

Children and Youth in Varied Socio-Cultural Contexts Theory, Research, Praxis

Edited by
Urszula Markowska-Manista



WYDAWNICTWO AKADEMII PEDAGOGIKI SPECJALNEJ

Children and Youth in Varied
Socio-Cultural Contexts
Theory, Research, Praxis

Introduction to the series:

DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Children and adolescents are developing and socially-adapting to the conditions of our rapidly transforming world with broad implications for the future of global society. Since 2006, this issue has been the primary focus of the researchers and academics participating in the International Summer School program held by the UNESCO Janusz Korczak Chair in Interdisciplinary Studies on Child Development and Wellbeing at The Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw.

By launching a series of academic books, our aim was to create space for interdisciplinary, research and theoretical-practical dialogue addressing important issues in the contemporary world. The present series “Development and Social Adaptation of Children and Youth” is a collection of interdisciplinary academic publications. They are intended to present the latest research, theories and praxis revolving around development and the problem of social adaptation among children and youth functioning in various cultural contexts. Particular focus is given to migrants and refugees.

The interconnection between academically diverse approaches to the issues addressed, as well as attempts to present their practical implications, aim towards opening new areas of research to the reader and provide new knowledge. They are also intended to serve as an inspiration to improve praxis overall.

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The publication is an outcome of the Summer School organized by the UNESCO
Janusz Korczak Chair under the patronage of the Polish National Commission for UNESCO



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The cover photograph shows a child on the underground in Amsterdam.
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PREFACE

In the present volume we continue to explore the subject of children living and functioning in multicultural societies through the prism of research and investigation, both theoretical and practical. The following selection of literature focuses on current problems related to the influx of minorities, refugees and migrants to the Global North as well as other regions. The research presented is not confined to European Union countries, but also examines the issue in the Caucasus, the Arabian Peninsula, Africa and Central Asia. Problems related to the socio-psychological and pedagogical functioning of children, youth and adults in contemporary multicultural societies (affected by recent changes in the migration process) are of particular importance to researchers, academics, education policy makers, teachers and practitioners. They are also of interest to specialists in the area of diagnostic processes and the adaptation of culturally different children in school-settings in their host societies.

The consequences of migration, refugeeism and the processes of global transformation are of equal importance in the dimension of empirical and theoretical analyses. These are processes related to multicultural education as well as communication at school and in environments that support children, youth and adults. With regard to the topicality of problems faced by people in multicultural societies, we analyse them through the prism of interdisciplinary exchange of research and practical experiences.

The problems addressed in this monograph refer to children and adolescents as well as adults who require support due to their difficult circumstances. These circumstances include a wide range of contexts in which they function, their varied social or developmental situations and finally, their socio-psychological entanglement in ethnic, national, cultural and diverse social environments of the adult world.

The articles presented to the readers in this publication are an outcome of the 11th UNESCO International Summer School held in Warsaw, Poland in 2017. Since 2008, these summer sessions have been held annually by the UNESCO Janusz Korczak Chair in Interdisciplinary Studies on Child Development and Well-being at the Maria Grzegorzewska University. The academic profile of the Summer School as well as the research interests of its participants have allowed us to examine the question of children and adolescents and their environments from a psychological, sociological and pedagogical perspective.

This monograph is a collection of academic articles written by the lecturers and participants, covering both the theoretical and empirical aspects of the subjects discussed within School activities. I hope that this monograph will be of use for both practitioners and theorists in the areas explored and constitute a valuable source of knowledge and inspiration for further cross-disciplinary research in the field.

The editor
Warsaw – Potsdam, March 2018

URSZULA MARKOWSKA-MANISTA

INTRODUCTION

**At the crossroads of countries,
cultures and disciplines**

The monograph *Children and youth in varied socio-cultural contexts. Theory, research, praxis* is the collective outcome of the 11th International Summer School *International experiences in the area of refugee and migrant children's adaptation – theory, research, praxis*, held in September 2017 at the Maria Grzegorzewska University. These annual sessions enable its participants to share a rich body of international experience connected to academic research as well as theoretical and practical aspects of contemporary socio-cultural, economic and psychosocial problems faced by children, adolescents and the environments in which they live and function.

Since 2015, we have been publishing annual compilations of the research produced by the summer program's participants – both applicants and experts (lecturers). The authors of the 2018 edition are primarily pedagogues, psychologists and sociologists who have contributed both theoretical and empirical texts. They come from a range of countries both from within the EU and outside: Albania, Turkey, Greece, the Russian Federation, Belgium, Poland, Romania, Ukraine and Italy. The writers represent universities and academic institutions conducting academic and research activities oriented towards the contemporary problems of children, adolescents and adults in multicultural societies. They deal with the psychological, sociological and educational aspects of development as well as problems specific to children and adolescents functioning in the era of mass migration.

This volume is the third within the series “Development and Social Adaptation of Children and Youth” launched by the UNESCO Janusz Korczak Chair,¹ available as printed publications and online open access books.

The articles centre around three key issues:

- theoretical premises and challenges for scholars and practitioners in the face of the modern globalisation process, particularly in the area of the psychosocial adaptation of children and adolescents – refugees, migrants and minorities, local communities (rural and urban) that point to transformation in the attitude of both youth and adults,
- research related to the situation and psychosocial needs of children, adolescents and their families in multicultural societies, as well as difficulties experienced in adapting and integrating into their countries of residence be they host countries or transit countries,
- practices of providing support to migrant and refugee children and youth, children and youth belonging to cultural minorities as well as their families.

An interdisciplinary perspective on the processes of psychosocial adaptation, integration and education of migrant and refugee children and youth, both in EU and non-EU countries, will allow a better understanding of the complexity of the problem and facilitate the design of comprehensive prointegration solutions. It will also promote a change in (media and didactic) language hopefully resulting in a more culturally sensitive tone that accommodates every person’s right to respect and dignity. It is important inasmuch as the migration crisis inscribed in the complexity of global transformation is also understood as a crisis in psychological, pedagogical and didactic work oriented to both the majority (socially and culturally diverse host societies) and those arriving – migrants and refugees. The current perspective on the crisis results first of all from the unused potential and resources of intercultural educators and psychologists. It also stems from the observation of socially harmful integration practices, imprinted in the rituals of school communities or institutions dealing with social integration. Last but not least, it develops from recognising the fragmentarity or absence of intercultural training and support, including psychological support available to children, youth and adults. The availability of such support and

¹ The series was launched on the initiative of the UNESCO Chair team: prof. Adam Frączek and dr Urszula Markowska-Manista in 2016.

training is necessary to facilitate all manner of communication in our increasingly diversified European and non-European societies.

The gravity of the problem, its nature and the temperature of social pseudo-discourse (in micro, macro and global scale) serve as important premises for addressing this subject in interdisciplinary, international teams which bring together academics, researchers and practitioners whose activities focus around the issues of integration, adaptation, cooperation, migration and refugeeism. In the era of a migration crisis which is widely understood as a crisis of values and attitudes, the catalyst for the creation of an ideologically neutral and methodologically correct space for international research and debate as well as praxis based on knowledge (including academic knowledge) is both intellectual and utilitarian.

Introduction to the structure and chapters of the book

The book consists of twelve chapters and is divided into three parts. The first part consists of texts referring to theoretical analyses of the problem addressed. The second part is comprised of texts based on research conducted in culturally diverse environments, while the third part presents practices in the area of adaptation, integration and education in the era of migration.

