Venezia Giulia (7.9%) and Lazio (6.9%). Such primacy of Sicily compared to other regions and the need for a more equitable distribution of minors on the national territory is an element to be emphasized for a better integration of UAMs in Italy.

In the Sicily Region, where the focus group with UAMs was conducted (see Section 3), minors from Bangladesh and the African States (Gambia, Guinea, Eritrea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Nigeria, Egypt, Senegal, Somalia and Tunisia) are particularly concentrated.

With respect to age, the large majority (63.6%) of UAMs are 17 years old, and the 22.7% are 16 years old. Only the 7.1% of children are 15 years old and 6.6% are under 15 years old. Compared

² The law n. 47 of 7 April 2017 (Article 9) establishes the SIM (National Information System for Unaccompanied Foreign Minors) at the Ministry of Labor and Social Policies. The SIM makes it possible to monitor the presence of unaccompanied minors and trace their movements throughout the national territory and to manage the data relating to the registration of the UAMs, the status and their placement.



to the same survey period of previous years, the percentage incidence of seventeen-year-olds is increasing, against the decrease in the share of children aged between 7 and 16 years.

The aforementioned decrease compared to 2017, in absolute terms, is particularly significant with reference to minors from Egypt and the Gambia. There is instead an increase in the presence of minors of Albanian, Pakistani and Kosovar nationality.

2 Protection and integration: a fragmented patchwork of political responses

The novelty and rapidity of this phenomenon partly explains the weaknesses of Italian immigration and integration legal framework.

The very first immigration laws approved at the end of Eighties and in 1990 were criticized as mainly driven by a consideration of immigrants merely as workforce. In these acts even if 'integration' was mentioned, it neither occupied a central position nor was defined in operational terms. The issue of illegal entries was to become central in the incoming years, and in particular in 1992, with the massive arrivals from Albania and the crisis in the Western Balkans. The so-called Turco-Napolitano Law (40/1998), marked a different approach aimed to see immigrants in terms of new citizens. It was the first organic regulation of the presence of foreigners in Italy that was not conceived under emergency conditions. However, the law clearly framed immigration also as a security problem, introducing new 'legalitarian' repressive measures. On the one hand, it introduced the criterion of entrance quotas for granting stay permits and enlarged immigrants' access to basic rights, as education and health care. A special quota for job-seekers was introduced, allowing the admission of foreigners sponsored by other regular immigrants, Italian citizens, NGOs and regional or local institutions. On the other, however, it provided administrative detention for immigrants lacking a permit and awaiting expulsion establishing detention centres for this purpose – the Centres of Temporary Stay (Centri di Permanenza Temporanei - CTP). Valuable financial resources were committed to this set of policies, and a special fund (Fondo nazionale per le politiche migratorie, National Fund for Migratory Policies) for the integration of immigrants was set up.



In the following years, two important legislative acts, the Bossi-Fini Law (189/2002) and the so-called Security Package (Law 125/2008), restricted the Turco Napolitano Law, imposing further constraints on entering and staying and for making family reunification. It is important to note that the Law 189/2002 stated that local authorities can also provide educational and professional courses for immigrants in their countries of origin, in order to favour their insertion in the Italian labour market when they emigrate. Consequently, integration policies are implemented by regions and local administrations, and financed by the National Fund for Social Policies (and by the European Integration Fund). Regions can decide if and to what extent they want to finance integration measures. Funds are usually allocated for projects on language learning, intercultural education, and access to housing and reception facilities for immigrants. The main novelty of Law n. 94/2009 is constituted instead by the introduction of new integration requirements for the renewal of the stay permit and for access to the long-term resident status. These acts allowed harsher measures for undocumented immigrants, introducing the detention also for those requesting political asylum and extending the stays in the CTPs renamed “Centres of Identification and Expulsion” up to maximum 180 days.

As is clear, at least up until the 2002 immigration law, the link between admission and integration is of an indirect kind, in the sense that any explicit integration requirement to be met by immigrants before or after entry was foreseen. However, in the second half to the 2000s, a gradual shift towards a more cultural understanding of the notion of integration gradually took place. In this regard, a particular mention must be done of the Integration Agreement (Accordo di Integrazione), approved in 2009 and formally agreed upon by the government only at the end of July 2011. In this agreement, special attention was dedicated to unaccompanied minors and a Committee for foreign children (the Committee for Foreign Minors) is established to promote integration policies. This Act can be regarded as an attempt to put the cultural dimension to the fore. In fact, for the first time the renewal of the stay permit is linked to the meeting of specific post-arrival integration requirements in terms of Italian language and knowledge of Italian institutions and civic culture (Caneva, 2014).

The culturalist turn in the public and political discourse on immigrants’ integration will be emphasised also by the Charter of the Values of Citizenship and Integration introduced in 2006.



Despite its soft law nature, the Charter marks the emergence of a new paradigm in the public definition of immigrants' integration in Italy centered around Italian culture and values which, in the following years, will run side by side the prevailing economic understanding of the integration-admission nexus.

A new law on the protection of unaccompanied foreign minors was approved on 29 March 2017, the so called "Zampa Law" (n. 47/17), which achieves a harmonization, within a single Act, of national provisions on children's protection and on immigration. The law is meant to give full implementation to the fundamental principles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and was promoted by Save the Children Italy and all main Italian civil society organizations working in the area of migrants' and children's rights. Its provisions are designed to regulate all aspects of the life of unaccompanied migrant minors in Italy, including age determination, reception, foster care, guardianship, access to health and education.

Focus: The new Italian Law on Unaccompanied Minors

Procedures of identification and age assessment. Italy lacked specific legislative provisions on the administrative decision of age assessment. The law foresees, *inter alia*, that the age determination decision is to be notified to the child and to his/her temporary guardian. The right to challenge it before a Court is foreseen. An enhanced assistance to children during the procedure of age assessment shall be granted thanks to the possible involvement of cultural mediators in the proceeding.

A new comprehensive system of first reception for unaccompanied minors is established. The new system shall include facilities devoted to the first reception of children, where the latter can be accommodated for a maximum of 30 days before being transferred to the centres of the System of protection of asylum seekers and unaccompanied minors (SPRAR). A national database shall be set up with the aim of managing the accommodation of unaccompanied minors in facilities placed in all Italy's Regions, based on places available and on the specific needs of the children concerned.

Competent authorities shall carry out investigations on the family situation of the child in consideration of his/her best interest. The outcomes of the investigation shall be communicated to the child and to his/her guardian. The competence over assisted return of children shall be transferred from the Direzione Generale dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione (an administrative body of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies) to Juvenile Courts (Tribunali per i Minorenni), i.e. the judicial bodies in charge of the determination of the best interest of the child within the Italian constitutional system.



Simplification of permits of stay. Permits of stay (permessi di soggiorno) that have been often used incorrectly in the practice (such as permits for reasons of “foster care”, “awaited foster care”, “integration of the minor”) are not foreseen in the law anymore. The new system provides for two possible permits of stay for unaccompanied minors: a permit of stay for reasons of “minor age” and a permit of stay for “family reasons”, depending on the personal situation of the child concerned (respectively being him/her under guardianship or in foster care). The child has the right to apply for a permit of stay to the relevant police office also before a legal guardian is appointed.

No later than three months following the entering into force of the new law, Juvenile Courts shall set up lists of persons available to be appointed as “voluntary guardians” of foreign unaccompanied minors. This provision aims to ensure the support of adults adequately trained for the role of legal guardian to the children concerned. The law also promotes the development of family foster care as a preferable way to ensure children reception.

Specific guarantees are foreseen in order to ensure access of unaccompanied minors to the right to education and the right to health. In particular, ad hoc measures are provided in the law in order to overcome obstacles that unaccompanied minors currently encounter in the practice: they will be given the right to enrol in the National health system also before a guardian is appointed; specific agreements are foreseen in the area of apprenticeship; educational qualifications can be recognized at the end of educational courses also to those who have come of age during the course and have then lost their permits of stay. The law also foresees the possibility to support young migrants arrived in Italy while they were minors until the age of 21, whenever this is needed for the sake of their personal path of integration in Italy.

The right to be heard and the right to legal assistance (including access to free legal aid) is formally recognized to unaccompanied foreign minors in all administrative and judicial proceedings, regardless of the appointment of a guardian. Civil society organizations are recognized the right to initiate/intervene in judicial proceedings in order to challenge a decision adopted in violation of children’s rights.

A specific attention is devoted to minors victims of trafficking and asylum seeking minors. A specific commitment of Italy in the area of international cooperation is foreseen, in order to promote an integrated approach of third countries to the protection of minors.

Another recent regulatory feature is the “National plan of integration per beneficiaries of international protection” approved by the Italian Government in September 2017. The Plan represents the first step towards the construction of an integrated and inclusive system of beneficiaries of international protection, even if the lines of planned interventions can be



considered valid also for the integration of other foreigners regularly present in Italy, including unaccompanied foreign minors. The priorities identified by the Plan take into consideration different aspects: from the need to support religious dialogue - also to counteract the phenomena of racism and Islamophobia - to the objective of favouring access to education and culture or to promote professional training to guarantee integration into the social and economic fabric of the territory, up to those measures that can facilitate access to the health system, housing or residence. To date, the document is only a useful tool for addressing the issue. Its implementation, for now only in part anticipated by some pilot projects carried out and financed also with European funds, will depend not only on the resources available, but also and above all on the collaboration between the actors called to contribute to it (Save the Children, 2018).

Currently, the reception system for UAMs is divided into two levels. The first reception services are both run with governative funds (FAMI, provided thanks to European resources) and with funds provided by the municipalities or the regions. In these centres minors are accepted immediately after they arrival in Italy and remain the time necessary for their identification, the possible assessment of their age and the transmission of information regarding the rights that are recognized to them (maximum 30 days). During the years of exceptional rates of arrivals, to provide more services than those available other types of reception facilities have been created. The Prefects can indeed activate temporary receptive structures called, for simplicity, CAS (Extraordinary reception centres), frequently authorized to host also adults. All UAMs (requiring or not requiring international protection) must move then to second reception centres, where medium- and long-term individualized projects of integration are carried out.

In a large extent these centres are included in the SPRAR system (today renamed SIPROIMI - *Sistema di Protezione per titolari di protezione internazionale e per minori stranieri non accompagnati*), the unique reception system of second level provided by the State within the framework of the Protection System and promoted by ANCI. In this case, the Municipalities, through the Prefectures, forward to the Ministry of the Interior, Department for Civil Liberties and Immigration, a request for a contribution for the reception of UAMs, which is provided quarterly. During 2018, with the Security Decreed championed by Salvini (Law 132/2018), the passage to SIPROIMI has responded to a view aimed at optimizing and rationalizing the protection services: to be



guaranteed to. The integration and social inclusion activities are now reserved only to beneficiaries of international protection. The asylum seekers – adults and families with minors - remain in reception until the expiry of the ongoing project, already financed, and after the entry into force of the decree they will be welcomed in the first reception government centres funded by AMIF, temporary accommodation facilities activated by the Prefects on the basis of art. 19 Legislative Decree 142/2015 (so called “CAS minori”), first reception facilities accredited and authorized by the competent Municipalities or Regions and/or emergency and temporary structures. These children therefore lose the level of protection and immediate care that all children are entitled to, including the access to the international protection procedure. In addition, newcomers to the age of majority and minors in the family who currently enjoy protection on humanitarian grounds, who, since its abolition, have no right to any form of reception, are faced with a risk of lack of housing solutions with all that that entails (CRC Italian ONGs Report 2019).

As well known, more recently, an impact on the regulation on immigration to Italy and on integration come from the measures pushed by the Ministry of Interior guided by the far-right leader Matteo Salvini during the Five Star Movement and the Lega North Party government. The Decree-Law on Immigration and Security, abolishes the humanitarian ground of granting protection status for migrants, downsizes the Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR), allows longer detention times in repatriation centres (CPR) and hotspots, foresees the withdrawal of citizenship for terrorism crimes, tighter restrictions for permits, and the revocation of refugee status for those convicted of certain crimes.

Focus: the grant of citizenship I

Italy is one of the European countries marked by a more restrictive legislation concerning the grant of citizenship. Italian citizenship legislation (law no. 91/1992) is based on *ius sanguinis*, although this aspect is currently the subject of political debate: children born in Italy to two foreign parents are considered foreigners, whereas children born to at least one Italian parent are Italians too, regardless of place of birth. Acquisition of citizenship is a tough path: foreigners born in Italy can claim Italian citizenship after uninterrupted legal residence in Italy up to the age of majority at 18; foreigners born abroad may become Italians after 10 years of legal residence in Italy.

On the impulse of the campaign “I’m Italy too” promoted in 2011 by about twenty associations, the XVII legislature had reached a stage of a historic reform: the final proposal - the result of a



long negotiation by a broad front and composite of associations and political movements - provided that children born in Italy could become Italian by birth only if one of the parents had EU permission for long-term residents (valid for non-EU citizens) or the “right of permanent residence” (for EU citizens), or, alternatively - as for other children not born in Italy but arrived here within the twelve years - after the successful conclusion of a school cycle of 5 years less.

The reform - which introduced in Italy a sort of tempered *ius solii*, also called *ius culturae*, was approved at the Chamber of Deputies on 13 October 2015, and then remained parked in the Senate without ever being discussed until the end of the legislature (December 2017). Today the issue is no longer on the agenda of the Parliament, although some civil mobilizations are struggling.

This situation fosters a higher immigrants’ socio-economic instability in the Italian context, as well as hinders their inclusion into the labour market.

Overall, the Italian system of immigration policies can be defined as multilevel. In fact, integration policies are decided and implemented by regions and municipalities and financed by the National Fund for Social Policies (and also by the European Integration Fund). Regions can decide if and to what extent they want to finance integration measures. Funds are usually allocated for projects on language learning, intercultural education, and access to housing and reception facilities for immigrants. In addition to these kinds of policies, some local authorities have also introduced other measures to favour migrant integration at the political level, i.e. the foundation of consultative bodies made up of immigrants, the Municipal Consultative Bodies (*Consulte comunali*) (which are made up of Italians and immigrants) and the Extra Foreign Advisor (*Consigliere straniero aggiunto*). It is worth noting here that these bodies failed in many local contexts and were not set up again (Ambrosini and Caneva 2012). Other bodies previously quoted include the *Consigli territoriali per l’immigrazione* (Territorial Councils for immigration), which promote integration initiatives at local level.

In the specific case of the UAMs acceptance system, many evidences attest a certain inhomogeneity of the rules produced at regional and municipal level; the difficult coordination of interventions between actors of different nature - institutional (Police Headquarters, Tutelary Judge, Juvenile Court, Public Prosecutor’s Office, Consulates, Local Authorities) and private



social bodies (reception structures or various types of assistance services) -; and the consequent fragmentation of approaches, which made it difficult to identify and transfer virtuous practices.

This makes that their implementation is not homogeneous across Italy and depends on the socioeconomic conditions of regions and/or their willingness to implement interventions for immigrants. Limits in moving from the discursive to the actual level of inclusivity are also implied: inclusion and exclusion are not clearly and fixedly delineated, but are continuously at work in the production of a form of differentiated and hierarchized inclusion (Mezzadra and Neilson 2012).

It must be noted, furthermore, that in Italy also the non-state actors - such as trade unions, voluntary associations, Catholic institutions, and NGOs - are very important in migration matters. These actors have traditionally provided support for immigrants and initiatives for their integration (e.g. language courses, help desks for labour market insertion), and have defended their rights since the first migrations flows to the Country (Caneva, 2014). By contrast, migrant associations and migrant-led NGOs are not as effective as Italian non-state actors, at least in the public arena. These associations were created to satisfy cultural, social and religious needs. They offer a context in which to meet, to exchange information, to socialize, to share customs and (religious) rituals. They are usually formed by migrants of the same ethnic and/or national origins.

3 Migrant minors in the school system: the challenge of educational integration

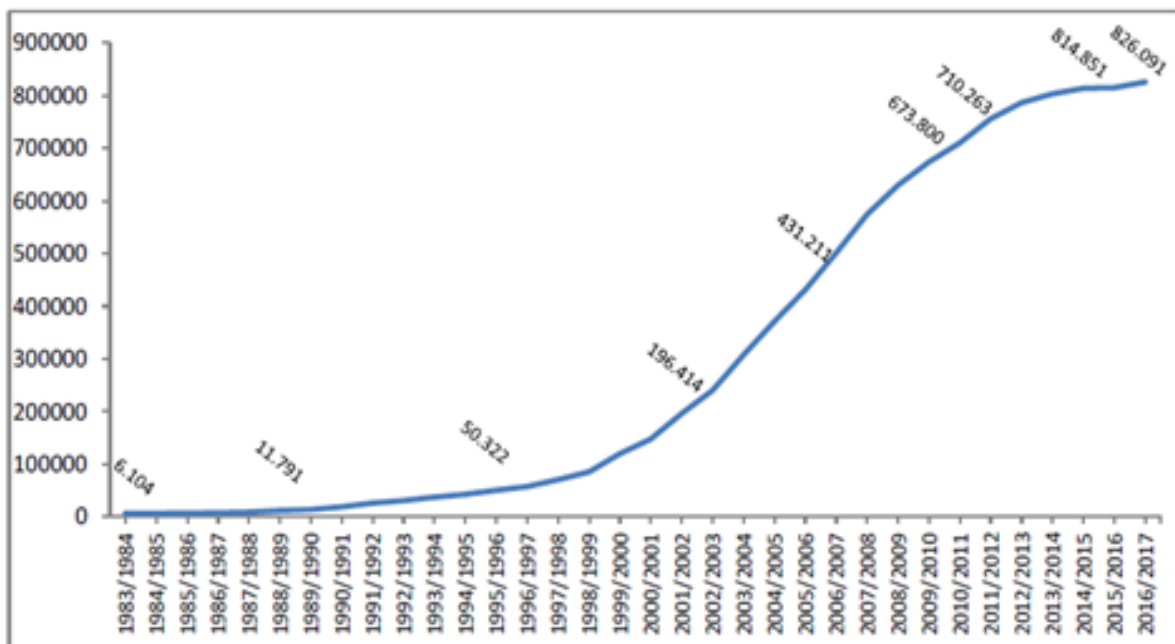
As suggested by the general scenario described above, the presence of migrant children in the Italia school system is an only recent phenomenon. As shown in Graph 1, in the 1980s the presence of students “with non-Italian citizenship” - this is the variable recorded in Italian official statistics - was very limited and only towards the end of the 1990s has seen a significant increase.

Such presence grows radically from the school year 2002/2003, showing an increase that does not seem to break and that reaches its peak in the last school year detected (2016/2017). After 2012 the rate of growth has been decreasing.



This increase must be considered as a result of the adoption, starting from the 1990s, of an inclusive model by the part of the Italian legislation, strongly inspired by the constitutional right of “open and free education for all”. According to this model as stated in the Presidential Decree no. 394/1999, non-Italian students must attend compulsory education, regardless of their legal status, and schools should be given full access to mainstream education. A pioneering line which, however, has not been devoid of weak points relating, above all, to the lack of consistency and systematicity of its local applications.

Graph 3. Students with non-Italian citizenship from the 1983/1984 school year to the 2016/2017 school year (absolute values)



Source: Data and Graph by MIUR (2018)

According to the latest data provided by the Ministry of Education, University and Research (hereafter MIUR) and further elaborated (MIUR 2019, ISMU 2019, Save the Children 2019), in the school year 2017/2018 the students with a migration background in Italian schools are around 842,000, and compose the 9.7% of the total students population. Males are a few majority with respect to females, which represent about the 48% of the students with non-Italian citizenship.



There is an increase of over 11,000 foreign students in the schools (+1.38%) compared to the previous school year (2015/2016). It attests that, as for the progressive reduction of the Italian school population, also students with non-Italian citizenship do not increase now as in the past.

As shown in Figure 1, the greatest increase (+ of 70,000 presences) was recorded from 2006 to 2008 while the lowest in 2015/16. The slowdown in growth depends, in addition to the decrease in migratory flows to Italy, from multiple factors: for example, from the fact that many foreign minors are outside the education-training system, since they do not enter or leave it early (as we will describe more precisely below).

Overall, the presence of pupils of foreign origin has contributed to mitigate the effects of the rarefaction of youth cohorts of Italian origin.

With respect to origins, Romania, Albania and Morocco have continued to represent the most numerous communities in Italian schools for a decade. In the school year 2016/17, the Romanians are 158.428 (almost 20% of students, a group that is always growing), followed by Albanians (112.171, 13.6%) and Moroccans (102,121, 12.3%), which are areas of historical emigration to Italy. Among the top 10 citizenships, the Asian are also confirmed (China, Philippines, India, Pakistan), as well as other European countries of the East as Moldavia and Ukraine, in addition to Egypt.

Recent data also confirm the trend regarding the growth of foreign minors born in Italy. Between 2007/8 (the first year in which the data was recorded by the MIUR in order to capture the distinct dynamics of categories with very different characteristics and problems) and 2016/17, those born in Italy more than doubled. Their number surpasses the 500,000 share in the school year 2016/17, accounting for 60.9% of the total. On the contrary, the group of those who entered the Italian school system for the first time has progressively less incidence on the foreign school population.

It should be emphasized that there is no systematic monitoring of data relating to the scholastic inclusion of the UAMs. Although, the Italian jurisdiction appears to be protective of their right to education – even more after the approval of the Zampa law n. 47/2017 and thanks to the latest

guidelines of 2017 of the MIUR and the Authority for Childhood and Adolescence, as mentioned – it is difficult for them to have access to the ordinary education. According to a number of research reports, they are mostly included in the CPIA, in courses designed and intended for adults (Save the Children 2018; Segatto Di Masi, Surian 2018).³ The ISMU Foundation has carried out an exploratory mapping, with the aim of understanding how the presence of the MSNAs in the Cpia of Lombardy and Sicily in the school year 2016/2017.

Foreign students are not distributed evenly throughout the national territory. As far as regions are concerned, Lombardy still hosts the greatest number of foreign students, reaching almost 208,000 presences, followed by Emilia Romagna and Veneto (respectively with 98,000 and 92,000 students), Lazio and Piedmont (78-76,000). In the a. 2016/17 in 13 regions those born in Italy constitute the majority, while in the remaining 7 regions (South and Islands) are still those born abroad to represent the majority (ISMU 2019). At the provincial level, in the school year 2016/17 the ranking of territories by number of students coincides with that of previous years and still sees the province of Milan in first place (85,000 foreign students), followed by the provinces of Rome (over 62,000) and Turin (almost 38,000).

The unequal distribution of immigrants on the national and local territories also implies that there are schools with particularly high rates of foreign students. In 2017-2018, if 59.4% of the schools host a percentage of foreign students not exceeding 15%, 16% of the institutes count between 15% and 30%, while 6% of the total of Italian schools exceed the threshold of 30% of foreign students (IDOS 2019). Among these multicultural schools, just over 1% of the total are "foreign majority". Overall, although it has been a point at the attention of Italian school policies,⁴ the concentration of foreign students in class seems not to be highly problematic. However, this is a significant growth rate compared to the previous school year and especially compared to the

³ The ISMU Foundation hasac carried out an exploratory mapping, with the aim of understanding how the presence of the MSNAs in the Cpia of of Lombardy and Sicily in the school year 2016/2017. The report is available at: http://www.ismu.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/1_2019-alunni-cn-background-migratorio_.pdf.

⁴ In 2010 MIUR approved a regulation allowing a maximum of 30% of foreign students in each class. This disposition was justified as a necessity to overcome intra-schools segregation and to assure a good educational integration.



previous decade. In this regard, the phenomenon of the so-called school segregation emerges more and more markedly in Italy (Ongini, 2019).

To go into detail about the difficulties and inequalities in the educational pathways of foreign students it is necessary to provide the reader with some basic information on the Italian school system. It is divided into different levels: nursery schools (for children aged between 3 months to 3 years), preschool education (3 to 5 years old), primary education (from 6 to 10), lower secondary education (from 11 to 14), upper secondary education (from 15 up to 19), and tertiary education. The first two levels are non-compulsory.

According to ISMU (2019), in 2016/17 foreign students are distributed in the different school orders as follows: 20% nursery, 36,6% primary, 20,3% secondary first grade, 23,1% secondary second grade. From nursery school up to lower secondary level, those born in Italy represent the most important component within the group of foreign students. Only among foreign students attending high school, those born in Italy are still a minority (about 27%). In the academic year 2017/2018, more than 8 out of 10 foreign-born students were born in Italy in kindergarten (84.4%), 3 out of 4 in primary school (75.2%), more than half in lower secondary school (56.7%) and almost 1 out of 3 in the second level secondary (31.8%) (Save the Children 2019).

The major factor of social stratification in the system is represented by “**tracking**”. At the age of 14, students (and their families) are faced with three main options (tracks) regarding upper secondary education: general schools (*licei*), which provide a general, academic-oriented education (with inner distinctions in humanities, natural sciences, foreign languages, pedagogical sciences, arts, music and dance); technical schools (*istituti tecnici*) which are subdivided into different curricula within the economic or technological sectors; and vocational schools (*istituti professionali*) subdivided into several branches within the two main sectors services and industry/handicraft. The different upper secondary degrees obtained are de facto strongly associated with students’ chances of continuing to the tertiary level, being the *licei* a driving factor and technical and vocational institutes a deterrent factor. Hence, the educational choices taken at the age of 14 are highly consequential for students’ careers.



The tracking of foreigners towards the professional studies sector has traditionally affected their paths in the Italian school system. In the school year a.s. 2017/2018 less than 1 out of 3 (28.9%) students without Italian citizenship chose a *liceo*, compared to half of those with Italian citizenship (50.9%). On the contrary, 33.5% of students without Italian citizenship chose a vocational course compared to 18.3% of those with Italian citizenship (MIUR, 2019). However, the long-term trend shows that foreign students have remained in the last decade a stable component in technical institutes (around 37%), while their attendance in vocational schools was gradually reduced (-6 percentage points in 10 years) and their presence in the general high school has progressively increased (+6 pt.).

A second indicator able to describe the difficulties faced by foreign students in Italian educational system is the **school delay**. The phenomenon includes either repeating students or those who are incorporated in classes with peers of younger age when arrived in Italy. Data show that this phenomenon has reduced in the last 10 years. However, it is still evident especially in the secondary school level: here it regards 59% of foreign students, against 21% of Italian students.

The early school leaving (either temporary or definitive) is a third issue affecting students without Italian citizenship. According to the data provided by MIUR (2017) on the school year 2017/2018, dropout students are, in secondary school of first grade, 2,9% without Italian citizenship, against 0,4% Italians. In the passage from this grade to the upper grade of secondary school, 5,21% of students without Italian citizenship drops out, against 1% of Italians. However, it is in the second grade that the phenomenon is revealed in its gravity: the percentage of foreign students which leave the school system grows up to 10,5% (against 3,3 of Italians). For all the school levels, the early school leaving regards migrant students born abroad more than those born in Italy.

It should be noted that Italy, as highlighted by Eurostat data (2017), is one of the European countries that has the greatest gap between natives and foreigners in the percentage of early leavers between 18 and 24 years (i.e. those who do not have a higher education qualification and are not included in training).

Finally, a further indicator concerns the **failure to acquire basic skills**. According to the National Institute for the Evaluation of the Education and Training system (hereafter INVALSI), low performers - those who are not able to reach a sufficient level in Italian and mathematics - are less among native students than among students without Italian citizenship in all the grades and types of school (INVALSI 2019). Despite the major difficulties are encountered among the born-abroad, there is also a gap between those born in Italy and the students who are Italian citizens.

Such difficulties affecting migrant students' paths along the Italian school system must be interpreted also considering the above-mentioned framework: an articulated jurisdiction inspired by a very inclusive approach and a greatly heterogeneous set of local implementations and practices. This variety depends to a large extent by the absence of a systematic monitoring process of the access to education, the lack of coordinated approach a national level, the inequalities of funds available to local institutions, the scarcity of attention to human resources (Azzolini, Mantovani, Santagati 2019).

The need to bring to system the initiatives undertaken by Italian schools affected by the migration phenomenon led the Ministry of Education to publish in 2006, and then update them in the version of 2014, guidelines for the reception and integration of foreign students.⁵ The document gives an account of a series of good practices that, both from an organizational and educational point of view, it is advisable to adopt to promote the integration. The guidelines also recommend that foreigners of as diverse a nationality and background as possible should be placed in the same class, avoiding the creation of monocultural minorities precisely to facilitate exchange and integration.

⁵ It must be noted that that the Ministry has always favoured the use of the term integration over inclusion. As some experts indicate, there are in fact semantic reasons - difficult to transfer outside the Italian linguistic context - in favour of the use of the first term (*integrazione*), whose suffix (*inter*) makes it capable of indicating the dynamic aspect of exchange and reciprocity in the contact between people and cultures (Ongini, 2019).



In this regard, a particular consideration regards the teaching of Italian language. Italy has chosen from the beginning to include in the ordinary classes even the newly arrived migrant children, who do not know the Italian language, discarding the idea of differential classes or other measures taken by other European countries. To support integration, the “laboratory model” named “L2” - teaching Italian as a second language - is proposed. The Guidelines also indicate some good practices adopted over time for the teaching of Italian L2. Furthermore, the Law 107/2015, known as the “Good School” law, transposes the guidelines and indicates the literacy and improvement of Italian as a second language as one of the possible objectives that schools can autonomously select as a priority for their educational offer. These courses or laboratories for students of non-Italian citizenship or language, which can be attended for a certain amount of hours, can also be organized in collaboration with local authorities and the third sector, with the contribution of the communities of origin, families and cultural mediators. However, being a solution less defined and structured compared to that of differential classes, this option is more subject to being conditioned in its implementation by local variables, such as school organisation and priorities, or the availability of funds and of trained teachers.

The gap between the Italian policy framework and its implementation across the national territory regards also the adoption of the intercultural approach. Interculturalism, in fact, has been indicated explicitly in Italian school policies as the preferable way to manage diversity in education. In this regard, national documents and guidelines has been produced for a long period, starting in 1990, with the publication of the first document of the MIUR on intercultural education, and ending in the 2008 statement, “The Italian way to intercultural school”. The latter is a document with strong tones, where the term “foreign student” is replaced with that of “student with a migrant background” and the theme of the diversity is deliberately emphasized as a dynamic resource in education and in teaching, although under certain conditions. However, also in terms of intercultural education territories often presents both experiences of quality and excellence and approaches based on improvisation and inaction (Azzolini, Mantovani, Santagati 2019).

As several observers have noticed, over twenty years of practice, the Italian multicultural school has moved from the phase of adaptation to the new reception needs, to a phase aimed at testing

integration devices (which seems to represent the stage in which the majority of schools are still). It is now required to move towards the phase of inclusion, in which to bring to system the effective mechanisms of integration experimented so far and to deepen a truly pluralist educational approach based on dialogue and mutual enrichment. Overall, a process of progressive maturation of the Italian scholastic world towards a real inclusive model is evident, if one considers, for example, the constitution of a *National Observatory for the Integration of Foreign Students and Intercultural Education* (even if it has stalled in very recent years); the increasing organization of national training initiatives for school leaders and teachers; the allocation of funds for integration (in particular, the aforementioned European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals and the EIF, Fund for strong areas).

3 Methodology

Following the common methodology developed in T1.1, the Comillas team prepared a synthesis document on the theme "*Intercultural competence and multilingualism in the context of socio-educational integration of migrant children*". The Comillas team worked on this topic led by one of the university experts on linguistics (Prof. Dolores Rodríguez Melchor). The document was then shared with the SCIT team, our partner in the thematic workshops, who provided significant feedback and suggestions to incorporate. SCIT sent comments underlining: the importance of minors' affiliations / identities / networks, also based on a cultural and religious ground, which play a crucial role in social and personal conditions of migrants and that must be taken into account by any approach to intercultural education, among other.

The final synthesis document included a discussion of the main topics related to this theme, as identified in the literature. This was followed by a list of issues and questions that might arise in the workshops and that should be paid particular attention during the research activities and during their analysis (both in the specific workshops under this theme, and in the other workshops). The document was shared with all WP1 partners, as agreed in the baseline document, in order to cross-fertilize findings and analysis across countries and themes.

The Comillas team also developed specific guidelines and research tools, in collaboration with the firm TwoMuch (see below), including:

- A matrix with desired profiles to be recruited for the different activities
- A detailed guide for each of the activities with: objectives, timing indications, opening and probing questions, description of participatory techniques and necessary logistics
- A template to capture socio-demographic characteristics of participants,
- Basic interview script to be adapted for each particular interviewee

These documents and guidelines were shared and discussed with the SCIT team (through several meetings and exchange of documents), which significantly improved their breadth and clarity in order to better adjust to two different contexts (Spain and Italy). This coordination was important also in order to ensure robustness in the specific implementation of the common methodology in this particular theme, even if adjustments for each particular context are always necessary.

3.1 Research methods

Comillas worked closely with TwoMuch (outsourced company dedicated to leading focus groups and workshops with a deep social expertise) to design of the qualitative research activities and their adaptation to the different ages and participants, as well as in their implementation. The methodology for the qualitative research adopted a co-creation approach aiming to elaborate a dashboard of indicators related to refugee and migrant children integration in schools and other experiential environments.

In this respect, DOZ and Zabala provided training materials for the implementation of co-creation methodologies throughout the life of the project, including the workshops as well. These are techniques to facilitate, among others: dynamization of activities (e.g. warm-up activities for different types of actors), how to establish contact and rapport, child-friendly participatory techniques, etc. Deliverable D5.2 elaborated by DOZ contains a “co-creation toolbox” detailing specific co-creation techniques that partners can use (either by design or to solve specific situations arising during fieldwork). Based on this toolbox, Zabala organised a training on these co-creation methodologies. This consisted of a webinar of 1-hour duration. All researchers who will participated in the qualitative workshops (WP1) – and data collectors (WP3) – received this training. For a matter of numbers and efficiency, a train-the-trainer approach resulted to be the most efficient solution: persons participating in this workshop from each partner should then

train any researchers/data collectors. The webinar was and made available to all IMMERSE researchers.