In her contribution *Migrant children – ‘added value’ in globalised societies and advanced economies of the 21st century*, Anna Odrowąż-Coates provides a comprehensive review of global migrant movements with a focus on children as a population strongly affected by migration. The author follows a child’s rights-based approach to discuss the benefits afforded to host societies by accepting child migrants. The author promotes the view that migrant children are an “added value”, a concept that is presently underestimated, and calls for a shift in attitudes among Western societies. The text is a unique manifesto advocating respect and appreciation for the potential of migrant children.

In her article *Elephants in the room? Syrian “refugee” children and the risk of statelessness in Turkey*, Yeşim Mutlu addresses the subject of children born in Turkey to Syrian refugee parents and the broad-ranging implications surrounding the issue of their citizenship. The author reviews domestic (Turkish, Syrian) and international legislation concerning citizenship rights and discusses

the concept of “the best interest of the child”, setting each against the reality faced by Syrian refugees and their Turkish-born children. A range of factors that generate the risk of statelessness are discussed, and the consequences, such as lack of access to resources, are also addressed.

Oksana Koshulko’s contribution *The current position and recent experience of the children of labour migrants, internally and externally displaced persons, refugees and asylum seekers in Ukraine* investigates the subject of migration among Ukrainians. The author discusses current trends in migration, focusing on its detrimental consequences to family structure and the well-being of children in particular. The text also addresses the situation of internally displaced people affected by the conflict and war with Russia in Eastern Ukraine. The author highlights the shortage of data on this particular migrant population and provides a review of domestic and international aid programs implemented for both children and adults.

In her paper *Exploring how children perceive their work. Case study in Salaj County, Romania*, Smaranda Cioban engages the reader in an analysis of the phenomenon of working children, with a particular focus on the children’s attitude to work. The author provides insight into the process of designing research based on a child’s rights approach that gives voice to children and respects them as experts in matters that concern them. The study conducted among children and youth in rural and urban spaces in the era of globalisation, allowed the researcher to explore various attitudes to children’s work, and analyse this phenomenon both from the perspective of children themselves, and theoreticians representing varied approaches, e.g. emancipation scholars.

Magdalini Alexandropoulou’s contribution *Key issues in age assessment procedures of unaccompanied migrant children in Greece and Germany – Assessing age or children’s needs?* investigates the main challenges and deficiencies in current procedures related to age assessment of unaccompanied migrant children. The analysis focuses on research within the context of Greece and Germany, offering a discussion of whether the procedures applied are actually in line with a child-centred approach. The author proposes a thesis that the predominant age assessment practice is based in Eurocentric attitudes and policies related to the concept of childhood. She goes on to imply that such an approach may be the cause of decisions made by many migrant children to bypass regular migration procedures in favour of less desirable alternatives.

Sara Amadasi's article *Children playing with narratives. The relevance of interaction and positioning in the study of children's transnational journeys* presents the results of a study conducted by the author in three Italian schools among students with migrant backgrounds. The author explores how children deal with their migration experiences through observation of the narratives they create and how they interact and position themselves both towards adults and peers. This observation leads to further discussion on such concepts as culture, identity and belonging.

Monika Dominiak-Kochanek's article *Is parenting universal or country-specific? Evidence from Poland and the USA* explores various approaches to parenting in an attempt to answer the question of whether there are indeed universal parenting practices and whether they might serve as recommended practices for parents across cultures and countries. The analysis was based on the author's study of parenting approaches in both Poland and the USA. The article also discusses implications of the results for immigrant families and the potential for changes in parenting approaches particularly in the process of acculturation.

In her article *Socialisation processes in mono- vs multi-cultural environments and attitudes towards Otherness. An international comparison study in Poland and Israel*, Dominika Zakrzewska-Oleńska explores how approaches to other ethnic and national groups are shaped in young people depending on different socialisation processes. Using the results of her study conducted among young adults from Poland and Israel, the author discusses the differences in the level of perceived distance towards *Others* in a monocultural vs multicultural society. She goes on to highlight contact theory and the theory of intercultural opening as potentially effective in building openness to those who are culturally and ethnically different.

Mirela Tase's contribution, *Social integration of emigrants in their society. Recommendations for practice in Albania*, discusses migration movements in Albanian society, focusing on the process of return migration. The author provides a review of the initial causes of migration, main destination countries as well as factors influencing migrants to return to their country of origin. The text offers a discussion of both the challenges related to the reintegration of migrant returnees, and the potential use of the experience and knowledge gained during migration in the development of Albanian society.

In their article *Educational strategies for migrant children*, Chulpan Gro-mova and Rezeda Khairutdinova present the results of research conducted among Russian teachers related to teaching strategies they apply in educating migrant students. The authors point to the challenges connected with teaching this population group and investigate whether the strategies employed by Russian teachers are adequate, much less sufficient, for the education of migrants.

In her contribution *Psychological support as a determinant of Ukrainian immigrant families' adaptation. Theoretical and practical perspective*, Lidia Zabłocka-Żytka investigates the challenges faced by immigrant families in host societies. Based on her clinical experience with Ukrainian migrants in Poland as well as literature review, the author analyses difficulties in various aspects of the lives of migrants such as identity, parenting and mental disorders. The paper concludes with a review of the available forms of psychological support and a discussion as to whether they are actually utilised by Ukrainian immigrants.

Griet M.A. Deknopper's contribution *Art therapy in education focused on children with traumatic experiences* investigates the role of art therapy in the treatment of children who suffer from traumatic stress. The article provides a discussion on the sources, typology and impact of trauma on children and adolescents, including the consequences for school performance. An explanation follows of how art therapy is applied for the purpose of providing psychosocial care on a daily basis in school environments, along with a series of examples from various countries around the globe.

PART I

THEORY

ANNA ODROWĄŻ-COATES*

*Migrant children – ‘added value’
in globalised societies and advanced
economies of the 21st century*

A social justice manifesto for UNESCO Summer School 2017

ABSTRACT : The paper emerges from a children’s rights perspective in order to construct a map of visible advantages, hidden potentials and other positive aspects of welcoming migrant children into societal structure and into globalised economies. It is a theoretical contribution from the field of social sciences, based solely on secondary research data, also known as desk research analysis. The following discussion should be treated as a form of social science manifesto, since it discloses a clear humanitarian agenda, focused on convincing the reader that migrant children constitute a special group of migrants not only from the perspective of children’s rights, but moreover due to their beneficial effects on societies and economies. These benefits may not be obvious at first glance, but will become clearer when singled out, explained and highlighted.

KEY WORDS : children’s rights, migration, policy, social justice

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Introduction

On the wave of the on-going public debate about increased migration of people from the Middle East and Africa, often branded with a negative connotation in mass media discourse, dangerous generalisations bring to light the weakness of European human rights and particularly children's rights policy. Negligent of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, that they are signatories of, multiple governments turn a blind eye to the suffering of child migrants, through the reinforcing of the ideological segregation of children, divided into two separate categories: 'our children' and 'migrant children'. These short-sighted policy outcomes are a defensive reaction to the sudden increase in refugee¹ numbers due to the militarised conflict in Syria, increased difficulties in Africa and Asia and the emergence of ISIS. This paper is not designed to propose a magic formula on how to undo the unjust world order one may observe today, but it may be treated as a goal and a conscience hub to drive positive changes both for the children in question and for European societies of the future. Although ideologies may deny space for activism, stability or social change, simultaneously the idealistic, utopian concepts (which are also ideologically loaded) contribute to the instigation of social/human forces, in Helena Radlinska's understanding (c.f. Olubiński, 2001: 163), in order to make the world a better place. The concepts of human rights spelled out in the Universal Declaration (1948) clearly state in Article 1 that all humans are equal in rights, which somewhat stands in contrast with Article 18. This provision guarantees religious freedom for religions that contradict basic human rights or devalue one person over another based on religious authority, religious orientation or gender (c.f. Odrowąż-Coates, 2013). Does this mean that the human rights concept is a utopian one? MacIntyre (1981: 67) places human rights within beliefs and superstitions, like beliefs in fantasy creatures or magic that is in reality, impossible. Conversely, in line with Radlinska's concept, one of the classical human rights thinkers Richard P. Claude (1976: 6–50) argued that interpreting legal processes and bureaucratic mechanisms is insufficient in understanding and mapping human rights developments, urging scientists to focus their

¹ Due to negative media discourse promoting slogans like: 'refugee crisis', 'danger of being flooded by refugees', 'refugees at the borders', 'refugees burn lorries', the word refugee, signifying person in need of help and shelter, escaping certain death or prosecution in their home country, became negatively tainted with fear and prejudice.

analysis on the social forces that drive human rights forwards. Claude’s historically justified thesis was based on 4 convictions:

- the state becomes stronger through the promotion of greater equality of its people,
- the engagement of less affluent citizens in politics aids better implementation of social and economic rights
- competition for public support amongst political elites leads to an increase in public participation and to a guarantee of civic equality rights of citizens
- the engagement in individual profitable activity increases the likelihood of legal assurance for freedom of expression.

Bearing Radlinska’s and Claude’s concepts in mind, the humanitarian agenda presented in this paper endeavours to captivate a wide range of readers, within and outside of academia, to challenge negative perceptions and to enrich the image of migrant children in European societies. The content of the paper should be treated as a manifesto for the social inclusion of migrant children. Therefore, it will be argued that in Western-centric globalised societies, migrant children bring added value to social development and economic growth.

At the edge of children’s rights trajectory

In humanist reflection, the attitude towards the most vulnerable in societies of the world may be a comparative tool to measure societal development. The implementation of children’s rights and the way they are viewed by society (as inferior or equal human beings) may contribute to this evaluation. Children’s rights movements have a long tradition that can be traced back to mid-nineteenth century France, with Jean Valles, trying to save Parisian children from poverty (Freeman, 1992: 29–30) and to pre-war Poland, where Janusz Korczak exercised children’s rights in pedagogical practice and the medical care of orphans (Smolińska-Theiss, 2013). According to Michael Freeman (1992: 3), in the nineteen seventies, Shulamith Firestone urged feminists to include factors to deal with the oppression of children in any feminist manifesto and not to replicate the same negligence displayed by men, who obstructed the women’s cause. Collin Wringe (Freeman, 1992: 192) wrote that the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights opened an avenue to enable the defeat of the old-fashioned ideologies of feudal class and give

the rising middle-classes more space to bring in more accepting, egalitarian and liberal concepts, including personal freedom, welfare rights for the poor and the general right to education. Wringe argues that the right to education should grant people access to open global education and not incubate them in limiting ‘emic’ school indoctrination. Therefore, ‘emic’, may be understood as culturally loaded in meaning, in opposition to ‘etic’, which would be viewed as culturally neutral and therefore free of bias. This distinction seems to be culturally loaded itself as it calls for a Western-centric liberal model, based on a freedom of choice principle. The ideal of an ‘etic’ educational model might be considered helpful in the era of globalisation, but seems far from the reality of child migration. The picture of children in the epoch of migration is diversified, not solely by the country of origin and the host nation, but by multiple other factors. For instance, not only migrant children are subject to the effects of migration. This issue pertains both to migrant and non-migrant children, who are brought up in communities which host vast numbers of immigrant children. Notably, children of host nations are subject to certain socialisation patterns that transmit attitudes and positive or negative bias towards migrant children. Migrant children differ in an intersectional sense, as well as through their personal migration situation. They may be left in their country of origin whilst their caregivers migrate, they can be taken with migrating carers or they can migrate independently of their adult caregivers. Child migrants that travel alone have always been amongst the most vulnerable. The migration of British children overseas to Canada, Australia and New Zealand during 1920-1960, indicated that unaccompanied minors, despite their country of origin, may face discrimination, mistreatment and other adverse conditions (Brown, 2010, Child migration history). The issues of discrimination, marginalisation and limitations to the access to education continue to pose a significant danger (Munoz, 2010: 1).

To prevent mistreatment amongst children affected by migration, the most widely ratified convention was set in place, signed by 194 countries around the world, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989). Articles 2,3,6 and 12 are of the most relevance (the right to non-discrimination, the best interests of the child, the right to life, survival and development, and to participation) and should be implemented regardless of whether the child is of migrant or non-migrant status. However, the concepts of ‘best interest of the child’ and children’s autonomy may be viewed as tainted with the Western bias. Therefore, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child was created, stressing

the values of African civilisation and urging consideration of the rights and welfare of a child, rather than imposing Eurocentric standards. This creates a certain loophole, where through respect for diversity, different children’s rights norms are expected to be enforced in Europe and overseas. Does it leave a grey area allowing for inferior provisions for children previously subject to the African Charter when entering European soil? A number of legal documents can be treated as tools for the greater protection of migrant children: The Refugee Convention and the two Protocols of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime: to “Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children” and “The Protocol Against Smuggling of Migrants by Land Sea and Air”. In 1974, the UN General Assembly established the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict. Earlier documents such as 1924 Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, states in Art. 25(2) that motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. Furthermore, the 1959 UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child should also be noted as one of the cornerstones of current rights development. In support of migrant children’s rights, amongst them the right to education, one can also refer to UN Sustainable Development Goals (2015) that emphasise the importance of Life Long Learning opportunities with guaranteed access for all, regardless of their background and personal situation. Both Barlett (2015) and the GEM Report (2015) depict a sad global reality, with children personally affected by migration suffering exclusion from schools, segregation and poor educational outcomes. It may be sufficient to look at table 1 and 2, to note the Syrian case of complete educational turmoil, the on-going drop in access to education and the dramatic situation of infants born

Table 1. Education crisis in Syria in numbers (2013)

97% – estimated percentage of primary school age children attending school in 2011	30% – school attendance in the hardest – hit areas, including Idlib and Aleppo in 2013
2,2 million children in Syria were not in school	
500,000 Syrian refugee children were not in school	
In 2013, 291,678 children in Syria had access to UNICEF education programs	

Source: UNICEF report, available at <https://www.unicefusa.org/stories/infographic-education-crisis-syria-statistics>.

as refugees. Table 3 indicates that Syria has become the territory from which the most refugee applications are filed in the European Union.

Table 2. Syrian refugee crisis in numbers (2017)

Total number of registered refugees	2,5 million
Total number of registered child refugees	1,2 million
Number of children born as refugees	37,498
Number of children out of school	3 million
Number of schools destroyed or used as shelters	4,072

Source: UNICEF data, available at https://www.unicef.org/emergencies/syria/70207_67574.html.