The selection of the research units (contexts and stakeholders) for the three levels was mostly based on their direct involvement in socio-educational integration of minors.

Table 2. Proposed qualitative workshops/research activities (minimum)

TOPIC	Partners	MICRO	MESO	MACRO
Intercultural competences & multilingualism	Comillas	5 workshops (4 children, 1 parents)	1 focus group / world café	6-10 expert interviews
	SCIT	5 workshops: 4 children, 1 parents)	1 focus group / world café	6-10 expert interviews

In order to do so, relevant stakeholders involved in the process of migrant children integration were consulted to incorporate their insights and perspectives in a child right based approach. In exploring stakeholders' experiences, the most important challenges and opportunities for migrant minors living in an intercultural and multilingual context were examined, as defined in the IMMERSE Common Conceptual Framework. Different stakeholders have been mobilized at the three levels of the integration process: at micro-level (migrant and refugee minors, their families), meso-level (school managers, teachers, parent associations, migrant and refugee associations, religious associations), and macro-level (governments, regional authorities, and town halls).

3.1.1 Workshops (children and families)

The workshops with children, adolescents and families aimed to incorporate their perspectives and experiences on relevant aspects for monitoring socio-educational integration and inclusion. The approach adopted mixed traditional focus group with warm-up activities and other child-friendly techniques from participatory research methods. This way the protocol designed responded to this aim addressing the interculturalism and multilingualism with an adapted methodology that permitted to collect:

- The most important barriers, challenges and opportunities for children living in an intercultural and multilingual context.

- What policies and practices are working well and what things can still be improved.
- What experts and politicians should look at to see if things are going well and if they improve.

The criteria of inclusion in the composition for each workshop agreed in the common methodology took account of:

- Children born outside Spain/Italy, or from parents born outside Spain/Italy; that have been at school for at least 3-6 months so that they are not very disoriented and do not contribute to the confusion; and that have sufficient communication competence in Spanish/Italian in each case; from various regions of origin, including Spanish/Italian speakers, and non-Spanish/Italian speakers.
- Native children of native parents.
- Parents born outside Spain/Italy who have sufficient communication skills in Spanish/Italian; that they take at least 3-6 months in Spain/Italy so that they are not very disoriented and do not contribute to the confusion.
- Native parent of native child.

There would be five groups of participants in different days and moments:

- Children 6-9 years old.
- Children 10-13 years old.
- Children 14-16 years old.
- Children 17-18 years old.
- Parents (in principle, one of the two parents per child, from the children that participate in the other workshops)

The designed protocol for the workshops included a dynamic that consisted in:

- Approximately 6-8 participants in each group.
- The expected duration would be of one hour approximately.
- The activity should be carried out with participatory techniques adapted to the age of the children.

- Questions and / or tasks would be raised openly and with a positive and non-discriminatory approach regarding challenges arising in the everyday life of the migrant children with attention to school, family and neighbourhood. The questions have been adapted for the different contexts and age-groups, always adopting a child-friendly approach.
- The activity would be recorded in audio, only for later analysis. The data will be anonymised and confidential, treated in accordance with the LPD / GDPR.

The activities took place during the months of May and June of 2019. For better representation of the relevant contexts and features, when possible the sample should cover different regions or local contexts of the national territory to address characteristics of the North/Center/South/Islands areas with a high density of migrants and with diverse conditions of integration in order to represent different local perspectives/situations into the co-creation process. However, methodologically speaking, it is more consistent to focus on one region and consider the variation there, rather than have inputs from different regions that are also from different levels, so it cannot interconnect the findings across levels/types of actors that easily. In this report both methodological options were carried out, in Italy the workshops were distributed among different regions and in Spain the activities took place in one single region.

3.1.2 World café

Keeping close to the “focus group” methodology, The World Café is a methodology that allows the creation of informal networks of conversation and social learning, favouring communication and the exchange of experiences among a large number of people on relevant issues of a community. This methodology allows for a broader call of 30-40 stakeholders/participants and produce rich, varied and focused insights generating ideas, agreements and creative and innovative paths of action, in a comfortable atmosphere.

The World Café approach to strategic dialogue, multi-stakeholder engagement, multi-generational collaboration, and cooperative action. The designed protocol covers seven principles:

1. Set the context
2. Create hospitable space

3. Explore questions that matter
4. Encourage participation
5. Connect diverse perspectives
6. Listen together for patterns, insights
7. Share collective stories

The procedure consisted in the following

1. One host introduces event. Her role consist in ensure for roles to the participants, ask the questions for each round, act as a timekeeper and summarize all the information provided.
2. Each question is one conversational round with approximately 20 minutes per question. After each round, there is a break in which all participants except the facilitators disperse and move to a different table
 - a. Facilitators in the tables take notes as a participant observers.
 - b. During the break, the facilitators arrange all of their notes on the walls, by question so all of the responses per round are put together.
3. Once all rounds are finished everyone returns from the break providing time for what is referred to as a *“Gallery Walk”*, in which participants walk around the room, and view the answers and patterns that have emerged during all the rounds of the world café.
4. The host and/or facilitators arrange the answers by pattern or theme providing a general report out to the whole group.

Once the activity has finalised the IMMERSE researchers in Spain and Italy performed a qualitative analysis of the contents provided.

The specific positions and roles to cover may vary per context and per topic, but all countries aimed for a fair representation of the following:

- **School managers/directors** or other persons in the managerial/direction team (2-3 participants minimum)
 - From primary schools and from secondary schools



- If different types of schools/centres in the centres' selection, then try to include a representation of those.
- Also consider if possible to introduce variation in the type of school in terms of long/low rate of migrants, or educational approach
- **Teachers/specialized teachers/counsellors** (1-2 participants minimum). If managers/directors have direct experience as teachers, that single person would cover the two profiles at once in levels involving different age groups (e.g. 6-10; 11-13; 14-17)
- **Parents associations** (1-2 participants minimum)
- **Other relevant actors** (1-2 participants minimum) for the school/centres communities and topic to be discussed (e.g. from migrant/refugee associations, religious associations, neighbourhood associations, youth initiatives, etc. with links to the schools or good knowledge/experience of the local realities affecting the school and its students).

3.1.3 Interviews

The interviews combined participants working in similar areas/departments but in different hierarchical echelons. The aim was to facilitate subordinates to speak more freely maximizing heterogeneity of stakeholders by role (preferably all from the same local area); also in terms of sex, age and socio-professional status.

The specific positions and roles to cover may vary per context and per topic, but all countries should aim for a fair representation of the following:

- **Relevant educational authorities** (region, municipality); official(s) or policy-maker(s) with role in policy-evaluation and/or policy-making.
- **Relevant authorities** (region, municipality); official(s) with knowledge/direct experience of relevant policies and programs, and specifically of their implementation and results (e.g. social workers, town halls, departments other than education such as health...)
- **Refugee centres**; worker or person responsible with hands-on knowledge and with general overview on ref/migrant children issues (e.g. social worker, director of centre)
- **UAMs-related participants**; social workers, legal guardians or personnel from NGOs/administration working with UAMs

The stakeholders contacted and invited to undertake interviews should have direct experience with/relevance for socio-educational integration of refugee and migrant children, preferably in the same areas/localities/schools/centres where data collection will take place (according to the school/children's selection agreed for data collection in WP3).

The procedure consisted in the following

- A protocol for invitation was established collecting basic information on the project's nature and goals, on ethical issues and establishing participants' rapport in advance is important, as well as taking into consideration any suggestions by them.
- A protocol for informed consent was established (consent forms and information sheets).
- Lead partners provided interviewers with a guide for the semi-structured interviews, including probing questions.
- Partners audiotaped and transcribed the interviews for the latter analysis.

3.2 Methods of recruitment

3.2.1 Recruitment in Spain

Previous acceptance of the internal ethical committee of the University was obtained to the performance of the activities at all levels (micro, meso and macro) on the 19th march, 2019.

Comillas concentrated the workshops at the region of Madrid. Comillas started mapping the relevant stakeholders working on child migrant's education and inclusion or with their families and contacted them to introduce the research project and engage them in the research activities as far as they were interested. After the mapping, Comillas chose Ventilla neighbourhood to conduct the qualitative workshops because several schools and organizations working in the area were highly involved in our research topic and deeply interested in collaborating. Comillas organized all the workshops between May 16th and June 20th: 4 workshops with children, 1 with migrant parents, 1 World Café with 25 participants for the Meso Level and scheduled 6 interviews for the Macro Level to deepen on this topic.

The micro level's workshops:



1. **6-9 year-old workshop:** a two-hour workshop with six migrant children from different countries of origin took place on May 16th in Amoverse Foundation (specialized in non-formal education with migrant children at Ventilla neighbourhood in the north of Madrid). The group was gender balanced. Four of the attendants came from this Foundation and two came from Virgen del Pilar Primary School (a Centre with high representation of migrant population very close to this same neighbourhood).
2. **10-12 year-old workshop:** another two-hour workshop with eight migrant children from different countries of origin took place on May 20th in Amoverse Foundation. The group was gender balanced. Five of the attendants came from this Foundation too and three came from Virgen del Pilar Primary School.
3. **13-16 year-old workshop:** one two-hour workshop with seven migrant teenagers from different countries of origin took place on June 20th in Padre Piquer Secondary School (a Centre with very high representation of migrant population and a very successful education model in this same neighbourhood, Ventilla, in Madrid). The group was gender balanced. Five teenagers came from this Centre and two more came from Enriqueta Aymer School, from Aluche neighbourhood, in the south of Madrid, a Centre also with a high representation of migrant population.
4. **17-18 year-old workshop:** another two-hour workshop with five migrant teenagers from different countries of origin took place on June 20th in Padre Piquer Secondary School. The group was gender balanced. Three teenagers came from this Centre and two more came from Enriqueta Aymer School.
5. **Workshop with parents:** one workshop with 8 migrant parents from different countries of origin was organized in Casa San Ignacio on June 13th, an open space that belongs to the Society of Jesus in this same neighbourhood, Ventilla (Madrid), where they let us use one of the spaces to organize this workshop. The group was gender balanced.

For the Meso Level, Comillas organized a World Café in Casa San Ignacio on May 30th, an open space that belongs to the Society of Jesus in this same neighbourhood, Ventilla (Madrid), where they let us use one of their spaces to organize this workshop. Thirty people confirmed their attendance, and finally 25 participated. Among them teachers, members of the management team and of the Parents Association of Virgen del Pilar Primary School, Enriqueta Aymer School

and Padre Piquer Secondary School. Also psychologists, social workers, psychiatrist, lawyers... members of NGOs or associations working with migrants and refugees specialized in children or families such as Tomillo Foundation, CEPAIM, Save the Children Spain, Pinaridi, CEAR, ACCEM, Red Cross Spain, Pueblos Unidos, Mental Health Public Services, Abraza África, La Merced Migraciones, Caritas, Hortaleza con Valores. And also, some members of the administration such as CAR workers (Refugee Reception Centre), member of the municipal council and municipal police officers working with unaccompanied minors. In addition, researchers of Comillas team and Two Much organized the dynamics. Sources of variation in the composition of the group were taken in account and controlled.

Finally, 6 Macro Level interviews were conducted between July and mid-September against the background of findings at the micro and meso levels.

3.2.2 Workshops in Italy

As notified in Deliverable 8.4 received a Save the Children's Privacy Office provided a double check regarding the ethical commitments prior to carry out the workshops. Later Save the Children realized the qualitative research activities with different stakeholders according to the three levels of the integration process: micro, meso and macro. SCIT organized during the second half of May/first half of June 2019 all the workshops in order to explore what are, from their experience, the most important challenges and opportunities for children living in an intercultural and multilingual context. SCIT organized 4 focus groups with children and 1 with parents for the micro level; 1 world café and 1 focus group for the meso level; and 9 interviews for the macro level.

The micro level's focus groups were organized in the five regions of the project, in the North, Centre, South and Island of Italy: 1) one focus group with ten children of 6-9 years old in Milan (Lombardy – North Italy) in the Educational Centre run by SCIT; 2) one focus group with ten children 10-12 years old in Naples (Campania – South Italy) in a comprehensive state school (primary + secondary first grade school); 3) one focus group with ten 13-16 years in Turin (Piedmont – Northwest Italy) in the Educational Centre run by SCIT; 4) 2 focus group with ten 17-18 years old in Catania (Sicily – South Italy) in the Educational Centre for minor migrants and



refugees run by SCIT; 5) one focus group with a mixed group of fifteen migrant parents in Rome (Centre of Italy).

The one public school selected is involved in *Fuoriclasse in Movimento*, a network promoted by Save the Children in collaboration with 170 schools all over Italy aimed at tackling school dropout. The three Centres (Save the Children's low-threshold socio-educational centres and UAMs integration's centre) selected for the other focus groups with minors of different ages are spread in different Regions and all located in urban areas. This offered the possibility to explore the migrant minors' experience of the city and how the urban dimension intervenes in processes of integration. Furthermore, the established relationship by the part of Save the Children with the personnel of the school and centres allowed a full collaboration and a full exploitation of the possibilities offered by those contexts for the effectiveness of the research activities. This teamwork has revealed to be particularly precious in the following activities: the reasoned selection of the minors invited to the focus groups, the preparation of some preliminary actions aimed at informing them and assuring their motivation to participate actively; the collection of the consent forms among parents; last but not least, in the design of the techniques and protocols specifically suited for the engagement of children in the specified age ranges. This in turn facilitated the creation of a fruitful dialogue between the educators of the centres and the researchers, and it fostered interactions and discussions among them on the research topics.

The composition for the four focus groups with minors guaranteed heterogeneity with respect to gender, age, nationality and/or ethnic and cultural background, migration status (e.g. UAMs and non-UAMS). Following the approach indicated in the general research framework, we also included second generation, returning foreign-born and native minors with mixed heritage. China, Pakistan, Ukraine, Ecuador, Bulgaria, Morocco, Peru, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, Guinea, Gambia, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali are the main countries of origin of minors and/or their families

The focus group with parents took place in Rome, at one of discussion-room in the Save the Children's office and involved 10 mothers of different origins and with children differently aged in

coherence with the target focused by IMMERSE. The composition of the group is homogeneous for gender according to reasons of availability⁶ and in light of the importance of exploring mothers' views specifically. Indeed, as it has been shown in the literature, children's integration is closely connected to the social and cultural capital of the mothers. Furthermore, the composition reflects the plurality of socio-economic status and nationality that characterizes the immigrant population in Italy. In addition, it involves parents of children who belong to different age groups.

Audio recording, written outputs by participants, field and observational notes have been produced and translated in English for the 5 focus groups realized.

At the end of May SCIT organized the world café in Rome with more than 20 participants like operators of the centres, representative of networks working on migrant children integration, members of parents' associations, professionals (psychologists, educators, pedagogues, lawyers); representatives of migrant communities and of relevant association at national and local level. In addition, on the first half of September 2019 SCIT organized 1 focus group with 6 teachers from different school levels (primary, lower and upper secondary schools) in order to deepen experiences and views of this professional category. The focus group has been organized in Rome (Centre of Italy).

During the month of June, 9 interviews were conducted at macro level: 3 interviews with Relevant educational authorities, policy-makers with role in policy-evaluation and/or policy-making; 2 interviews with Relevant authorities, officials with knowledge/direct experience of relevant policies and programs, and specifically of their implementation and results; 2 interviews with Refugee centres; worker or person responsible with hands-on knowledge and with general overview on ref/migrant children issues; 2 interviews with social workers and legal guardians working with UAMs.

⁶ Given the larger availability showed by mothers we decided not to include the few fathers we have been able to reach, in order to avoid a group composition excessively unbalanced. This could hinder a fruitful dialogue between the participants.