Table 3. Top 10 child asylum applications in the EU by country of origin

Territory of origin	Number (%)
Syria	54,105 (25%)
Afghanistan	37,880 (18%)
Kosovo	21,225 (10%)
Albania	17,325 (8%)
Iraq	12,770 (6%)
Serbia	11,060 (5%)
Russian Federation	6,810 (3%)
Macedonia	5,265 (2%)
Eritrea	4,900 (2%)
Somalia	4,030 (2%)

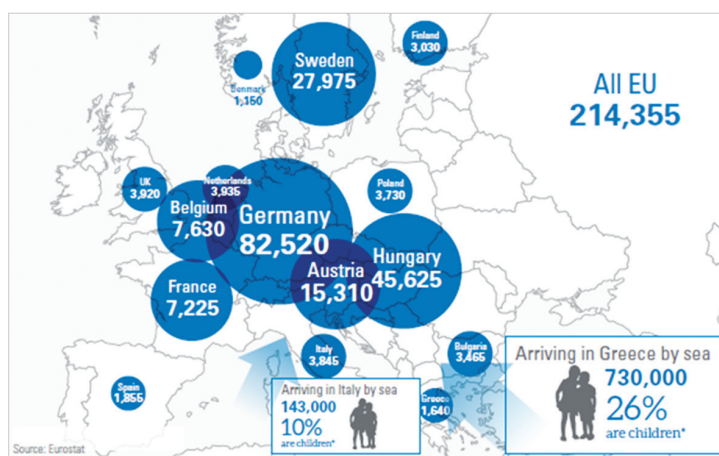
Source: *IOM and UNICEF Data Brief: Migration of Children to Europe*, UNICEF, http://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/press_release/file/IOM-UNICEF-Data-Brief-Refugee-and-Migrant-Crisis-in-Europe-30.11.15.pdf (20.07.2017).

The special Committee dedicated to the educational situation of children under CRC, acts as a watchdog for the Convention and has already identified that Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Turkey have to put more efforts into reaching vulnerable groups (immigrants, asylum-seekers, refugees) by incorporating CRC into the school curriculum (Survey on CRC: 11).

However, they do not have any political instruments to enforce the recommendations on respective governments. A discussion on migration policies and the inability of organisations to enforce policy on governments may be found in Samers (2015), so it shall not be replicated in this paper.

Migrant children in numbers

The number of international migrants in 2013 was approximately 232 million and it is expected by Human Rights Council (Open Society Foundation 2016) to double by 2050. Moreover, some predict additional factors of increased future migration, such as dramatic climate change (Brown, 2007). In 2015, the EU average for immigrants per 1000 inhabitants was below 6. It was higher in the following states: Luxemburg (42), Malta (29), Austria (19), Germany (18,5), Cyprus (18), Lichtenstein (17,5), Switzerland (18), Iceland (17) and Ireland (17)². The number of children migrants and refugees is on the increase:

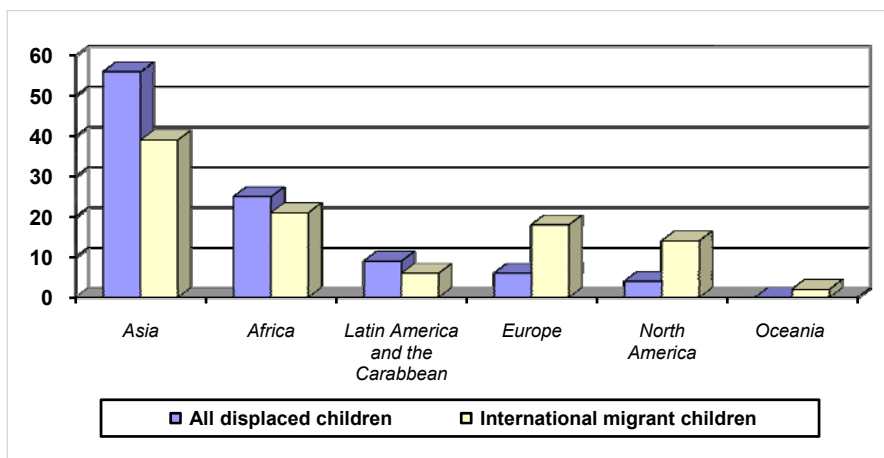


Picture 1. Children asylum seekers in Europe according to Eurostat 2015

Source: IOM and UNICEF Data Brief: *Migration of Children to Europe*, UNICEF, http://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/press_release/file/IOM-UNICEF-Data-Brief-Refugee-and-Migrant-Crisis-in-Europe-30.11.15.pdf (20.07.2017).

² http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics.

According to UNICEF (2016), over 31 million children were amongst all recorded international migrants worldwide. Amongst them, 28 million were forced to move by violence, 11 million of these children were classed as refugees or asylum seekers, whilst another 20 million constituted so called other international migrants. Whereas the proportion of adult refugees living outside their country of origin is 1 in 20, it is much higher amongst children, totalling 1 in 3. About half of the refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia are minors. This is just one of many indicators proving that the refugee population is much younger than the overall migrant population. Over a half of the refugees are children under 18, whilst in the overall migrant population the proportion of children remains at 13%. Moreover, 1 in 8 international migrants is a child. This is much higher in the case of migrants from Africa – where 1 in 3 is a child. 7 in 10 children seeking asylum in Europe escaped conflicts in Syria, Afghanistan or Iraq. Asia and Africa together host 3 out of 5 migrant children, indicating that media discourses, claiming that Europe is the sole destination which accepts the highest numbers of refugees, are truly overstated (see graph no. 1).



Graph 1. Distribution of international migrant children amongst regions and the ratio of all displaced children by region

Source: *Uprooted. The growing crisis for refugee and migrant children*. UNICEF (September 2016) https://www.unicef.org/publications/index_92710.html, p. 24.

Table 4. Percentage of children amongst all refugees by region

Region of refugee origin	East and horn of Africa	Central Africa	West Africa	Southern Africa	Asia – Pacific	Middle East and North Africa	Americas	Europe
Percentage of children in the total number of refugees	58%	55%	56%	47%	47%	51%	24%	35%

Source: UNHCR Global Trends 2014 from: <http://www.unhcr.org/innovation/10-infographics-that-show-the-insane-scale-of-the-global-displacement-crisis/>.

Table 5. Applications for refugee status in the UK by age of dependants

	2013	2014	2015
Under 5	2,423	2,687	2,681
5 – 9	1,125	1,312	1,337
10 – 13	590	746	670
14 – 15	223	307	282
16 – 17	210	253	232

Source: Based on National Statistics, Asylum, Home Office. gov.uk 2017 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-october-to-december-2016/asylum>.

Table 5 contains statistics of children applying for refugee status in the UK in 2016. The majority of children in this group are below the age of 5, which is a ‘golden’ age for language acquisition and cultural formation (c.f. Genesee, 1978; Pagonis, 2009).

Looking to Europe, but outside of EU structure, one may find that in the years 2001 and 2014 Norway experienced significant growth of 144% in the number of immigrant children and parents. Moreover, 18% of all children born in 2013 had migrant parents and 12% of total Norwegian population was comprised of migrants (Ministry of Education and Research, 2015). Poland, which has been successfully opposing the EU quota on sharing the new wave of refugees, has experienced an increase in the influx of Ukrainian migrants since the

Russian accession of Crimea, of around at least one million (c.f. Puto, 2017). Furthermore, vast numbers of Polish migrants estimated as high as 2,13 million (Odrowąż-Coates, Kwiatkowski, Korczyński, 2014: 34) left Poland for work and higher income since the time of EU accession in 2004 until 2012. In 2002, the number of Polish citizens staying abroad for at least 3 months was recorded at 786 100 and for at least 12 months – 626 200. In 2011, this number was much higher, with 2 017 000 abroad for at least 3 months and 1 565 000 for at least 12 months (Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności, 2011). Furthermore, according to the National Census (Ibidem, 2011), Polish emigrants moved mainly to European countries (85,2%), especially to EU countries (81,5%), North and Middle America (13,3%), followed by South America (0,1%), Africa (0,2%), Asia (0,5%) and Oceania (0,7%). The numbers recorded by officials are probably lower than the actual emigration from Poland. The same doubt can be raised about the recorded numbers of immigrants staying in Poland for more than 3 months (40 097) or longer than 12 months, recorded at 27 000 (Ibidem). The proportions of newcomers from abroad and the departing Poles do not match, leaving a statistical gap. The Polish Union of Entrepreneurs estimates that in the next twenty years, Poland will need five million more workers to uphold economic growth (c.f. Puto, 2017). However, capitalist economies rely on competitively low wages and need employees that are motivated enough to do low paid jobs, hence there is a need for migrants in developing economies (c.f. Robinson & Santos 2014). Their situation and the disadvantages faced by the first generation children, raises concerns and poses significant challenges for hosting countries in the area of human rights provisions.

Discussion

The legitimisation of governments through the lens of human rights (c.f. Freeman, 2015: 198), often means that the protection and respect of human rights refers solely to the human rights of the states' citizens. Obtaining the citizenship of a country seems to be the narrow path into gaining or re-gaining one's human rights. Therefore, migrants of uncertain legal status may be easily overlooked by the hosting state in terms of their human rights assurance. This reinforces inequality in global citizenship, where more affluent states are able and even

expected to guarantee the human rights of their citizens beyond their country's border, citizens who travel or migrate abroad, benefiting from the globalised economy. Moreover, the privileged nations see no constraints, apart from financial ones, to travel freely anywhere in the world. Citizenship of certain countries is therefore more desirable than the citizenship of others, making modern, Western countries more desired destinations for migrants. Is this a sign of the on-going dominance of the well-established, post-colonial centre that so many social thinkers point out? (c.f. Rodney, 1973; Bhabha, 1983; Said, 1995; Bales, 1998; Loomba, 1998; Wallerstein, 2006; Derby, 2009; Odrowąż-Coates & Goswami, 2017, and others) The global criminal justice system may have a lot to account for too, with the criminalisation of a disproportionate percentage of migrants (c.f. Aas & Bosworth, 2013; Bosworth et al., 2016).

The complicated conceptuality of forced displacement can be found in a comprehensive volume, edited by Fiddian-Qasbiyeh et al. (2014). Such forced displacement suggests that migrants have a limited choice in their decision of migration, which often is the case when faced with armed conflict or famine. This leaves the question of how much choice children have in this matter. The caregivers, leaving little or no agency to the children that are displaced, most often take the decision of migration. Grotberg (1995: 10) claims that flexibility and resilience are the key features that should be nurtured in modern-day children and that they can be often found in migrant children, due to hostile conditions in their country of origin and difficult experience of transition to safety. Is this the ‘added value’, mentioned in the title? When forced to challenge anti-immigrant ideologies, present in day-to-day public discourses, one may discover a surprisingly large number of prospective benefits of the acceptance of child migrants. The so-called ‘educated common sense’ approach will be used (c.f. Kundu, 2009: 66; Hunt & Colander, 2017: 16) as an accepted theoretical tool, present in social sciences. This approach allows a number of claims to be made that seek to convince sceptics about the prospective advantages of welcoming children migrants into European societies. The claims should be treated as a manifesto for social inclusion of migrant children substantiated by Landis et al. (2004).

The ageing societies of Europe need young people and children in particular, to prevent pension crisis, improve age-related demographics and give the population a boost. Children's flexibility allows for easier assimilation and cultural grounding

by the host nation. One can positively influence their upbringing through education, moulding the 'purposive social capital' of the future. Children in general learn new languages faster and the younger the child, the easier it is to acquire a new language. Children may become interpreters of language and of culture, between the host nation and the newcomers, between family and the institutions, saving time and money, avoiding misinterpretations and mediating. They may also operate as bridging capital for their family and in general as a link between two or more nations, religious or ethnic groups. Children display less intercultural fear than adults, easily overcoming the cultural barriers that adults reinforce. Social sensitivity towards children's suffering is greater than towards the suffering of adults, making it easier to convince the public to accept a new wave of immigration. There are also some strictly pedagogical benefits, such as bringing a different point of reference, alternative points of view and more diverse solutions to problems. Acceptance of new migrants promotes a civic attitude of responsibility towards others and a civic principle of subsidiarity. Acceptance of migrant children may aid social empathy, participation and teamwork for the benefit of the new migrants and the whole society. In a narcissistic sense, the successful integration of new migrant children into mainstream society gives a sense of agency and satisfaction. From a humanitarian perspective, the acceptance of migrant children may be seen as paying back colonial debt to the disadvantaged and repaying the hospitality received by European child refugees fleeing to the safe havens of the Middle East, India and Africa during the Second World War. Humanism should not be lip service and empty words, but a shared and lived value in Western society. Moreover, helping the weak and the needy allows people to help others and may give them a great sense of purpose and of doing positive work. Furthermore, the acceptance of migrant children helps to maintain the ethnic and cultural diversity supported by pluralistic societies. Such diversity may stimulate development and growth in societies suffering from stagnation and lack of progress. The cultural exchange widens personal and societal horizons, supporting critical thinking and enhancing knowledge of the broader geographical sphere. Migrant children who have resided in a host nation for some time, may aid newly arrived children by helping them feel welcome and assisting them to overcome initial difficulties. At the same time, they bring a healthy form of competition and by example of their own determination to succeed, they may inspire local children to work harder at school. Although it may sound stereotypical, first generation migrants

have been believed to have great work ethos, being appreciative of employment and working especially hard. The economic argument goes far beyond the pension crisis; the investment in migrant children pays off immediately in demand for goods and services and through their future economic activity. Confronting these ideas with several groups of students at The Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw, led to positive group discussions and to a discussion on the potential benefits explored by students, such as the emergence of foreign languages that are not often heard in Poland and a higher number of children in schools, which would increase the demand for teachers in the labour market, making their situation more advantageous. They also felt that having a migrant child in the classroom, especially one fleeing danger in their home country, might aid empathy and stimulate interest in the wider geographical area in their own children.

Conclusion

Immigrant children are instrumental in establishing cultural links between diverse ethnic groups and nations. Their sheer existence may be sufficient to incite their parents to integrate with the citizens of the host country and to inspire other parents to form meaningful intercultural relations with the parents of their children’s peers. It is the school that may become one of the best avenues to stimulate intercultural contact, to aid exchanges between foreign cultures and to prevent newcomers from living in secluded endemic enclaves, helping them to immerse in the mainstream society.

Throughout the history of humanity, progress has taken place during intercultural exchanges between different, often distant civilisations. This premise affirms globalised forms of cultural exchanges of beliefs, knowledge and customs. The global economy compels the influx of a competitively paid labour force, enforcing earning gaps and class divisions, supporting a complexity of social systems and shared norms. It may be argued that the internalisation of human rights norms, not only by governments (Risse, Ropp & Sikkink, 1999) and states perceived as political entities, but more importantly, through Foucauldian ‘governmentality’ embraced by individual citizens of the state, is insufficient if based on state reinforced distinction: ‘us’ – the state’s citizens and ‘them’ – the new immigrants. This is not to support Donnelly’s (1998: 152)

claim that state autonomy stands in the way of further advancements in human rights plea. It is through civic action and citizen pressure on local and global policy makers that the human rights norms embrace everyone, despite their legal and economic status. It is also the democratisation of the human rights movement (Freeman, 2015: 201–211) by an increased interplay of NGOs with a global and local outreach as well as local and international government, that plays a vital role in the promotion and protection of human rights, providing watchdog parameters and learning from one another.