4 Discussion of results

4.1 Results in the workshops with children and families

For the workshops with children and adolescent, the samples were composed as follows:

CENTRE (region; R/U; type of school)	AGE	SEX	TIME OF STAY IN HOST COUNTRY	PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE CHILD	PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE FATHER	PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE MOTHER	TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN
Group from 6-9							
SPAIN Madrid - Comunidad de Madrid	9	M	9 months	Honduras	Honduras	Honduras	5
	7	F	1 year	Peru	Peru	Peru	
	6	M	5 years	Morocco	Morocco	Morocco	
	9	F	9 years	Spain	Morocco	Spain	
ITALY Milan - Lombardy Region	7	F	4 years	Morocco	Morocco	Morocco	6
	7	M	7 years	Italy	Egypt	Egypt	
	9	F	9 years	Italy	Morocco	Morocco	
	9	M	4 years	Morocco	Morocco	Morocco	
	6	F	5 years	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	
6	M	6 years	Italy	Italy	Italy		
Group from 10 to 12							
SPAIN Madrid - Comunidad de Madrid	12	F	---	---	Ecuador	Spain	8
	12	M	---	---	Spain	Spain	
	9	F	---	---	Venezuela	Venezuela	
	10	F	---	---	Venezuela	Peru	
	11	F	---	---	Morocco	Morocco	
ITALY Naples -	12	F	---	---	Morocco	Morocco	17
	9	M	---	---	Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic	
	11	M	---	---	Morocco	Morocco	
ITALY Naples -	11	M	11 years	China	China	China	9
	11	M	10 years	Ukraine	Ukraine	Ukraine	
	11	M	11 years	Italy	Ukraine	Ukraine	
	11	M	11 years	Italy	Ecuador	Ecuador	



Campania Region	12	M	12 years	Italy	Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic	
	12	M	12 years	Italy	China	China	
	12	F	9 years	Philippines	Philippines	Philippines	
	12	F	12 years	Italy	Pakistan	Pakistan	
	14	M	4 years	Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic	
Group from 13 to 16							
SPAIN Madrid - Comunidad de Madrid	14	M	Native	Spain	Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic	
	15	F	13 years	India (18m)	India	India	
	14	F	22 months	Philippines	Philippines	Philippines	7
	13	F	Native	Spain	Philippines	Philippines	
ITALY Turin - Piedmont Region	13	F	Native	Spain	Spain	Spain	
	16	F	2 years	Paraguay	Paraguay	Paraguay	14
	16	F	9 years	Peru	Peru	Peru	
ITALY Turin - Piedmont Region	14	F	14 years	Morocco	Morocco	Morocco	
	14	M	14 years	Italy	Egypt	Egypt	
	14	F	14 years	Italy	Iran	Iran	
	14	F	14 years	Italy	Nigeria	Nigeria	7
	15	F	15 years	Italy	Nigeria	Nigeria	
Piedmont Region	15	M	10 years	Morocco	Morocco	Morocco	
	B15	M	10 years	Morocco	Morocco	Morocco	
Group from 17 to 18							
SPAIN Madrid - Comunidad de Madrid	17	M	1 year	Venezuela	Spain	Venezuela	
	18	F	4 years	China	China	China	
	16	M	Native	Spain	Spain	Spain	5
ITALY All UAMs Catania - Sicily Region	17	M	6 years	Peru	Peru	Peru	
	17	F	2 years	Bolivia	Bolivia	Bolivia	
ITALY All UAMs Catania - Sicily Region	17	M	1 year	Guinea	Guinea	Guinea	
	17	M	2 years	Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso	17
	17	M	1 year	Gambia	Gambia	Gambia	
	17	M	1 year	Mali	Mali	Mali	12
Sicily Region	18	M	1 year	Nigeria	Nigeria	Nigeria	
	18	M	1 year	Ivory Coast	Ivory Coast	Ivory Coast	
Sicily Region	18	M	1 year	Nigeria	Nigeria	Nigeria	
	18	M	2 years	Guinea	Guinea	Guinea	



	18	M	1 year	Guinea	Guinea	Guinea
	18	F	1 year	Nigeria	Nigeria	Nigeria
	19	F	6 years	Libya	Libya	Libya
	19	M	2 years	Cameroon	Cameroon	Cameroon
	20	M	3 years	Mauritania	Mauritania	Mauritania

The groups with parents were composed by the following participants:

CENTRE (region; R/U; type of school)	SEX	TIME OF STAY IN HOST COUNTRY	PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE CHILD	PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE MOTHER
SPAIN Madrid - Comunidad de Madrid	M	6 years	Venezuela	Venezuela
	F	5 years	Venezuela	Venezuela
	F	30 years	Spain	Morocco
	F	21 years	Spain	Morocco
	F	24 years	Spain (the two little ones)	Morocco
	F	16 years	Spain	Morocco
	F	23 years	Spain	Morocco
	F	Native	Spain	Spain
ITALY Rome - Lazio Region	F	27 years	Italy	Bangladesh
	F	24 years	Italy	Syria
	F	16 years	Italy	Bangladesh
	F	17 years	Italy	Senegal
	F	15 years	Two in Egypt and two in Italy	Egypt
	F	13 years	Italy	Egypt
	F	20 years	Italy	Algeria
	F	4 years (returned)	Yemen	born in Italy went to Yemen
	F	21 years	Italy	Morocco
	F	9 years	Italy	Philippines



Children from 6 to 8 y.o.

The children interviewed rate the life experience in the host countries – both Italy and Spain – positively. For these younger children, the negative aspects of being a migrant are limited to a certain relational difficulty - making new friends - mainly due to the low linguistic competence. The children in the Spanish workshop expressed their perception of being treated differently regarding the use of a different language, but not because of their other cultural features:

"I cannot speak in Moroccan because there are Spanish children ... because if I am Spanish and I can hear you, what happens? [it happens that] it embarrasses you... it makes me feel ashamed..." "If there are two children who are speaking in Moroccan they think that you are insulting yourself in Moroccan" "That boy or that girl who arrives... there are many people who think he is getting a little nervous, and that boy tries to say something in Moroccan, but those in other cities think he is insulting them... he tries to say hello! in Moroccan and the others think that he is insulting them..."

The children in Italy have expressed the desire to attend more other children outside school hours, which may be evidence of a certain poverty in their sociality.

In both workshops, however, the challenges posed by the multicultural environment in the school, although present, are subordinated to a general sense of gratification. There seems to be a positive regard of the children towards the school, which is presented as a place to learn, to play, to have fun and to bond with their classmates and teachers, which represent at their eyes important reference adults. Specifically, in the Italian workshop, the young children evaluated positively living in Italy, mainly relating this to the possibility to play, which they consider guaranteed within Italian society. In the Spanish workshop in those cases in which the children were born in the host country and their families are from other countries, they maintain a balance between the family values and the values that they perceive, understand, and assume the new culture. Nevertheless, this attitude changes as they grow becoming less serene.



Pre-adolescents from 9 to 11 y.o.

In both Spain and Italy, pre-adolescents from 9 to 11 years old acknowledged as a common barrier the presence of **negative attitudes towards them and discrimination experiences** due to their cultural background. In the Spanish workshops children narrated how when coming from another country, they could receive **insults and be discriminated**: *"black", "disgusting moorish"* *"There are people who, because they are from another country, or because they are from another race or come from another school ... because they fight ... or because of their skin colour ... They are people who discriminate"*. In the Italian workshops they referred to the fear of **isolation and social marginality**. These feelings intersect significantly with the perception of a risk of not being recognised by the host society in their cultures and habits: *"different habits can be misunderstood"*. As a boy stated *"you can find bad people who insult, because as you know there is cyber-bullying. Therefore, sometimes immigrants are targeted"*. They expressed their fear of being cyberbullied and exposed to violent contents in the use of the web and of social networks.

In this respect, during the Italian workshop the children explained their strategies of personal resilience developed to minimise their difficulties and barriers to rights. For example, *"train yourself to be well"* seemed to be the formula that synthetizes this kind of attitude towards resilience. Forming alliances with teachers served them as a defence from hostilities. In the words of a child *"When they [hostile classmates] make fun of us, we say it to the teachers and they scold them"*. This form of alliance that is perceived as functional to integration, although it does not necessarily favour a development of positive relationships with peers, is an element of interest in the socialization of migrant minors. For these children, it represents the more effective strategy to gain the appreciation of teachers and to become friends with Italians. Furthermore, this lesson seems to derive from the children's first-hand relational experiences in the school system. This attitude is expressed in the terms *"behaving in the right way"* (e.g. showing obedience to the teachers) and *"being kind with classmates"*. This kind of strategy also appeared in the narratives of the children from the Spanish workshop: *"I would tell to an adult, a teacher or my parents to make that child to leave me alone, [...] But, there is also a girl who has left school with a boy who talked to each other under their breath... about that she was a Chinese, who had eyes like that ... she began to cry and the teacher punished him"*



For this age range, the differences in the natural course of child development start to emerge. It is a vital period in which the **socialization on the norms and the prescription of social behaviours** affect differently to boys and girls specially regarding to relational choices, trust in the others and evolution in the relationships with peers and adults. Behaviours more or less inclusive with different cultures are very linked to the values of **important referents for children**, such as their own familiars or in the cases in which they are more absent due to their intense dedication to work, even the teachers. Thus, in the Spanish workshop the children narrated different aspects of cultural dissonance between the family and the children. This group spoke about the tensions and conflicts between what is emerging as the children's own realms and the contents from the family culture, the first outbreaks of cultural, religious, linguistic and socio-economic differences. If religious beliefs or the roots in the culture of origin are very deep in the family, children react fiercely to maintain also lifestyles from the host country. Specifically related to that, the girls expressed the conflict between their experiences and the norms in their family, as they are usually more constrained by the norms and gender roles expected by their families while the boys are more aligned with their families' positions.

In this life stage, the difference is a quality to perceive, to look at and to take as reality. They start to notice and acknowledge the differences present in the language spoken in the family environment and at school, the diversity in religious beliefs, ethnic/cultural differences (*"Several boys are brown and it shows if they are gypsy or if they are Moroccan or from another place"*) and the very clear differentiated gender prescriptions of different cultures (*"I wish we could sit together with the boys"*), all of it embedded in the understanding of family and social relationships (friends, cousins, neighbours...) and conflicts between adults. And very significantly, they also notice and acknowledge the differing levels of intimacy between the closest friends and the non-friends, and the increasingly chosen friendships (*"On the first day of school I didn't think that I would have many friends ... see, I thought that nobody would be with me and in the end they have all been"*).

Adolescents from 12 to 14 y.o.

The barriers and challenges adolescents encountered posed by the multicultural environments seem to be different across the Spanish and Italian contexts.



In the Italian workshop, the greatest barrier encountered was related to economic deprivation and to the negative attitudes towards migrants, also religiously-motivated, that they retain to be widespread in society and among peers, and that can conduce to discrimination. Encountering this barrier seems to result in a feeling of detachment from their environment and a feeling of not belonging to their local community or to the city they live in. This also conditions their adaptation to the host society through their preferential engagement with networks of intra-ethnic or linguistic groups, against the background of distrust and caution regarding to the establishment of relationships in the school and in the neighbourhood. At the same time these adolescents raised the need to invest in school achievement and in language learning particular. In the Spanish workshop, the participants also perceived the existence of negative attitudes and discrimination, but they were confronted with a positive attitude towards other cultures and conflict resolution skills. Instead, the main barrier adolescents identified was language difficulties, and the main challenge was developing the skills to navigate cultural and lifestyles differences between the family and the host society. These difficulties significantly lessened the more time the adolescents had spent in the host country (i.e. the earliest in life they had arrived in the country) and if they had managed to build supportive relationships.

In the Italian workshop, adolescents warned the imagined migrant to identify among teachers and classmates, those to enter in relation with, as well as the areas of the urban space in which to spend his/her free time. A 15 years old girl from Morocco that has been in Italy since 2009 narrated how she experienced an escalation of prejudice in school environments along her educational path:

“It is increased because in middle schools it happened but with less frequency, while in high school all prejudices against people who are different start to grow. Better to let it go... as soon as you make mistakes, they make fun of you, putting your culture, your family, the colour of your skin at stake” or in another moment “even in elementary school, it couldn’t happen that they told you that you are a terrorist”.

The participants reported difficulties to establish bridges and to bond with other native peers of their age. In addition, they consider social networks to be a tool that can foster these intercultural bridges between natives and newcomers but they also point out the risk of being cyberbullied in



these networks due to their different origins. These difficulties are expressed too related to the establishment of bridges and bonds with the city: some areas of the peripheries, parks and playgrounds or even public transportations are considered risky places in which to see themselves as a deviance and to be overexposed to unfriendly people or even aggressions. When asked if they felt part of the city and of local community, the adolescents in the focus group in Turin responded in chorus «No». The fact that they consider Turin as «*a second home and a second city*» highlights some resistance connected to the difficulties and issues present in the host context. For this group resilience is fostered by the selection and strengthening of a restricted set of relationships with peers. It is necessary to avoid risks of contact with hostile or even violent peers. This way, they get involved in **supporting and largely prevailing networks of intra-ethnic/linguistic groups** that must be interpreted also as considering this disposition. As told by a young migrant in the focus group in Turin, migrant children largely socialize with other migrant children because “*they do not know Italian well and are unable to communicate well with others*”, and also because they may be afraid of being teased by Italian children also on the basis of negative prejudices

According to the adolescents the most relevant strategies to move these barriers and ease these challenges are to “*learn the rules*” together with the language and the other school contents, and to “*recognize soon those whom you can trust*”. They also recommend to avoid a harsh politicization of migration issues in society and in the media and to promote tolerance and recognition of diversities in daily life, for example, a young migrant in the focus group in Naples offered a simple but clear example of intercultural dialogue in the school:

“Let us take an example: he and I live together. He eats the croissant every day, and I drink tea every morning. Slowly I get used to eating the croissant, and he got used to drinking tea. So, slowly we changed our eating habits, and so also does our culture”.

In the Spanish workshop, the language emerged as the more consistent barrier when they start to interact with the host culture, although negative attitudes towards migrant-background people and discrimination also emerged as additional challenges:



“If I protest about something... for example to a person who is smoking and I tell him not to smoke towards me... he says under his breath that I should go back to my country... what a shame not to have my ID card with me and show him that I am Spanish...”

At this age adolescents start to recognize their tastes, to discover and to attend to their wishes, and they give increased importance to their self-reflections, also concerning their future. They incorporate their families' customs and those of the host culture to their developing identity. They maintain vivid their customs and habits of their culture of origin (gastronomy, parties, religious services...) and sometimes these customs serve as bridges between different cultural groups:

“In class, every year we have a party like we are all foreigners and all children bring meals from their countries and we taste all”

The confidence in the adult realm that surrounds them (family, teachers) is still present, even though they already perceive inconsistencies and they still miss people and lifestyles left behind in the country of origin. The differences perceived in the previous stage are more acknowledged, elaborated and managed in the beginning of the adolescence, and differences in the management of these differences along gender lines become more relevant. For example, in the Spanish workshop a boy explained these differences in family cultures and values in this statement:

“It happens to me too, childhood friends do come home as if it was their own ... but new friends ... My mother would have to meet her family ... It depends on the confidence my mother has with her ... there is a deep-rooted culture with the theme of the boys, that we have to have a girlfriend ... And yet, my sister is not allowed to go with boys” and another girl from the workshop pointed out how the differences in the culture translate into the lifestyles sometimes generating conflicts within the family “[they fear that] I would use make up or let my hair loose... today when I left home my uncle scolded me for letting my hair loose [...] I don't know why in my country you can't let your hair down...They think I do it for the boys and it's not like that”.



The less time the children have spent in Spain, the more they miss their places of origin (friends, family, culture, gastronomy...). In addition, the more distance there is between the mother tongue and the host language (Filipino, Indian, Guarani...) or the less they dominate the host language in its particular cultural form (e.g. Latin Americans who are Spanish native speakers), the harder it is for them to move towards their new life.

"I have trouble thinking the words, I forget them";

"I do know how to speak Spanish from Spain because I was born here, but I didn't know anything about jargon. I felt practically a foreigner and sometimes I still feel weird because it is a great change to spend four years in my old school hanging out practically always with Latin-Americans. Most were Dominicans and Filipinos, they spoke like Dominicans... they and other minorities did the same. Then everyone had the same way of communicating. They understood you more or less. If you said something with a Dominican accent there they understood you. If you say something here with a Dominican accent, they don't understand you or look at you strangely, or few people understand you"

For the adolescents in this group the way to overcome the challenges and barriers posed by an intercultural and multilingual environment seems to be the establishment of significant and supportive relationships with people from their more proximal environments such as the school and the family. Intercultural relationships are crucial, especially with the tutors from the host country:

"Many people who were Spanish helped me. Above all Montse, who is the Spanish tutor. The tutors help a lot. The classroom tutor has been teaching children who don't know anything about the language for 7 years already, she explains how is everything in Spain, like for instance that you have to shower every morning. She explains everything, that's why we call her our second mother and then there is a tutor (teachers) who also understands that we are foreigners, helps us a lot and talks with other tutors when we don't understand something and they give us more time to deliver things"

*“Me and my friend get each other, the closest one, who is Peruvian ... and understands me.
They don't necessarily have to be from your country”*

Adolescents from 15 to 18 y. o.

The greater maturity of late adolescents emerged in the complexity of their discourses across all groups. They all explain the process of migration and integration in a multicultural country attending to multiple causes that contributed to their resulting present life. The topics in the narratives of the groups in Italy and Spain vary among the adolescents when asked about their arrival and their posterior integration into the new country. But they all have in common the importance they give to education and the closing-up decision they have to make about their career development and the introduction into the labour world.