The protection of children and respect for their autonomy plays a key role in children's rights underpinning (c.f. Freeman, 1992: 37), however for the execution of the latter, a system of distributive justice is required (Ibidem: 41). Such a system must gain public support and sufficient means to operate successfully. Admittedly, immigration is one of the most difficult subjects on the political table, nevertheless one has to remember that children in every society are added value, regardless of their origin and utilising their full potential for societal and economic growth depends on our own individual attitudes and deeper social understanding of the complex phenomenon of child migration.

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YEŞİM MUTLU*

Elephants in the room?

*Syrian ‘refugee’ children and the risk of
statelessness in Turkey¹*

ABSTRACT : It has been more than fifty years since the United Nations Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness was accepted in 1961, however it is estimated that in the world today there are at least ten million stateless people who do not have the “right to have rights”. Since 2011, hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugee children have been forced to leave their country and are faced with the risk of becoming stateless making it the most massive crisis of statelessness in the twenty-first century. It is well known that there have been problems registering Syrian child refugee arrivals in Turkey since 2011 and worse difficulty still in registering births taking place outside the camps. Moreover, it is not clear if the babies born in camps will be acknowledged by the Syrian authorities at all. This situation indicates a serious future problem for Syrian children without birth certificates to acquire citizenship. Accordingly, the scope of this study offers insight into Syrian refugee children’s risk of statelessness specifically because they have been born in Turkey. This is achieved through the analysis of legislation with a focus on the principle of the best interests of the child. Accordingly, this study aims to address the following research questions: First, “How shall we interpret the risk of statelessness for Syrian refugee children with regard to the citizenship laws of Turkey and Syria?” Second, “On which points do the legislation and their implementation correspond to or conflict with conventions on statelessness and the principle of the best interests of the child?”.

KEY WORDS : statelessness, Syrian children, citizenship laws, the best interests of the child

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*I saw a child born 5 or 6 days ago. I asked the mother her baby's name.
She said, 'No name... This child will probably not live, why would
I give them a name?*

(NGO employee)

The quote above vitally reveals the utter hopelessness that Syrian refugees have come to experience. It is clear that Syrian refugees¹ who have been deprived of practices compatible with human dignity and basic human rights will face more serious risks in the coming years if the necessary precautions are not taken. As with all circumstances arising from conflict, the ongoing civil war in Syria has led to human rights violations and to millions of people becoming either internally displaced or made refugees. According to information provided by UNHCR, there are over 5 million Syrian refugees in neighbouring countries and over 6 million internally displaced people within Syria. As a result of the Syrian civil war, Turkey now hosts the most Syrian refugees in the world with Lebanon and Jordan following. Though services are provided by the Turkish state and both national and international non-governmental organisations, the high number of refugees and the likelihood the number will only increase requires provision of not only basic services but also acknowledgement of long-term refugee status and the need for developing long-term policies surrounding this situation.

The issue of Syrian refugees residing in Turkey is one of the most significant issues of Turkey's human rights agenda. Considering the status of being a refugee carries many hardships and risks of rights violations, it is quite obvious that refugee children face a multi-dimensionally disadvantageous situation. Although the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child that Turkey has ratified protects children's right to life, to be protected and the right to participation, Syrian refugee children's right to education, shelter, mobility, protection against discrimination, protection against sexual abuse and exploitation and most importantly their right to citizenship have been violated. Accordingly,

¹ Syrians in Turkey are given the status of 'temporary protection', because of the reservation Turkey made on the Geneva Convention. In this study, the use of the term 'refugee' for Syrians escaping to Turkey from the civil war conditions, reveals the approach and word choice of the researcher. The researcher has consciously preferred to use this term regardless of the status given to the people by the states, as these people have become refugees due to the conditions in their country and accepting the principle that these people need to have human rights and services on the basis of human dignity regardless of their status. Plus, in the document, Syrians and Syrian refugees are used interchangeably.

it is obvious that the issues concerning Syrian refugees within Turkey's borders are not human rights issues confined to today. Bear in mind the implications on the future considering that Syrian refugees will not be returning to Syria as long as the war continues. It is increasingly apparent that long-term refugee status will leave more and more people defenseless and vulnerable in addition to creating an increasing population of children with the risk of statelessness.

Methodology

It has been more than fifty years since the United Nations Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness was accepted in 1961. In 2014, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees started a ten-year campaign to put an end to statelessness. In spite of these developments, it is estimated that over 10 million stateless people do not have the "right to have rights" in the world today.² At present, hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugee children, who have been forced to leave their country since 2011, are faced with the risk of being stateless constituting the most massive statelessness crisis of the twenty-first century.

Within the context of this study, the risk of statelessness among Syrian refugee children born in Turkey was analysed with the consideration of Syrian and Turkish Citizenship Laws, international documents and the best interests of the child. Thus, the study aims to address the following research questions: First, "How shall we interpret Syrian refugee children's risk of statelessness with regards to Turkey's and Syria's citizenship laws?" Second, "On which points do the legislation and implementation correspond to or conflict with conventions on statelessness and the principle of the best interest of the child?". Aside from analysing existing legislation and international conventions, interviews with key informants such as representatives of non-governmental organisations and of state institutions were conducted in line with the research questions of this study. The semi structured in-depth interviews focused on the general plight of Syrian population in Turkey, obstacles to and problems in registration of Syrians and possible sources of statelessness risk are analysed accordingly. In

² <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c155.html>, Access date: October 1, 2017.

selecting the respondents purposive sampling technique was used and particular attention was paid to ensure regional and organisational diversity. Furthermore, each respondent was asked for other respondents who could give information on the research questions. The research was conducted in 2015–2016.

Citizen(ship) vs. State(lessness)

Everyone has the right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 15

It is important to start with a review of literature on ‘citizenship’ before scrutinising the details of the issue of statelessness. In its simplest definition, citizenship defines the legal relationship between the individual and the polity (Sassen, 2002: 278). This relationship may take various forms based on the differences of the regime. It is stated that in the Antique and Middle Ages, this relationship was defined in terms of ‘the city’. However, this relationship started to be defined in terms of nationality in the most developed form of regimes first in the West and later around the world (Ibidem: 278). Although citizenship is seen to be experienced as if it were “a single concept of an institution” (Ibidem: 280), it no doubt refers to many dimensions of the relationship between the regime/polity and the individual. Considering the ongoing discussion on the concept of citizenship, it is still conceptualised in various ways. These are: citizenship as a legal status, the ownership of rights, political activism, a form of collective identity and sentiment (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Conover, 1995; Bosniak, 2000); cultural citizenship (Turner, 1994; Taylor, 1994); economic citizenship (Fernandez Kelly, 1993) and the psychological dimension of citizenship (Conover, 1995; Carens, 1996; Pogge, 1992)³. If we leave aside the transnational debates, despite the differences in these conceptualisations, we need to stress that the debates on citizenship are still made within the framework of nation-state. Moreover, it is apparent that the state of statelessness itself is

³ <http://saskiasassen.com/PDFs/publications/Towards-post-national-and-denationalized-citizenship.pdf>, Access date: September 29, 2015.

closely associated with the structuring of nation-states (Soysal, 1994). According to Arendt, who defines citizenship as “the right to have rights”, citizenship is not just being a full member of a national community but also a member of humanity (Arendt, 1996). Therefore, someone who cannot claim citizenship is deprived of possessing not only civil rights but also social and economic rights.

Furthermore, due to the fact that citizenship is defined as loyalty to a bordered piece of land or the blood relation to a piece of land, it excludes foreigners, refugees, migrants, asylum seekers, stateless persons and people who have been deprived of citizenship. Hence, these groups who are conceptualised as “citizen’s others” (Kerber, 2007) are deprived of involvement in any social or political life. Throughout the 20th century, the condition of stateless persons in these groups represented the historical forms of inclusion and exclusion, citizenship definitions and a sense of belonging in political processes in the age of nation-states (Benhabib, 2006).

The concept of statelessness has been defined differently in different languages. Statelessness was first defined as *heimatlos* in German as it is used in German-Swiss legal language. This term has been accepted and is used by many states. Later, in France, the term *apatride* was proposed and this term started to be used in the doctrine, in jurisdictional decisions, international texts and by the League of Nations. Today, the term *stateless* is used as a legal term in international law (Odman, 2011: 6).

The first organisation for the protection of refugees and stateless people was established by the decision of the League of Nations. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen was appointed the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. He prepared the Nansen Passport to ensure the return of the captives of World War I. The Nansen Passport was a document provided by transnational refugee offices, to those who were unable to provide an identity document; hence those who could not claim nationality from any country during World War I. This passport was recognised by fifty-two states, hence both refugees and the stateless were internationally recognised for the first time and gained the right to travel (Ibidem: 6–7). In this day and age, the international legal definition of a stateless person is:

*A person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law.*⁴

⁴ <http://www.unhcr.org/stateless-people.html>, Access date: September 20, 2017.

Looking at the root causes of the state of statelessness, this condition can result from a myriad of scenarios. A void in the legislation on the citizenship of a country, the formation of new nation-states, changes in borders, forced migration or political transformation and/or violent conflicts might cause individuals or groups to be stateless. So, an individual might become stateless within the borders of his/her own country or within the borders of another state. Hence, statelessness is not simply an issue between two parties – the country of the stateless person and the country where the person resides as a stateless individual – but it is also a status that concerns international law. The gravity of the situation is made clear by the fact that the number of stateless people is not decreasing and the condition of being stateless is even being transferred between generations despite all precautions and ratified conventions. This results from the fact that due to the sovereign nature of statehood, every state has the right to decide to whom they guarantee citizenship and under which circumstances. Additionally, states possess the right to denaturalise people and to determine the conditions under which they do so. In other words, all these issues are left within the domestic jurisdiction of the individual state although their implications are international.

With this authority reserved, states grant citizenship based on two principles: The right of blood (*jus sanguinis*) and the right of soil (*jus soli*) (Ibidem: 8). In addition to these, there are states that grant citizenship on a mixed basis comprising both blood and territory (Brad & Maureen, 2009: 8). Based on the principle of blood, a person is entitled to citizenship by blood ties through the mother and the father; but a person can also be entitled to citizenship regardless of blood ties, namely based on the territory or birthplace. In mixed systems of determination, states decide based on the priority of the two principles of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*.

As a result, statelessness might occur due to conflicting laws and voluntary or involuntary causes. However, another important point to underline is the fact that forced migration and statelessness are intrinsically related phenomena. To be more precise, while the status of statelessness increases the risk of being forced to migrate to a considerable degree, forced migration practices constitute some of the primary factors leading to the risk of becoming stateless (Albarazi & van Waas, n.d.: 27). In addition to these causes, it is well known that the most vulnerable target population of conflict zones and forced migration practices are women and children.

Considered in terms of this study, the most essential matters resulting in the continuity of statelessness are intrinsically related to the most vulnerable groups in conflict zones, namely women and children. In this context, two factors increase the risk of being stateless as will be scrutinised below in detail. The first aspect is gender-based discrimination found in the citizenship laws of some states. In other words, in some countries women do not hold equal rights to pass down citizenship to their children. These kinds of discriminatory practices result in the statelessness of the child in the case of the death of the father, the absence of the father or his rejection of the child. Failure to register the child upon birth is the second reason, leading to an increased risk in the continuity of statelessness for generations. This is one of the main points of focus for the UNHCR to end statelessness within ten years. The child does not automatically become stateless as a result of the lack of birth registration; however, the lack of birth registration stands as an obstacle in the process of becoming a citizen and accessing state services.

Statelessness in International Legislation

[Statelessness] is a form of punishment more primitive than torture

Late U. S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren (1958)

Article 15 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that “everyone has the right to have a nationality, and no one can arbitrarily be deprived of his nationality or his right to change his nationality”. This provision has been adopted in the field of international law, and the principles that each person has a right to citizenship and should not be arbitrarily deprived of his citizenship are settled in international law. Although these principles are of great importance in terms of the prevention of statelessness, the UN estimates that there are at least ten million stateless people in the world today. Therefore, in spite of the measures taken, policy recommendations and the functionality of international law, statelessness increasingly continues as a result of civil wars, armed conflicts, forced migrations, border changes, laws violating equality between men and women and occasional changes in legislation. The fact that the number of stateless persons continues to increase today shows that this issue is still current and that the human rights discourse is unsatisfying at this point.

Stateless persons were treated in the same way as refugees until the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees entered into force; till that point, stateless people were considered refugees. Until 1951, stateless persons were excluded from the scope of the Convention. Accordingly, the need to identify stateless persons and reduce statelessness arose; as a result, the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons was first put into effect. This contract was followed by the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, the 1973 Convention to Reduce the Number of Cases of Statelessness and the 1997 European Convention on Citizenship (Odman, 2011: 31).⁵ Thus, stateless persons have come to be treated as subjects of international law. Finally, with the decision of the UN General Assembly in 1996, “states were invited to adopt legislation on citizenship, which is in line with the basic principles of international law, with an aim to reduce statelessness”.

It is known that besides practices such as adoption, marriage, and naturalisation, the general basis of citizenship is acquisition of citizenship by birth. The authority to determine whether a person is a citizen or stateless falls under the sovereign rights of states and is therefore entirely subject to domestic legal regulations. However, it is clear that the state of statelessness potentiality arises as a result of internal conflict, forced displacement and the practices of ethnic/religious/sectarian discrimination. For this reason, the United Nations Security Council and the UNHCR in particular adopted decisions that emphasised the importance of the principles under the abovementioned conventions and convinced governments to take measures to avoid statelessness. It is therefore acknowledged that states granting effective citizenship to persons who are otherwise at risk will contribute to the prevention and reduction of statelessness and the development of human rights, fundamental freedoms, people’s security and stability in international relations.

From this point forth, it seems important to draw a general picture of rights entitled to stateless persons by the aforementioned conventions. First, according to the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons, which entered into

⁵ In addition to these contracts there are provisions concerning stateless persons in the Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Citizenship of Married Women, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention on the Rights of Married Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

force in 1960, "State parties are encouraged to apply ... appropriate standards of treatment to stateless persons who are legally resident on their territory" (Ibidem: 34). Turkey also accepted the agreement in July 2014.⁶ The second important document addressing statelessness is the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, which was enacted in 1961 and entered into force in 1975. This Convention is an attempt to prevent the emergence of cases of statelessness rather than promoting the recognition of the right to citizenship unconditionally. The contractual principles aim at preventing the loss of citizenship that may arise due to birth, bloodline, marriage and divorce. Another important point about this Convention is that it declares that no one or no group of citizens of the States' Parties can deny citizenship for racial, ethnic, religious and political reasons, thereby aiming at preventing the collective deprivation of citizenship as well as exile practices.