In the Spanish workshops, the adolescents strongly emphasized the opportunities and better living conditions that coming to Spain gave them, although they identified similar barriers to those identified by preadolescents, such as cultural differences and difficulties with the host language. When asked about their arrival and later integration in the country the adolescents in the Spanish group acknowledged this as their own personal responsibility, as mandatory on their part. They showed a great awareness in their intercultural exchanges, understanding that the differences between the culture of origin and the culture of the host country can be soothed. They exhibited a deep understanding of their cultural background, and expressed how they direct their lives attending to their roots but also attending to their own individual values:

“However, due to the difference in culture you do not understand the ways of relationship well ... Latin America is like calmer, there is a difference, although there is nothing wrong with it” “I have not related to many people from my country ... that's why I say I am international, I speak many accents, I mix them”

This way they still maintain their cultural features and bonds with the country of origin and they incorporate the cultural features of the host country stablishing new ties with the people and the places. For example as a male adolescent explains:



“In my other school there was less variety and it was not very usual to see someone of colour or to see people from another country ... here it was different, I found it was more curious... Filipino parties, the Chinese year ... they explain it to me and I like the experience. In this school you feel the different”

Many also narrated how they could finally reunite with their parents after staying apart for long periods of time, while vividly remembering their circumstances prior to their migration, the people they used to stay with, the absence of their parents and cultural features of their country of origin. They also identified familiar conditioners of their first approximations into the new cultural and social reality in Spain, including: their parents' legal statuses (“[my mother] *came here illegally to work when I was 5 years old*”); the socioeconomic status of the family previous to the migration (“As [my mom] *was a single mother, she preferred to move the whole family forward, not just her children, the whole family ... because we had crises there*”; “*believe that in my case I had to mature at an early age, I was educated alone, I had no close family because I was not there for their work; I was raised by my older sister, we practically educated both of us, we set the rules ... and here my mom is super understanding...*”); their living conditions previous to the migration (“*The teachers with whom I lived... it was very hard... there were 4 kids of us living with them and after going to school we had to clean the house*”); and public resources and opportunities in the country of origin (“*there the state does not cover you so much*”).

In addition, they explain barriers and challenges that they have faced once they have installed in Spain. The main issue that emerged in the discussion was the **lack of competence in the host language**.

“And my mother told me that I had to continue studying, and I did not understand anything in Spanish... I communicated in English with teachers and classmates, also with gestures... it was very complicated... I failed everything ... because I did not understand anything” even in the cases with similar linguistic background “*At first the vocabulary cost me, some words change...*”

Some also mentioned the criteria of incorporation and the process of entering in the new school:

“I needed to find a school that had preparatory classrooms to learn the language”

Besides the language, the adolescents in Spain also mentioned the **negative attitudes towards migrants and discrimination**. On the one hand, they perceive stereotypes towards them from the natives (*“I do not notice much in my case ... it bothered me when I went out on the street and people called me “chinita”⁷, or they greeted me with a form with disrespect, it bothered me”*) and also among different migrant groups (*“In Venezuela we have stereotypes of other nations, but we like to make fun ... we have a black humour...”*). On the other hand, they also perceive stereotypes and conflict within their own cultural groups (*“For example, there are times when the culture itself attacks itself, for example, the other day when Ramadan ended, some comrades dressed in a different way came and with the joke they said “I’m putting a bomb to you”...”It also happens among Latin Americans, I was attacked by a Peruvian girl ... she told me that those of my country were ugly ... and I said “but if we are from the same country, you are next to mine” ... I kept quiet and I thought she has to meditate ...”*).

They also explained how they cope with cultural dissonance and the resilient strategies that they use to deal with conflicts emerging between peers and family. They make decisions based on their own system of values without demising their affective connections with their parents, and they manage the possible cultural conflicts by taking control of the decisions and resolving the problems by their selves. They also try to establish meaningful dialogue, making others reflect with them, and become proactively inclusive or avoid conflict when a reasonable conversation could not take place

“The other day in class, a classmate began to say “sudaca”⁸ and that is an insult and I think that maybe he does not know what that means to a South American and I asked him

⁷ See note: literally translated as “Little chinese” there is not a proper translation to English. Offensive expression racializing people from oriental countries commonly used in Spain to refer to Asian migrants

⁸ See note: there is not a proper translation to English. Offensive expression racializing people from south American countries commonly used in Spain.

what that meant to him, and he said it was to name someone who is from South America. And I told him that it was an insult to many people, and I told him that for the next time he should think about it ... and he apologized”.

“It depends on the place and the prejudices of the person, and also on the appearance ... to see, for example, if it is to adapt to a conversation you have to consider how you connect with the person to make her feel included, that is the positive side. The other is, I don't relate to her because she has to relate to people like her”.

In the Italian workshop, similar topics emerged among the group of unaccompanied minors (UAMs). Overall, they emphasized the political and administrative complications upon their arrival, and on the pragmatic aspects of migration, such as personal documents and residential permit, access to services, schooling and housing, etc.

At the same time these young immigrants reported of having experienced an escalation of prejudice in society and the issue of finding help in people to trust – in a large extent from their own cultural, ethnic and religious community – persists. At this stage, concerns about negative attitudes and experiences appeared again, showing increased awareness of widespread forms of racism and religious-motivated hostility. In particular, negative prejudices expressed by Italian young people towards Muslims and conceptual overlapping between Islam and terrorism. For this reason, the perception of the urban context is often ambivalent. Those who gained a positive experience of staying in Italy after suffering difficulties in the very first period, suggested taking seriously into account the migrants' psychological need to calm anxiety and to find reassurance and comfort: *“they need to listen that everything is going to be right in the end”*. For some of them **religious practices and the attendance of places of worship play a relevant role**. They consider important also to learn how to overcome suspicion towards Italians and to build with them thick relationship.

The UAMs group clearly state that exercising their rights involves both the world of education and work. In fact, they recognize the real access to rights in their future work highly depends on a real access to education. They remarked as a major barrier the late access to and discontinuity in the attendance of training courses at the CPIAs and the frustration for the hard access to work,



emphasizing the need to ease the access to job placement through apprenticeships and training once the age of majority is reached. For this group, the presence of points of support such as tutors and cultural mediators (also with a direct experience of migration) guiding migrants throughout the process was particularly important.

Educational aspirations and planning for work in the future are motives expressed across all groups.

In the Spanish workshop there seemed to be a generalised positive attitude towards the future, some sort of convincement that they can succeed in both educational and working paths and that within the society they inhabit, there are many opportunities waiting for them to chase. In the Italian workshops, some adolescents denounced the harsh rules of the job market and the situations of extreme exploitation of migrants' labour within low-paid job sectors. They pointed out the necessity to undertake a long path to achieve a school diploma and the need for a professional certification in order to gain a good job. This vision can be traced in the words of an African boy:

"The easiest job to find in Italy, if you do not have job skills, is the dishwasher or working in the fields. With these jobs, you go to get yourself exploited, because they do not give you the money for what you work. I also worked in the fields, 8 hours a day for 20 euros, and the work was very hard. (...) In 2018 I did not want to take the eighth grade, because my educational manager said that I was already speaking Italian a little bit. But after they told me that we need to study, because I need to take the eighth grade to do training courses."

Another African boy adds:

"The only advice that I can give to a friend or brother is to learn a work, therefore taking a diploma is very important. Because it is true that if you have a diploma, whoever gives you a job is your boss, but you too become a boss, you are your boss. Having a job is good, and you need a certificate to say that you have professional skills. I have to learn job skills and to find a good work."



Parents

In both countries, the adult participants maintained a clear confrontation with the different cultures that inhabit their circle of relationships in school, neighbourhood and religious spaces. Discrimination experiences, intolerance from and towards the host society and confrontation with the host culture appear as important barriers for the integration of children and families in a multicultural environment. They are perceived and they recognise themselves as "different" even in those cases who have been living in the country for a long time. For instance, a mother in the Spanish workshop explains her experience like this:

"There are many people who tell me "you speak Spanish" ... yes, as if saying, "Ah, you know Spanish!" (...) I have been here since the year 1989, my parents have been here, I have my whole family here. Before, I mean since I came, people saw foreigners who were going, those of us who were here were formerly, those were Moors ... And it was like they saw them as some weirdo. Well, little by little that was gone, but we have returned to the same since the crisis entered and for them we are the ones to blame for the crisis that exists right now in Spain"

While another native mother describes her experience in the following way:

"In Spain we have always been very open, we have open borders, we have always been, we have always helped the immigrant, we have always helped the immigrant, we have never denied help to the immigrant, but the institutions ... This is like all businesses, the institutions do not balance the scales well. And what cannot be that for example if there are 6 million euros in budget, 999, such, that is, more than 75% of the 2 million are allocated to a migration, because then I came to social services and for me there is no budget I have nothing against you, nor against you, nor against you, it's institutional".

In addition, during the Italian workshop, a minority of parents also narrated experiencing situations of intolerance on the part of teachers, such as being received with less professionalism or cordiality in comparison with Italian parents, and they also attested some



difficulties encountered by their children in developing friendships with Italian children. Moreover, cases of early school leaving among their older sons and daughters emerged.

A sort of “resistance to integration” affects some cases among the parents encountered. It is particularly the case of a woman in the Italian workshop from Senegal who decided to maintain educational styles strictly inspired by the culture of origin against the so called “*western habits or values*”. This choice limits the social capital of her two adolescent daughters, a point that raised negative comments from other parents and was object of discussion during the focus group. This attitude was also present in the Spanish workshop, where some parents recognised the irascibility that multiculturalism causes in them, even when they acknowledge that they are more a cause of conflict with the host culture than children or young people. In this regard, this narrative from a father was very illustrating:

“My son told me, Dad, you know that in Spain they take care of children a lot and here there is a law that protects children and many parents go to prison because they beat their children. I listened to him, and he asked me, “What do you think?” [I told him] I tell you that you are Venezuelan, that your sister is Venezuelan, that your mother is Venezuelan and that I am Venezuelan and here, from the door inside, this is Venezuela for us. I do not discuss Spanish education, but I do not agree... There has to be some exchange, but controlled and supervised, because it is another education and he is with Latin Americans, but he is with Spaniards and I am inducing him to get involved with Spaniards, for him to evolve”

These manifold views seem founded on fear of uprooting the children from their cultural heritage, as parents claim their need of maintain their cultural and familiar values. This may include religious traditions, moral views, values and norms that prevent sometimes the exchange with the host culture. In addition, if families maintain a strict attitude in their religious beliefs the family code takes on even more the character of “law”. The parents also voiced the need to “be heard” and recognised within the host culture. These narratives emerged in some cases against a feeling of having seen themselves “*forced into the process of emigration from their countries of origin*”. That feeling of “forceful” migration elicit feelings of frustration, anger and disappointment



for their socio-economic situation, particularly when they have not yet achieved the status they projected for themselves and their children.

The main differences in the barriers posed to an intercultural exchange between the countries reflect their context and their particularities. For instance, in the Spanish group, the colonial past in the cultural heritage of some of the migrant parents prompted the appearance of narratives about the expectation of a special recognition in terms of entitlement. A contradictory relationship with Spain is clearly appreciated, their feelings of entitlement to citizenship does not correspond the daily social and emotional experience from the "*migrant*" label. The intensity of the experience of discrimination is closely reflected in their own xenophobic and even discriminatory attitude towards other cultural groups and other modes of education. They maintain an open criticism to the local culture based on disappointment about the Spanish society, claiming to perceive a certain social deterioration in terms of family values, education and religion. Spanish society and culture is perceived as "*lax*", leading to chaos instead of order, with a structure of relations that are "*more libertine*" than "*free*". This way, they consider themselves responsible for setting limits and structure their children's lives as opposed to the mainstream social models.

In some cases of the Spanish workshop, the parents referred to the need to find economic survival. They are participants - including native women - who maintain a tight economic situation and in some cases very poor. This group express how migrant families require specific attention justifying that everything that is not taken care of in the adult is a "family limit" for the child / youth when waking up to new values of the society that inhabits. The mothers in the Italian workshop reported to experience a heterogeneous set of practical difficulties and organizational or administrative issues that make their lives quite stressful. Bureaucracy is a burden in most fields that concern the daily life and issues regarding migration. Initially, this situation can foster a sense of disorientation and confusion; so, it is necessary to turn to the help of an expert. It is worth to mention that in Italy bureaucracy and slowness of public administration constitute barriers for the access to rights for all minors at risk, as denounced by



Save the Children Italy in official reports.⁹ In this regards, a migrant mother described a controversial case about her daughter's access to education. They had not obtained the residence in the city as a family unit, so the Italian state did not give the scholarship for purchase textbooks to the daughter:

"I have a daughter, Clarissa, who made the first grade in the high school this year. We could not get the school books free because we did not have the residence. All the books cost almost 500 euros and we cannot buy them. She tried to study with a friend, sharing the same books. Until a few months ago, she told me she will be rejected. Thanks to God, professors helped her, and cooperated for the exams, and she was not rejected. Her experience has been very bad, but fortunately, this year we will get the residence so we can get the books for free."

Regarding to facilitators, resources and strategies to cope with a multicultural environment, many of the migrant mothers who participated in the focus group in Italy emphasized the positive side of migration and in particular the experience of being included in their children's school communities. A general positive stance towards migrant parents on the part of Italian teachers, native parents and students emerges in these considerations. It is significant to note that this form of gratification passes also through the perception of being respected in one's own cultural and religious belongings. With regard to the school managing of cultural and religious diversity, indeed, mothers attest that their sons and daughters have been free to decide not to attend religion classes without receiving any pressure, or that school canteens provide them with special meals according to their religious precepts. A Muslim mother states:

"My daughter attends a school run by nuns, and not a public school. However, the nuns are very respectful of her beliefs, and she does not attend religion classes, she simply does not

⁹ See: "Nuotare contro corrente. Povertà educativa e resilienza in Italia", available at: https://retefocchi.savethechildren.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/rapporto-IPE-2018-low_-DEF_-pdf; and: "Difendere i diritti. Una comunità di pratica per la protezione legale dei minorenni a rischio di marginalità sociale", available at: https://s3.savethechildren.it/public/files/uploads/pubblicazioni/difendere-i-diritti_0.pdf.

go, within a very calm atmosphere. I trust the nuns because they are serious and do so many good things for children.”

Some migrant mothers mentioned spontaneous episodes of inter-religious dialogue within the schools, as for the case of the participation of native students in the religious practice of Ramadan. For instance, a migrant mother points out:

“For a month, there has been Ramadan and children are fasting too. In addition, my daughter is fasting even although she goes to school. Her friends at school do not want to eat in front of her, and one of her friends asked the permission to eat a piece of sandwich near her. There is a lot of respect on the part of Italians, and it is a very positive thing.”

To a minor extent, mothers in the Italian workshop claimed to live their religious belief within their own family or communitarian sphere without requiring a proper recognition by the part of public institutions and school in particular. Otherwise, during the Spanish workshop parents expressed their absolute determination that *“children adapt to whatever it comes”*, and they acknowledge how their children cope better with different cultures resolving the problems more smoothly than themselves.

4.2 Results from the world café

First round: the barriers

The world cafés in Spain and Italy started with a first round of discussion on the barriers and obstacles to the integration of children. Noticeably both countries presented common structural barriers that had also emerged in the children and parents' workshops:

- The linguistic gap between the mother tongue of the children/adolescents and the host language.
- The discrimination and prejudice towards migrants, which appeared as a very important aspect again. The perception of being unwelcomed, to be treated by a bias of negative attitudes from the part of the host society and even sometimes being victims of violence at different levels due to their cultural origins have a direct impact on the efforts the migrants do to integrate in the host society.

- For many of them their legal status and administrative and legal permits very much condition their effective access to rights, particularly in those cases in which the adolescent is close to come to full age, the legal status relates to an intense uncertainty about their future and feelings of distress.

Additionally, in both contexts additional barriers were discussed from the point of view of public policy making, in particular in relation to the regulation of the educational system regarding intercultural curriculums and segregation of students into different educational tracks. A large emphasis was made on the need of a clearer political leadership to provide of material resources and support in terms of spaces of intercultural exchange and the application of a cross-cultural and intercultural approach in official processes.

The stakeholders in both Italy and Spain brought to light that most of the daily difficulties faced by young immigrants and their families are practical, concrete, and often linked to the linguistic gap. They arise from small things, and are present within the school everyday life and routines (e.g. electronic register, school documentation, costs, relationship with the public administration, and resolution of sudden problems). According to one of the participants of the world café in Italy:

"I'm a cultural mediator in the school of my three children and in another school. I really see the difference between my children's school, where we are in four mediators, and the other one. There, I note the absence of spaces and figures for mediation, and their results. The linguistic barrier and the disorientation on the practical questions of immigrant parents creates a source of difficulties and gaps that also block their will to integrate."

In Spain, stakeholders also pointed out the need in some cases of the children and adolescents to become a linguistic bridge between the family and the society, adding extra-burdens for young people that might not be ready to carry them on, as they are still not mature enough:

"For those of the first generation if you come with your family you are the bridge with parents. They learn the language quickly and overload themselves with responsibilities; they cannot be children, adolescents..."

“That topic is important because they can't be children ... it's a truncated childhood”

Regarding the barrier of prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination, the Italian world café designated the presence of prejudice not only in the students body but also and largely among teachers. According to the participants, it is not by chance that schools are increasingly requesting the intervention of experts in helping preventing the exposure of young people to fake news and to hostile representations of ethnic and religious groups. In fact, the participants acknowledge that the interactions within the schools are probably the most protected and controlled, while those involving peers in the neighbourhoods may imply situations that are more negative. The teachers' focus group in Italy also identified a situation of widespread prejudice and sometimes racism on the part of the students. This situation does not concern their relations with foreign classmates, but more generally emerges in their visions of Italy and its future, involving, for instance, the classic accusation that immigrants steal jobs from Italians. These are common places probably learned from adults and TV programs: if debated by teachers, these beliefs appear to be quite inconsistent, highlighting that children's views are significantly conditioned by the surrounding environment.

In the Spain this scenario seems to be different, and the most prevalent prejudices seem to point out to the most vulnerable population among migrants: the unaccompanied minors and refugees. Stakeholders exposed that unaccompanied minors (UAMs) and refugees' labels and categorisations at the institutional level have strong stigmatising effects, despite the efforts from the professional teams to avoid that type of stigmatization:

“Refugees are not regarded as minors ... bureaucratic, administrative and political challenge ... there are no specific protocols for the child”

“I was surprised that they [the rest of participants in the table] establish differences between the MENAs [UAMs in Spanish], the children born in Spain or those who are not native. They speak of MENAs as uprooted”

In general stakeholders in Spain remark the barrier inscribed in the label of "migrant" and the different categories of migrants, also intersecting with other forms of discrimination based on gender, class or race. Specifically when talking about children and adolescent they remark how

children are seen as appendices of their families rather than as people with their own singularity. In this sense, the need to adopt a more child-centred approach in the interaction of the professionals with children and the need to receive more intercultural and psychosocial training was emphasized:

“Professionals have to train regard to see the children as a child and not as an immigrant ... they are treated more as foreigners than as children or young people. This is a challenge ... to be treated as people”

“The language must be changed when communicating with the child and the adolescent”

In relation to the difficulties and barriers that the legal status pose to the children and adolescents, almost all stakeholders in Italy stated that a situation of particular difficulty seems to concern immigrants arrived in Italy at the age of sixteen or close to the major age. They live overwhelmed by concrete issues of the daily activities and with the anxiety of the expiration of their residence permit established for a minor age, focusing only in trying to find a job. An educator emphasized the anxiety and tension caused by these situations, and narrated how the educators try to make them share their fears, and build a stability within their emotional sphere. At the same time, they press them to gain some important goals for their future such as obtaining the school grade. Stakeholders in Spain also emphasized the stress created by the administrative and legal situation, in particular, of undocumented migrants, asylum seekers and UAMs:

“The one who arrives without documentation is not easy to integrate ... and also being minors they are treated as adults”

Another specific reflection in the area of public policy concerns the topic of religion. Catholic religious education, established by law as an optional teaching in Italian and Spanish public schools, can become a moment in school life that divides immigrant students from the native ones, since migrant students belong to a larger extent to non-Catholic religious affiliations and may decide not to attend this teaching. According to some participants in the Italian world café, it is central to re-think this subject in accordance to an idea of ‘education about religions’, in which cultural and religious diversity is taken as an object of teaching and learning. On the other hand,

as stated by a migrant mother (who belongs to an association of immigrant mothers) for immigrants it is better to assign a 'private' space to religion in their integration:

"There are so many different religions, the best thing is to leave them outside the school, and set them aside. Everyone has his faith, his religion, we must not pull this aspect among us. The important thing is that we live together with our humanity, because there is a humanity stronger than everything. Because so many people mix things up, and put religion as important aspect for live together. But, in reality, to live together it is not asked to you to pray with others, but to live with your humanity (...). Even in our school we organized a party in which we show our ethnic clothes and foods, but not our religion".

Nevertheless, the world café in Spain pointed out other aspects of the educational system that impose barriers to migrant children and adolescents. Among the barriers were remarked:

- The educational system does not provide the teachers with training that enables them to face problems and challenges in the management of a multicultural classroom.
- The "ad hoc" attention that the families require to assume the role of allies in the integration of their children in the school
- The curricular gap due to being included in a different educational system that in many cases leads to fear of failure and the experience of the curricular and educational regulations as an imposition.
- The pressure of the educational system on the curricular achievements and not always, and in all cases, to attend the emotional responsibility that integration entails.

For instance, some of the participants expressed the following:

"Children generally come from cultures where education is more authoritarian and now they are integrated into a culture that has a freer education, and so they lose their referents... and, on the other hand, they do not meet multicultural teachers, so they are not referents for the children"

"Some teachers have had to travel, for example, to Morocco to know the place of origin of their students"

“In education, they are pressed to integrate into the curricular levels ... the great challenge is that the child and the family trust the educators”

In both world cafes stakeholders emphasized the importance of a political and institutional framework that supports the creation of multicultural welcoming social spaces with clear protocols, coordinated action and resources was key for the two groups. For example, in the Spanish world café, they narrated how schools have obtained material resources to meet the “most urgent” needs, but there is still a lack of continued assistance and resources, also to monitor efficiently the processes. They reported that the local level is also lacking resources or lagging behind in their provision, and remarked that no specific evaluation processes have been put in place, including the generation of indicators and the identification of best (and deficient) practices. Increased attention to processes is needed, also in order to increase the flexibility protocols and procedures which frequently do not respond to the reality of the children. Stakeholders pointed out that institutions assume by default that their knowledge of the reality of migrant children is holistic enough, but both professionals and users claim that many relevant aspects have not yet been incorporated into the design of said protocols and procedures. Very saliently, the system is not focused on making children and young people protagonists of their own integration processes. In this regard, a participant said *“On many occasions we believe that our normality [as adults] is their normality [as children]”*.

The relationship with Italian public institutions appears problematic for both operators and associations involved in the assistance and socio-educational integrations of young immigrants and young people with migrant background. These difficulties generate frustration among the professionals of services and organizations. Stakeholders emphasize that the current public support – e.g. through funding – is developed mostly in a top-down approach, which does not allow an active participation of both providers and target groups. As stated by a participant of the word café in Italy:

“Access to services for migrants is currently almost impossible. For example, to do a simple thing like a residence, which until time ago was done in half an hour, now you have to go to the judge and maybe in a year and a half you can have it”.



According to some of them, moreover, governmental institutions should have a role of support, e.g. providing services with those tools that helps to guarantee all the minors' access to their rights. In this frame, integration processes should assume a bottom-up, flexible and unpredicted shape based on the features of contexts and actors involved and on genuine forms of interaction between them. In particular, during the Italian world café, fruitful approaches and practices that foster the integration of young immigrants have been identified, as: projects in which immigrant students and parents play the role of "tutors" for students and parents newly arrived to Italy; language courses for parents; and socio-legal services active within schools and run by experts or associations competent in the field. Furthermore, some stakeholders valorise collaborative experiences between young Italians and young immigrants, as well as between students with different migration backgrounds, that favour the development of socio-educational integration and intercultural attitudes.

Second round: challenges for the children and adolescents, collaborators, and networks

During the second round of the world café, the challenges for the children and adolescents were discussed, as well as key facilitators in the form of collaborations and networks that could facilitate the promotion of intercultural skills and educational integration. Some common and specific challenges emerged in the two countries.

Common challenges in Spain and Italy

The common challenges identified in the two countries were (1) the need for more coordination in the provision of resources and actions at the macro and meso levels, and (2) the importance to avoid the isolation of migrant children in networks conformed exclusively by persons from the same linguistic/migrant background.

Regarding the need for increased coordination, in the world café in Italy participants remarked that "*the idea of the networking must involve multiple aspects of the migration reception system*". At the informal level, this means informal networks and collaboration by people immediately around the young immigrant or refugee; this should be escalated to a proper network involving organizational and institutional actors specifically dedicated to migrants' integration in the local context; but such network should be able to connect different actors and institutions and to

blend various services, not “isolating” those strictly related to migration, and that potentially is extended to the national level.

Denouncing the prevalence of the second form and the recurrence of fragmented networks at the local level, the stakeholders emphasized the necessity of a modular strategy of “educational cooperation” among the various actors (families, minors, neighbourhood communities, teachers and educators, different institutions) more able to mobilize the national and the local levels on the basis of emerging needs. According to the stakeholders, in this perspective it is necessary to systematize the interventions and to strengthen the collaboration between NGOs and associations working for minors (both migrants and natives). For instance, an educator of the world café shares how in her case it is precisely the spatial proximity of several associations that favour the creation of a functioning network:

“A positive example is when it creates a network of schools, associations, and realities that work from different points of view with children. In the case of my school, we are near to an association that deals with migrant children and in front of one that deals with migrant women and girls. Therefore, we can make a ‘quality leap’ and work well. We can plan activities with associations during school hours, and parents can rely on these realities for the after-school period”

This was too a major challenge expressed by the participants in the world café in Spain. Discursive consensus reached by the participants determines the establishment of a basic idea: migration policies are consistent on paper, but very inconsistent in daily practice. They address this divergence between “paper” and “direct relationship” explaining that the institutional, administrative and legal structures give priority to the processes, lacking an integrated, coordinated and flexible network. They point at the inconsistency of daily practices, the lack of communication among the network of professionals and resources destined to enhance the integration of migrants, and the lack of flexibility to adapt protocols to specific needs. In addition, the reception structure is not always functional, the educational system is slow and the reception depends on the categorization of the students, delaying the processes.



Stakeholders in the Italian world café remarked that in order to strengthen the cooperation between the relevant actors for educational integration “information” and “awareness” must be promoted. As far as information is concerned, there is the need of a more systematic diffusion of data on migrants’ conditions and needs, as well as a systematic transmission to migrants and refugees of guidelines and useful information on the host context and on their own rights and possibilities. Secondly, the participants referred to “awareness” as the need to increase consciousness and reflexivity on their own mission and approaches from the institutions and the actors engaged in education of young migrants. Furthermore, awareness of the *agency* of young immigrants themselves in integration processes should be cultivated through participatory, child-based and active-citizenship formulae. For instance: “It happens that young immigrants can become positive leaders among their peers and in their classes. The integration process should enhance them in their personal qualities and promote their active participation in scholastic and extra-scholastic contexts”.

In relation to the creation of bonds with networks of similar linguistic or cultural background in the host country, both of the world cafes provided a deeper discussion of its double edge quality. On one hand, these can be very positive as providers of emotional, social and material support during the process of integration in the host society and beyond. According to the stakeholders, these networks can represent safe spaces that lessen the feeling of uprooting of the migrants and provide comfort. On the other hand, these networks can favour the tendency to self-isolate and become a restrictive space where migrants segregate from the cultures present in their environments by shame, by discomfort with their reality, etc. This is especially accused if they perceive a defensive host society that instead of being welcoming regards them with prejudice, and discriminates them, or in the cases in which they too have these attitudes towards the host society. The isolation carries for the children and adolescents the risk of absenteeism and social segregation. For instance, a professional from the Spanish world café states:

“[The teacher has] 60 children and 36 nationalities in the classroom, and for her the challenge is that in the elementary classes there are no ghettos between nationalities ... it has been necessary to change the educational methodology to avoid conflicts between groups differentiated by nationalities ... creating bonds of trust between them ... linking as

a group ... in such a way that the child and the young person learn to share classroom, knowledge with people, and not with classmates from different cultures ... conclude that recognize each other, dissolving the differences that once produced conflict"

Contextual challenges in Spain and Italy

In Spain the big challenge identified concerned the development of intercultural skills and an intercultural identity of the children and adolescents that allow them to build naturally their own personality, maintaining their individual differences and merging their social identities without to renounce neither to their cultural heritage nor to the new features of the host culture. This is specially demanding considering a context in which they usually need to become the positive bridge linking their family system (with its particular attitudes, beliefs and values) to the host society. This is compounded by the changes of status derived from the migration process and by the lack in many cases of positive referents of a successful intercultural management of a multicultural social reality.

According to some of the stakeholders successful integration of the children and adolescents means in the personal level to create and develop their own multicultural identity, being able and allowed to express it both in their closest environment (family, friends, classmates) and the furthest environment (institutions, neighbourhood). Besides, it means adapting to the vital and social rhythm of the environment in which they live without this pressing on their own identity. Thus, intercultural skills are those that are learned to adapt and respond in a functional way to the specific demands posed by their multicultural environment.

The main obstacles that the stakeholders identified in the integration of the children and adolescents in the multicultural reality of Spain are:

- Being affected by long absences of their parents. After these temporary disconnections, they can be impelled to live with relatives and/or their parents upon their arrival in the host country. In this regard, they require a deep emotional reconnection that implies strengthening emotional bonds which means time to process the change and to learn how to build a renewed family intimacy. This determines a large part of their ability to be



attached with the adult world that teachers and tutors also represent. In many cases, children and young people nourish their relationships with teachers and tutors because they find in them reliable figures to turn to when they need to talk, to be heard, to receive support with their emotional demands. In cases where this desired emotional bond is not facilitated, children and adolescents tend to be more isolated and internalizing, not allowing themselves to express their feelings, which increase their uprooting and the lack of respect to multicultural integration.

"The child is not asked what he wants ... he has to start loving some parents he didn't know ... and make friends with new people"

- The uprooting. According to the stakeholders, they perceive a deep sense of insecurity in the children and adolescents, identifying their feelings of being "in no man's land", of being "in the frontal space, neither from here, nor from there" and have trouble being considered "different" in the society that welcomes them. The stakeholders emphasise the need of "feel someone" in the new space / time they inhabit in the host country and how the high mobility and subsequent migrations prevent rooting in the country of destiny. It is a redundancy in uprooting. This phenomenon is more reported referred to the children of the second generation:

"I got the importance of the support network in the neighbourhood environment, because families move much more than nationals. There is no rooting, a support network, nor are there families affected by friendship that let you leave the child..."

"There is a difference between the first generation and the second generation ... Those who arrive for the first time encounter the difficulty of the language and also of the expectations that through acquaintances they had made to find jobs quickly ... and when the family arrived here they were "moved institutionally", they change their homes frequently... they try to locate them in homes because they arrive without accompaniment. Even the process of deciding whether they are minors or not, which is decided by a judge"



"I was surprised that they establish differences between the UAMs, those born in Spain or those who are not native. They speak of UAMs as uprooted. They talk about the grief that children have to go through depending on their situation, and the problem of rooting"

- The cultural dissonance and the need to adapt to spaces and contexts that are different from the ones they knew in their country of origin: field vs. city; food, hygiene, weather, schedules, activities... The religion and religiosity of the family conditions the involvement of the children in communities with similar spirituality, but this involvement varies with the age of the children and adolescents. Beyond they face the difficulty of understanding and adapting to new modes and ways of relationship in the host country

"For the child "the manners" are a barrier, the lack of knowledge of the native adult"

"It is a challenge for them to give them back their pride of identity ... of belonging ... and that they feel proud of what they have and recognize themselves..."

- Overcome the socio-economic difficulties that many families face. Stakeholders remark: "they do not choose to come", their greatest and best adaptation is dependent on the movement and family settlement itself. In many cases they need adapt to a new socio-economic status. Especially they need to cope with the restrictions imposed when it is lesser than in its country of origin, and recover from the social and economic situations of a precarious nature (shared houses, parents with a precarious economic environment without resources to meet the needs of their children, deprived environments, etc.)

"It is a great concern ... because for work issues the children are left alone and also because there is not enough money to add them to other extracurricular activities ... there are absenteeism of schools, a support network is missing"

The stakeholders commented some skills and strategies that children and adolescents use to overcome these difficulties such as:

- Managing expectations from their own understanding of life in the host country and making it coherent with their personal experience. In this regard, they highlighted the need to keep a realistic approach and learn to manage the expectations placed on them.



- Building their own network of relationships not only in the classroom or the educational environment in which they move, but also in their neighbourhood. The educators in the world café highlighted that when they succeed in it, this allows a greater reliability when interacting with peers but also with adults in different spheres.
- Learn to solve conflicts and have reliable and successful referent that serve as a model for them.

In Italy the major challenge identified by the educators and other professionals was the need of support from the school structure and of clear inclusive culture in schools. A number of stakeholders stated that in order to get positive school experiences, inspired by multi-cultural and multi-religious dialogue, it is necessary that in school a motivated teacher takes the leadership and ‘drags’ other colleagues, as well as the overall institution, into his/her project. As a result, multi-cultural and multi-religious experiences in the Italian public education are isolated, and often depend on the inputs and efforts. As a matter of fact, according to the world café participants, Italian teachers are not sufficiently trained on intercultural education, and public institutions should encouraged them to attend courses on this subject. In this scenario, it seems important also to increase the presence of cultural mediators in public schools.

These reflections on the school have been explored through a focus group that involved some teachers who work in schools of different grades. The picture that emerged seems to identify the same main issues and weakness, but developing a more in-depth picture. On the one hand, teachers underline the “rigidity” of the Italian school system, which leaves them little autonomy for the valorisation of some realities starting from certain schools and colleagues. For example, they are obliged to place a young immigrant in a school belonging to a specific area of the territory, without being able to choose to send it to schools, perhaps a few kilometres further away or external from a specific defined area, but which have developed skills and paths consolidated with regard to supplementary education. On the other hand, the teachers underline the lack of many colleagues regarding an intercultural vision or the ability to manage situations of some immigrant children. For example, a widely debated point concerns the scholastic orientation of immigrant students towards the next school levels and the resulting concentration of migrant pupils into specific educational tracks. Sometimes teachers only consider the

students' current language skills, and do not adequately consider their potential and the qualities they can develop. In this case, a teacher explained the case of a Chinese female student who was initially oriented by her colleagues towards a vocational school. After a debate of the teaching board, she was addressed instead to a high school, thus enhancing her potential beyond the language barrier that could be overcome with the necessary support. In this case, as one professor says, *"We must state the relevance of the L2 courses. Without an adequate parallel linguistic training of immigrant students, they cannot be equal with their peers"*. Later, this Chinese student graduated with excellent grades. Another teacher tells the case of a foreign male student who is a *"math genius"* enough to upset the professor of this discipline, although this student does not speak an excellent Italian. According to these visions, it is up to the teachers to identify the different forms of intelligence and the less obvious qualities of these children, as well as to enhance them and strengthen them within an educational and integrative process.

Concerning this challenge of Italian teachers towards an intercultural model, we can summarize an internal conflict through the slogan *"funds vs. mentality"*. On the one hand, there is a lack of funds for teacher training and for intercultural projects, on the other hand, teachers are required to change their mentality. As one teacher explains, this should start *«from the desire and conscience»* of teachers to move towards approach within a yet multi-cultural society, beyond the question of existing funds. Against this *"change"* asked to teachers, it seems to be *"fatal"* the lack of interest on the part of the Italian institutions in the question of integration, which after years of efforts make many teachers say *«I don't believe in this change anymore»*.

Third round: facilitators and good practices for integration in a multicultural reality

The third round of the world café in both countries discussed solutions adopted in each context to their specific issues. In Spain the main good practices appointed were:

- Generating a welcoming, safe, reliable space for children and young people.
- Listening carefully to the needs of children and young people, and include it in the procedures.
- Attempt to include a cross-cultural approach.



- Increase the professionalization and training of people who care for or assist children and young people in the field.
- More and more people are committed to the integration processes, and there are greater social awareness and sensitivity especially in the new generations.
- Learning and implementation of psychosocial attention that focuses on the feeling of belonging that they must achieve.
- The classroom of incorporation into the language in a period of 9 months.
- The figure of the mediator/mentor student in the integration process.
- Send them continuous information with the objective of gaining greater confidence and using the resources and services available to them. Give them the information to trust and use the services.

In Italy, the stakeholders emphasized the positive value of collaborative experiences between young Italians and young immigrants, as well as between students with different migration backgrounds, that favour the development of socio-educational integration and intercultural attitudes. As noted by a participant, a successful example is a school of music in Rome, which is enjoyed by immigrant and native children. This case suggests it is relevant to organize activities or initiatives characterized by high quality standards (e.g. excellent teachers) in order to attract native children. A second example is offered by the case of a local network of school parents – migrants and natives – that promoted inter-cultural dialogue and exchange in a district of Rome. For instance, as an educator of world café recounts, the same path of integration of a children is different depending on the context from which begins:

"I deal with adolescents in the structure where I work, and often we send them to the CPIA, where they are all immigrants and even older ones. If immigrant children arrived in the structure are a little bit younger, like 13 or 14 years old, we can include them in local schools. In this last case, it is completely another experience for them. They can take a true school third grade, develop friendships with peers, and grow together."

In the third and last session of the world café, the groups were reunited into one common assembly and each participant was invited to suggest main variables to consider for the

elaboration a dashboard of indicators related to refugee and migrant children integration in schools and other experiential environments. Three main macro-variables emerged:

1. **Social and cultural capital:** the composition (extent, internal variety, relevance etc.) of young immigrants' personal networks and friendships, lifestyles, fruition of cultural initiatives, consumptions.
2. **Wellbeing:** aspirations and personal satisfaction, awareness of capabilities, self-confidence, autonomy.
3. **Citizenship:** forms of participation of young immigrants and young people with migrant background to the life of their communities of reference both within and outside the school context.

Within all the three areas, to conclude, the meso-level stakeholders suggest to explore less evident and less researched aspects. In particular attention should be given to daily-life micro interactions, to be read with attention to the places involved (a classroom, an educational centre as well as a courtyard, a square or a park), and to the subjective status and attitudes of children (as happiness or orientations towards formal and non-formal education, uses of free time etc.). Considering the importance of these aspects for integration, the personal experiences and subjective motivations migrants minors develop within the schools and other experiential environments should be seriously taken into account.

4.3 Results from the interviews with experts

The respondents to the interviews for the macro-level provided a general mapping of the main structural barriers and obstacles that migrants face when they arrive into a new and multicultural society. They also provided a comprehensive approach of the challenges that the national and local institutions work to solve with specific policies and practices of integration at different levels.



Structural barriers

For both countries, the most extensive discussion referred to the political leadership and the policies made to manage diversity specifically in the educational field and migration. In this respect, a specific emphasis was made to design long-term programs and campaigns that ensure continuity in the interventions implemented to tackle xenophobia, prejudices and discrimination of migrants as well as segregation in schools. Despite efforts made so far, gaps, discontinuity and heterogeneity appear in both countries.

Another key point is the lack of systematic monitoring and evaluations of integration projects and services, regarding education as other crucial dimension of social life and the need for a) strengthening the collaboration between public and private (or third) sector also at regional level and b) a more effective coordination between institutions, levels and multidisciplinary professionals intervening. In relation with this, experts claim the need for standardization of data collections in order to ease cross-regional and even cross-national comparisons. Specific to UAMs, a major concern is shared in Spain and Italy regarding the paths of integration after coming to age, as not enough data is still available and the results of current initiatives and programs are still not assessed.

Particularities of the Spanish context regarding this topic point out to the need to prioritise long-term interventions that incorporate the voices and reported needs of migrants and a strategic approach. The interviewees from the governance sphere advocate for continuous campaigns with long-term strategy based on pedagogy, promotion of interculturalism, and awareness campaigns. They remark that it is more necessary to make cross-cutting intercultural policies instead of the special integration policies that have been taken place as far. The general perspective is that the administration acts by providing leadership and the resources to the centres, leaving the specific initiatives on the hands of the centres and teachers, which are the ones in direct contact to the reality.

In addition, some of the experts point out barriers such as the administrative delays, complexities and nuisances that can be too hard to manage for the families or the feeling of impunity

regarding the institutional neglect in facing scholar absenteeism. For instance, an academic expert in legislation and social intervention states about the absenteeism:

“They make an appointment with the father to a meeting who knows where, they call you from the Prosecutor’s Office, they sit him at the meeting and they tell him “This can’t be, at any time they’ll come and take your children to a centre of whatever” but they never come and take the children to a centre. I know married girls with 13, 14 years, 15, and nothing has happened. So that feeling of impunity does not help change things”.

In the interviews in Italy, particular attention was dedicated to the impacts of the jurisdictional changes in recent migration policies on the reception of unaccompanied minors in the country. Generally, the actors’ vision of integration of migrant minors strictly refers to the guiding principles of the Italian system. These principles include UAMs, migrant children reception, and their access to guarantee their rights and services; school inclusion for all and in every period of the year; an integrated approach to social services ideally based on the collaboration between the public and the private sectors and on the active participation of minors. This set of references is not sufficient to say that an “Italian model of integration” exists, as migration still constitutes a recent phenomenon and the success in integrating migrants is at the stake now and for the next decades (interview n. 4).

Italy has developed a corpus of norms and parameters that is inspired by the centrality of minors’ protection and on a highly inclusive approach. In Italy the first indications come from the Ministry of Education, Universities and Research (MIUR) inclusive approach is represented then by the manifest published in 2007 titled *La via italiana alla scuola interculturale* (The Italian way to intercultural education)¹⁰, in which diversity is highly valorised and an universalistic idea of education is strongly reaffirmed (interview n. 1). The document contains also a meaningful choice in terminology: the term “foreign pupil” is definitively overcome by “with migrant background”. As confirmed by the representative of the Authority for Childhood and Adolescence

¹⁰ Available at: https://archivio.pubblica.istruzione.it/news/2007/allegati/pubblicazione_interculturale.pdf.



(AGIA), the access to services and the protection of minors' rights as provided by the law is still a general priority and needs to be strictly monitored at the national and local level (interview n. 3). Indeed the minimal standards integration are still far from being reached in numerous geographical contexts. It is the fragmented patchwork and non-systematic Italian mode of integration (interview 1), against which it is urgent to homogenise standards, procedures and services (interviews 1, 3, 4 and 6).

Both Italy and Spain maintain an inclusive model in accordance to the European compromises to sustainable development and education for all, the implementation of this model in each educational systems varies between the two countries. The common issues and topics pointed out by the experts were the need:

- To provide resources for early education.
- To provide intercultural training to the teachers.
- To acknowledge and tackle absenteeism, early school leaving and specific difficulties in migrant students that are translated in a lesser access to higher education.
- To incorporate an intersectional approach and specially to attend the mediating role of gender. Girls are systematically disfavoured by both educational systems.
- To organise schools to become inclusive meeting points.
- To promote parental involvement in school activities, extra-curricular activities and parental associations.
- To incorporate intercultural competence as part of syllabus or/and transversally.
- The need to reinforce the presence of cultural mediators.

Despite the fact that the barriers are similar, the policies and specific practical measures to solve them vary in each context. Particularly in Spain, the focus is put on a school environment that fosters or diminishes the integration of different cultures in the classroom. Each school is a particular ecosystem that has to arbitrate its own measures but politics must guarantee the framework from which they move on and adapt to its local reality. In this respect, an expert in the education governance states the need to adopt an integral approach working with the families and to provide specific instruments that add value to the action of schools, which are sustainable over time. Another expert indicates the deficiencies in the scholarships systems indicating that in



many cases there is an important time gap between the concession of the resources and the actual access of it that can affect the wellbeing of the children by being labelled:

“They give you the books scholarship, but since you have the math book within a month and a half, it isn’t just that in this month and a half I’m lost in maths, but I am the one who does not have the math book, so there is someone who has to sit with me and share his book with me, so I feel terrible because the other is bothered to share with me his book”.

The other controversial topic of discussion across the experts was bilingualism in schools. On the one hand, it can represent a source of understanding and a bridge that creates the opportunity to incorporate more easily the students with different linguistic background, and a mechanism to enhance the cultural and human capital of students. For instance, in the words of a representative from a regional education office:

“We play with a certain advantage for the broad development of the Bilingual Program, both in primary and secondary, and not only in English, but also in French and German, because many times this student, not always, when they come to the best of China it is more complex, but when they come from areas like Morocco, or when they come from other areas, at least they do have those notions, even if it is not their own language, and sometimes it is, in French, in German, in English, that facilitates this integration through those subjects that are also explained to our own students in foreign languages [...] which is nothing more than adapting the way in which the contents are given so that they are as affordable as possible and at the same time that the students learn the language”

On the other hand, many critics have been made to a differential dotation of resources for bilingualism. According to the critics, this system of provision segregates the students with lower socioeconomic status by a) ensuring resources to the schools allocated in neighbourhoods with higher socioeconomic status and b) fostering the success of those students with enough cultural capital to be able to profit from bilingualism. For the detractors of bilingualism it represents a political measure that breaks the function of “social equalizer” of education by providing resources to increase the cultural capital of those who already have a higher capital instead of tackle the needs of those who have less cultural capital, increasing social inequality and making



the gap even bigger in equality of opportunities between students with different socioeconomic statuses. Conflictive points of view regarding this issue have been expressed in different interviews:

“At the moment the development is approximately 50% of the primary schools and 50% of the secondary schools, even though some centres have already been for many years and other centres, since they started simply a couple of years ago [...] that the program itself is segregating [...] That, from my point of view, it is false [...] It is true that there are centres in certain areas because it is that the population itself that is in the immediate surroundings of the centre is an immigrant, or is a migrant, so that, it is no longer that the centre is bilingual or not bilingual, it is that the centre that you get by proximity [...] This is a challenge that is being polished, because there are more and more bilingual centres, and more benefits also, so that students speak different languages. But obviously, you can't reach everyone”

“So for me, bilingualism in public schools, for these children it is a condemnation, except for two or three who are able to take advantage of it. I have been explaining the pulley and the lever in English to a Romanian gypsy boy and you say: "Holy Christ" ... it even costs to understand in Spanish what a pulley is and what it is for, as for now to study it in English [...] so for me those are obstacles. When I am with people from my environment, in my environment too, but my original environment and they say to me "look, for my children, bilingualism has been the best because they are in sixth grade and I have not done anything else but taking them to school, and they speak English" so I say "for yours, yes, but we are paying a price for the others. Because your children are doing so well, others are paying the price" so, what are we willing to pay that price as a society? Let's pay it, but let's be aware that we are paying it, that we are leaving many people behind”

In this regard, the allocation of students is also a theme that emerged in one of the interviews. Reallocation of segregated students is a practice foreseen in many of the Spanish municipal policies to tackle slums and social exclusion of Roma population. This practice has been successfully implemented during the last decades leading to better educational outcomes with this population. The expert nonetheless expressed an ambivalent perception:



“[reallocation has impacted] very positively. You do not live in subhuman conditions and absolutely segregated [...] of course, inclusion policies, of this kind, are of course fundamental, a child who has nowhere to shower he cannot integrate. And then, one thing that perhaps seems very indirect but not so much, social assistance policies like the integration minimum income and such. What is happening with the minimum income in Madrid, for example, is to go to the Court, so that impacts, it cannot not to impact.

[Q.: Why? What is happening? That are being withdrawn?]

- Are withdrawn, suspended. I suspend it to you and then I was not right, it is true, I was not right, but until I give it back to you again, four or five months have passed. Then they remove it as if knowing that if you resort to it... you win it [...] There are very devilish things in that regard that are not big, it is not a legislation, they are not the great laws, on the contrary, the great laws are quite well done, and the last laws of protection of minors are good. But in the small, that is, in what are the aids, is that they ask you for some things that you say: "It is that it is impossible for me to bring you this"”.

In Italy, despite the ambitious programmatic effort in favour of integration put in place by the Ministry of Education during the last decades, migrant minors' and young people with migrant background access to school and educational achievements are still constrained by a number of structural dysfunctions. First, a scarce attendance of pre-school education services by the part of migrant children (and particularly females) is recorded. Almost a quarter of immigrant children do not attend kindergarten in Italy (interview n. 1) (see Section 2 for an outline of the main data). Second, early school leaving is particularly frequent among migrant adolescents, and it regards males in a larger extent¹¹ (see Section 2 for an outline of the main data)¹². Third, as summarized in Section 2, the lower performances in the main subjects by the part of – mostly first but also second generations – migrant students in comparison with natives shows that

¹¹ Recent findings from a research project promoted by MIUR indicate also that 13/14 years old pupils, males, with origins from countries with non-Latin languages, are particularly at risk of drop-out (interview 1).

¹² See the mentioned report of Save the Children Italy, "Nuotare contro corrente. Povertà educativa e resilienza in Italia", p. 23.



there is a persistent gap in school achievements (interview n. 1). Fourth, low rates of access to higher education characterize this population (especially in the case of females). In this brief reconstruction, the gendered dimension of the inequalities affecting migrant students clearly emerges: Females represent a great potential that is not fully valorised at the two extremes of the educational path (kindergarten and university) (interview n. 1).

Without leaving the educational domain, the issue of language instruction and language support also varies between Italy and Spain. In Spain, the educational system provides the possibility of language support separated from the mainstream classes until a maximum period of nine months from the moment of the incorporation of the newly arrived student. Experts stress the importance of training the teachers with concrete strategies prepare them to detect the specific needs of children, which do not have to be only academic skills. Italy has chosen an approach to linguistic education without preparatory classes proceeding to directly include newly arrived migrants in ordinary classes. The implementation by the part of schools of ad hoc Italian language courses (L2) aimed to facilitate migrant students requires competent and qualified professionals, which are not equally available on the national territory (interview n. 1). This causes persistent difficulties in the acquisition of linguistic skills, and especially in the written language, by the part of migrant students (interviews n. 1 and 4).

Interlocutors in Italy suggest considering the results reached by Italian schools in terms of curricula such as only partially positive. Intercultural education is not fully implemented and is not often recognized in its potential (interview n. 1). Also with this regard, there are very different situations across the national territory and even among schools within the same context. Discrepancies are due not only to the non-homogeneous professional and financial resources of schools, partially due to the autonomous organizational status of schools in Italy (see Section 2), but also to a certain cultural resistance to fully embracing intercultural education as factual teaching method (interview n.1 and 4). In this sense, if many high-quality intercultural projects are scattered across the national territory, there is still a corpus of schools whose initiatives, although rhetorically referring to intercultural education, are reduced actually to multi-cultural education (e.g. activities in which ethnic, cultural or religious diversity is taken as an object of teaching in order to promote positive attitudes among students) (interviews n. 1 and 4).

Intercultural education therefore should be pushed forward, with a more factual approach and with a more explicit endorsement of multilingualism (interviews 1 and 4). The teaching of migrants' first languages at school, such as Arabic, should be seen as a great opportunity for all Italian students (interviews 1 and 4). Considering also that migrant minors' integration in Italy largely regards second and third generations, which constitute the majority of migrant students, as well as returning foreign-born students and native students with mixed heritage, measures in favour of integration should not avoid to handle with issues related to those *hybrid and mixed identities* and biographies that these groups necessarily bring into the educational sphere. This includes obviously facing the node of the feelings of belonging to a transnational, national or local identity for second generation minors, who are not legally provided with Italian citizenship (interview n. 1). Some actors also identify in the developing of approaches more adherent to intercultural and multi-lingual education a key strategy against possible cultural and religious tensions or clashes (interview n. 1). Dialogue and deep exchange certainly contribute to prevent/contrast through culture the social hostility towards migrants (first and second generations) that is perceived as increasing in recent years (interviews 3 and 7).

It is interesting to note that, according to some of the actors interviewed for the macro and the meso level, the efforts in teachers training foreseen by recent school policies (see Section 2) are obtaining good results. However, a greater determination should be spent in training schools heads and other school professionals, often left aside from the majority of the courses (interview n. 1 and 4). Furthermore, convincing intercultural initiatives are emerging across the national territory, as for the case of projects based on the recognition of multilingualism as a resource for all the pupils in public education (interview n. 1).

A particular focus is made, during the interviews, on the limits of educational paths of UAMs (interviews 4, 7 and 8), in the absence of systematic data about their inclusion in the school system (interview 1 and 2):

- Alphabetization, and in particular the learning of the written Italian language (interview 4), is largely recognized as a priority still needing efforts (see Section 2 for a reconstruction of the Italian policies on the learning of Italian language for foreign students).



- Although the access to school and, more frequently, to adults professional education centres (CPIA) is guaranteed by law, relevant gaps affect the implementation of this right. Furthermore, problems derive from the absence of an adequate presence of mediators in public schools (interview 1, 7 and 8) and from the frequent delays in the access to courses (interviews interview 7). The latter aspect is able to seriously compromise integration given the fact that the majority of UAMs in Italy is aged 16/17 and has, therefore, strict time constraints to complete education.
- Another factor requiring specific attention is the lack of motivation towards the attendance of courses and formal education by the part of UAMs, whose migration to Italy is strongly characterized by the need to work. The understanding by the part of migrant minors of the value and the utility of studying needs to be solicited with ad hoc actions (interview n. 9).
- It must be carefully considered also that experts and operators attest a certain increase in UAMs presenting psychological diseases, also as a consequence of deprivation, abuses or violence in the countries of origin or transit. This trend (see Section 2 for a reconstruction of data on UAMs different profiles and vulnerabilities in Italy) should be accurately taken into account within policies for integration as it might require the activation of integrated social and health care measures in the receiving country. In this regard, the recent integrated approach developed in the municipality of Milan emerges as a potential good practice to be monitored (interview n. 5).

The specific case of UAMs' reception and integration, which sees a lack of homogeneity and standardization across the national territory (see Section 2 for an outline on the Italian recent political measures regarding this point), also requires to improve the collaboration between all the actors involved (public and juridical authorities, social workers, school professionals, educators, legal guardians, etc.) at the different levels of governance (national, regional, local). It is also important to sensitize authorities (e.g. AGIAs in the different regions) to advance the training of key actors, as social workers (interviews n. 5 and n.7) and foremost the volunteer legal guardians introduced by the Law.47/2017 (see Section 2). This would allow empowering the latter figure to recognize and to address minors' needs, aspirations and vulnerabilities, which is crucial for integration (interviews n. 3, 8 and 9).



The experts interviewed also addressed the topic of negative attitudes, social rejection, discrimination and xenophobic attitudes. They emphasized how stereotypes and discrimination disproportionately affect some categories, in particular girls and unaccompanied minors. In the latter case, they face many complications in their working entities, the pressure of the media reporting mostly bad experiences and generating social alarm or the negative of subsidiary entities that cease the contractual relation with institutions in order to avoid social pressure

“Therefore, in the case of minors, they are exposed to the stereotypes and discrimination of gender inequality plus the types of specific violence, discrimination / specific inequality because they are women, who have been able to live in their migratory process. And that is also necessary for us to take into account when it comes to socio-educational intervention with minors and minors, of course”.

“There is, on the one hand, in this the vision that there is, that it is a very negative vision of the collective [UAMs], that I believe that there we also make efforts to normalize, because it is true that we have many boys who, hey, with their difficulties, but that they are doing well and that they are leaving [...] There is a bit of criminalization and what comes out in the press and such”.

Another theme expressed in some of the interviews was the stereotypes in the teaching body and in schools. In general, the teachers are reflected in the narratives as crucial links and referents in the lives of many of the students with the host society, as professionals overloaded with work and as professionals with high rates of temporary contracts. These impressions are mixed with few narratives of bad experiences with teachers that maintain lower expectations towards the migrant students and low motivation to carry on with initiatives that foster their inclusion. The general For instance, an expert states about the social climate in schools:

“It depends a lot, I believe, on the school in which you are, that is, the greater the number of immigrants in your school it is the less the social barrier I believe right? Because we are used to it, because you are from here, I am from there”.

The last big topic among the barriers perceived in a multicultural society referred to the need of positive referents for the children and even if it appeared in both countries the qualities that the



interlocutors remarked were different. On one hand, in the Italian interviews commented the need to increase the incorporation of cultural mediators in the system remarking the role of these professionals in the formal system. On the other hand, the Spanish experts, beyond of the key role of professional cultural mediators, make an emphasis on informal referents highlighting the role of people in the closest environments of the children. This referents are featured as people that understand and are familiar with the cultural or linguistic background of the children and also with the ones of the host culture, people with whom the children can build significant bonds, that can assume a helping/assisting role and who have the competences to introduce the child into the host society, serving as a positive mode and easing a successful integration. An example of these reflections is the following:

"I believe that the key is a good resource policy, and go around the issue of referents, and how to include, that is, if you realize that a child is a reference to his football coach for example, which can be very easily, right? How do you incorporate that type into school performance, school integration? [...] And open, open the way, because they also serve as a bridge with the family. The family itself may not approach, but if he has a bridge to help it, maybe it does, and if they do not exist yet, then it is more difficult, it is to know how we assemble this so that above all those who are more off the hook may have a reference".

Challenges in the processes

The interviewees in both countries reflect blunt differences among genders. In all groups of interviews, the girls are reported to have a greater engagement and lesser attainment than the boys, and to face bigger obstacles to continue their educational paths. In addition, this discrimination intersects with the one related to the experience of being a migrant, to different contextualization that migration process usually have for boys and girls and to the different types and intensity of specific violence that each gender can suffer. For instance, as an expert in social intervention in Spain states:

"Well, here, I believe that the issue of intersectionality comes together, that is, that there is no single experience of being a migrant, but that there are multiple experiences depending on the factors that join my profile and who I am. As I said before, it is not the same to be a



minor, but also to be a foreigner, but also to have few resources, but also not to be accompanied, and to have socio-educational needs, it is not the same when factors are joining this experience of being a migrant who increases the way in which discrimination and inequality hit me. This is the same, in my opinion, with the issue of girls, of migrant minors, and that, to their experience of being a migrant, their experience of being a woman, of being a girl, is joined. And there they are going to beat him, in addition to the discriminations for being a migrant, because the discrimination that every girl can live because of being a woman, stereotypes and others associated with women are associated, with which there can be double discrimination”.

Additionally, the experts remarked how the different natural development depending on gender affects not only the way in which children and adolescents approach the multicultural environment but also how the multicultural host society approaches them. Girls are reported to mature early, take more responsibilities at home and to be spotted at the focus of negative stereotypes and social pressures at a younger age. Italian interviewees identified specific vulnerabilities for females in the host context, which are very clearly illustrated with the following statement of an interviewee in Spain:

"The obstacles of the girls are: Family tasks, help, this. Well, Romanian gypsies specifically marriage. But the others, those who are not Romanian gypsies or those who do not consider marriage for now, lend a hand in the little brothers, all that. [they say] "I'm going to turn 14 and they will tell me to get married, so I'm going to have to make such a big effort to oppose that, now that I'm already 11 my mind is spinning around that, because I don't know if when I turn 14 I'm going to stand firm, I'm not going to stand firm... If I'm not going to stand firm, why am I going to study with 11? There has been one that has stood firm and said "I'm going to continue studying" and she has stand up in a police station and said: "they want to marry me" and the protection system has taken her over, but that it has been very traumatic and it has not ended well, that is, two years later she has married. Because breaking with that is..."

Cultural clashes and conflicts are mentioned as challenging. In the interviews in Spain, this theme was more broadly discussed indicating the differential approaches to the host culture that

children and adolescents maintain depending on their culture of origin. The experts also commented the development of specific programs and projects to work with migrants adapting the methodologies to the particular needs of each population. For instance:

“For me the most structured are the Moroccans, within their structure. But Latin Americans, well look, those I have met face issues it has cost them more even than to Romanian gypsies. Well, in the school environment, for example, not school attendance, but performance and integration ... and that they don't have the language problem”.

One expert also pointed out to the coexistence challenges in centres for UAMs, due to the high rates of occupation of these centres and the many different cultural background of the migrants living there. For example

“The centres have many cultural shocks, which educators themselves are surprised, because they have there ... that is, as each one with their culture and such sometimes is not so much the integration at best with the Spanish, but the coexistence between them”.

The last pointed challenge in Spain but not in Italy was the relationship among family, school and neighbourhood. According to the experts, to ease the integration of different cultures in the schools is key to increase the integration of the families in the neighbourhood.

5 Conclusions

When migrant children and adolescent met to a multicultural environment, they face different obstacles to naturally relate with the host society: in their social interaction, they do not start from same point than natives, the need to sort structural barriers to be an entitled part of the social network and in addition, the process of interaction is not as harmonic due to specific challenges related to be a migrant. The results of the activities carried out show the integration outcomes in interculturalism and multilingualism of migrant children and adolescents in two different multicultural contexts, Spain and Italy:



COUNTRY	SPAIN			ITALY		
ECOLOGICAL LEVEL	MICRO	MESO	MACRO	MICRO	MESO	MACRO
BARRIERS						
Negative attitudes, prejudice, discrimination and violence	X	X	X	X	X	X
Access to rights administration						
Monitoring and evaluations of the processes		X	X	X	X	X
Political leadership		X	X		X	X
School organization & TEACHERS		X	X		X	X
Allocation			X		X	X
Foreign languages at school (bilingualism)			X			X
School segregation			X			
Language support	X	X	X	X	X	X
CHALLENGES						
Gender	X	X	X		X	X
Host language learning	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cultural dissonance	X	X	X	X		
Legal status	X	X	X	X	X	X
Religion	X	X	X	X	X	X
Migrants participation collect their voice and their perspectives	X	X	X	X	X	X
Institutional collaboration coordination and flexibility		X	X		X	X
Family SES	X	X	X		X	X
Absenteeism/repetition		X	X			X
FACILITATORS						
Social bridges	X	X	X		X	X
Conflict resolution	X	X	X		X	
Time spent in the country	X	X			X	
Social networks	X		X			X
Contact/diversity	X	X	X		X	X
Expectations management their own and those placed on them	X	X	X		X	
Social support	X	X	X		X	X
Referents and models	X	X	X			



Motivated teacher body: training, autonomy to propose projects, interculturalism	X	X	X		X	
Safe meeting spaces	X	X	X		X	
Multicultural/intercultural approach	X	X	X		X	X
Psychosocial attention		X	X			X
Awareness		X	X		X	X
Intersectional approach		X	X			X
Parental involvement		X	X	X	X	X

As previously described, integration is a response to diversity and individual or collective process of exchange within the different macro, meso and micro systems of the ecological environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). This bi-directional process involves different dimensions of the person (Esser, 2001) and is not always progressively linear, it is dynamic and different levels of integration (systemic, social and identity integration) can be reached (Lacroix, 2013).

Within this framework a compared analysis between Italy and Spain provides a differential integration path among the actors interviewed. With clarification purposes, this analysis explain these contextual differences and outcomes along the life course of the children to end broadening the scope by include the perceptions from professionals and institutional workers.

The presence of stereotypes, negative attitudes, prejudice, discrimination and even violence towards migrants has resulted to be crucial in the two contexts. At the stage of 6 to 12 years old the children's cognitive development allows them to appreciate the differences and diversity of people. Along to the process of socialization, children start to elaborate what means being different for themselves and to the others, which will constitute the basis upon which they begin to build their own social and cultural identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1985). As a result, they start to make decisions about where they position their selves towards diversity and they do it basing on their previous experiences, their referents (parents, teachers) and their intercultural values and skills. This process continues becoming more and more complex as the children grow and are more capable to interpret and elaborate more complex (social) realities.

The identification of prejudice, discrimination and violence towards migrants by all groups in the workshops and at all ecological levels serves as a clear reflect on the host societies attitudes



toward migrant children and adolescents. This way, even if these processes are observed in both countries, the way to approach them and solve the cultural conflict is what determines the integration outcomes in children and adolescents. In this regard, different paths appear between Italy and Spain:

- In the Italian workshops, the perception of being discriminated and fear to be victim of violence of different kinds and levels (i.e. being marginalised, insulted, bullied...) appears in large extent, even if, especially for the youngest children's school in Italy is considered in general a safe and positive space. The children from 9 to 11 expressed the importance of recognizing who you can trust, their fear to be isolated, cyberbullied and marginalised and their need to turn to their teachers to protect themselves from other students possible aggressions. In the next range of ages between 12 and 15 they expressed their difficulties to establish meaningful relationships that could serve as bridges with native children and their turning into intra-ethnic networks to get the support that they cannot get from their native peers. Finally the UAMs express too that they keep getting social support from networks with similar cultural and linguistic background. Both adolescents between 12 and 15 and UAMs from 16 to 18 consider important to learn how to overcome suspicion between migrant and Italians and to build thicker relationship
- In Spain the perception of being different seems very linked to the different linguistic background, in fact in the children from 6 to 9 years old is only mentioned quality in which they feel they are perceived different by their mainstream classmates but not due to their cultural origin. Children in these ages perceive school a space where they feel joyful and establish bonds with classmates and teachers. This support from teachers appears also in the group of children between 9-11 years old. By this time they already notice discrimination towards them but they refer to can count on their familiars, peers and teachers if anything goes wrong. They start to develop intercultural skills as the first cultural clashes start to appear between their families and the host society culture. For the adolescents between 12-15 years old there is a bigger independence from the adults in their support networks which makes them feel each time more responsible for their own integration, and thus they feel the need to cope personally with the cultural conflicts. Finally the late adolescents express their appreciation and valorisation of the

host culture they see opportunities for them within it. They declare themselves as individuals with their own values that navigate different cultural environments being able to adapt and understand different cultures without renounce to the features of their own cultural heritage.

Considering the previous differential paths two major facilitators can be distinguished in fostering intercultural integration in Spain that were not present in Italy:

- The presence of supporting close bridges with natives that integrate the children in the host society.
- The creation of intercultural educational environments that foster and train intercultural skills of the children and adolescents:
 - Providing language support
 - Providing training to the teachers
 - Developing intercultural inclusive culture in the school directions
 - Clear leadership creating policies that foster antidiscrimination and inclusive societies.

This way some outcomes of inclusive interculturalism have been identified in both samples in the workshops. This way, reported intercultural strategies have been:

- Positive outcome
 - Training and being prepared to face a multicultural environment.
 - Stablish social bridges with native peers and supporting bonds with the family, teachers and peers.
 - Inclusive social climate.
 - Intercultural identity in which they adopt the cultural features of the host society according to their personal values without renounce to their cultural heritage.
 - Feeling of belonging in the host society.
 - Positive expectations towards the future and the school.
 - Skills to manage realistically their own expectation and the expectations others place on them

- Skills to manage and resolve conflicts (i.e. intercultural dialogue, avoiding risk...)
- Negative outcome
 - Isolating in intra-ethnic or same linguistic background communities
 - Feeling of not to belong into the host society
 - Negative attitudes, caution and distrust towards native people and institutions

The meso and macro participants provided insights about the need to systematise the fragmented tools and devices tested so far at different level and in the different territories in order to strengthen the definition of a proper and uniform model, without making standardization prevail on flexibility and adherence to local needs, a connection and alignment of all institutions involved in reception and integration seems strongly necessary.

As far as the support that scientific research can provide to this political and institutional effort, our research results lead to consider some indicators particularly able to disclose dynamics not sufficiently covered by the data available at present time.

The latter context is emerged as particularly relevant in our study. Some issues related to everyday life in urban contexts and, in particular, in disadvantaged areas as peripheries, where migrant population is often concentrated, needs to be properly explored (e.g. the presence, availability and access to services, playgrounds and recreational areas, sports associations, ethnic and religious communities and places, etc.). Determinants related to the relationships families and/or minors held with autochthonous residents in the neighbourhood should also investigated. As for the school-life dimension, also in this contexts the impact of possible negative attitudes and discrimination towards migrant can be identified.

Finally, the results indicate that some determined factors must be pursued at the interaction between the local, regional and national levels, as for the aspects concerning the real access to the rights and services of young immigrants and their families (e.g. social assistance, legal support, housing, school grants or financial subsidies for textbooks etc.).



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