The Convention, which Turkey has not yet become a party to, is important within the context of this study especially because it encumbers Contracting States to "grant its nationality to a person, not born in the territory of a Contracting State, who would otherwise be stateless, if the nationality of one of his parents at the time of the person's birth was that of that State." Moreover, the Convention does not allow States Parties to revoke citizenship of a person who would otherwise become stateless. Finally, another crucial aspect of this Convention is that in its final declaration it recommends that persons who are *de facto* stateless⁷ should be deemed *de jure* stateless insofar as to ensure their ability to gain citizenship. The debates on *de facto* and *de jure* statelessness have increased in recent times and feature in discussions regarding how to determine the number of stateless people around the world.

⁶ Although the Convention deals with the acquisition of property, association, religion, application to courts, employment, education, housing, travel, social assistance and security granted to stateless persons, stateless persons are faced with problems in practice. Yet, some basic rights are not recognised, such as admittance to hospital, opening an account at a bank and enjoying the right to retirement (Odman, 2011: 34). In the Convention, the reasons for obstructing the acquisition of the status of a stateless person are also given in detail. For further information please refer to the Convention on http://www.unhcr.org/ibelong/wp-content/uploads/1954-Convention-relating-to-the-Status-of-Stateless-Persons_ENG.pdf, Access date: October 10, 2017.

⁷ For a fairly detailed discussion of *de facto* statelessness and the UNHCR's mandate in this regard, please refer to: Massey, H. (2010). Legal and Protection Policy Research Series UNHCR and *De Facto* Statelessness and UNHCR (2014). Handbook on Protection of Stateless Persons Under the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons.

Despite the fact that the emphasis on statelessness and the solution to the problems of stateless persons have increased in recent years in international legal texts, these fields have been neglected in Turkey both in teaching, practice and the legal system itself. However, the increase in Syrian refugee immigration over the last five years has caused the issue to come to the fore. As mentioned above, one of the most common reasons for statelessness is that the children of minority groups, immigrants, refugees or displaced persons are not registered.

The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, with reference to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, recommends that States Parties grant citizenship to children, assess children's concerns about citizenship rights and take every possible measure to show respect for this right when the right to citizenship is at stake. In doing so, the Committee takes into account Article 2 addressing non-discrimination and Article 3 on the best interest of the child. However, despite being a party to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the answer that the former Minister of the Interior gave to a parliamentary question in 2013 summarises the situation and the perception of the phenomena in Turkey:

“According to Article 8 of Turkish Citizenship Law No. 5901, ‘A child born in Turkey and unable to obtain the nationality of any country at birth due to foreign parents is a Turkish citizen by birth.’ Since they gain Syrian citizenship because of their parents, Syrian asylum seekers’ children born in Turkey acquiring Turkish citizenship is out of question”.⁸

This response, given by the former Minister of the Interior, reflects only part of the situation specific to Syrian refugees when considered in the context of the right to citizenship. As mentioned earlier, the risk of statelessness increases especially during periods of forced migration and internal conflict. This affects primarily women and children who are the most vulnerable in situations of conflict and forced migration. Therefore, it is necessary to look at Syrian and Turkish citizenship laws at this stage to define the risks for Syrian refugee children.

⁸ <http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d24/7/7-32015sgc.pdf>, Access date: October 5, 2017.

Syrian and Turkish Citizenship Laws: Sources of Statelessness Risks

Syria

Citizenship laws that do not grant women equal rights to men in passing down their citizenship are a large contributing factor in the increase of statelessness cases. At the same time, they are the concern of UNHCR under its mandate for the prevention and reduction of statelessness.⁹ This discriminatory attitude towards women around the world is very old but began to change radically after the 1957 CEDAW Convention and the 1957 Convention on the Nationality of Married Women. Yet in almost thirty countries, women are still unable to pass down citizenship to their children.¹⁰ Twelve of these countries are in the Middle East and North Africa, eight are in Sub-Saharan Africa, seven are in Asia, and three are in the Caribbean.

While some states in the MENA region have made progress in this area since 2004, women's passing down their citizenship to children is still hampered by law in twelve states in the region. Syria has refrained from adopting the entirety of the ninth article of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which gives women rights equal to men on citizenship and transference of citizenship to children. For this reason, women can only pass down citizenship to their children when they are born in Syria and if the father does not accept the lineage and therefore does not fulfill the transfer of citizenship himself¹¹. Additionally, Syrian citizenship is granted to children born within Syrian territory who would otherwise be stateless. Although it is possible to say that Syria has provisioned for the prevention of statelessness, it is well known that these provisions do not include stateless Palestinians or Kurds and it is not clear how much they are actually applied in practice.¹² The

⁹ UNHCR (2014). Background Note on Gender Equality, Nationality Laws and Statelessness.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹ Although the Syrian women's rights movement has several initiatives in this regard, no amendments were made until 2011, when the conflicts began. For detailed information on the issue please refer to Albrazi, Z. (2013). *The Stateless Syrians*, Report of the Middle East and North Africa Nationality and Statelessness Research Project, Tilburg Law School Statelessness Programme.

¹² UNHCR (2014) Background Note on Gender Equality, Nationality Laws and Statelessness.

Syrian State is neither a party to the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons nor to the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. However, other conventions that Syria is a party¹³ to impose many obligations on the Syrian state (Albarazi, 2013: 5).

The Syrian Citizenship Act was enacted in 1969. Except for the enacting regulations issued in 1976, this law has remained in force without any amendments. According to the Syrian Arab Republic Citizenship Law, the general principle is to grant citizenship on the basis of blood ties. In other words, a child born to a Syrian Arab father gains Syrian citizenship regardless of whether they are born within or outside the country. If a child is born to a Syrian Arab mother within Syria, they acquire Syrian citizenship regardless of whether they are the descendant of a Syrian Arab father. However, a child born to a Syrian Arab mother cannot be a Syrian citizen if they are born abroad and cannot establish lineage from a Syrian Arab father. In such instances, a mother who demands Syrian citizenship for her child will have to open a case to establish blood ties with a Syrian father.

Aside from these difficulties, the Syrian Citizenship Act clearly distinguishes three categories: Syrians, Arabs and other foreigners. There are significant differences in accessing citizenship between people of Arab origin and those of non-Arab origin. Acquiring citizenship is facilitated for those of Arab origin. In addition, Syria has hosted refugee groups from neighbouring countries such as Palestine and Iraq throughout history, but it has not established procedures to facilitate the process of the acquisition of citizenship either to these groups or stateless persons.¹⁴ Stateless groups in Syria are mainly composed of Palestinians and Kurds. By refusing to grant citizenship to Palestinians living on Syrian land and by depriving Kurds of their citizenship, the Syrian state has caused cases of statelessness perpetuated for generations. The 1962 census in the region of Haseke in Syria, where there is a dense population of Kurds, resulted in about 120,000 Kurds being deprived of Syrian citizenship¹⁵. In addition, the same census divided the Syrian nation into three categories: ‘Syrian nationals’,

¹³ For detailed information please refer to Albarazi, Z. (2013). *The Stateless Syrians*, Report of the Middle East and North Africa Nationality and Statelessness Research Project, Tilburg Law School Statelessness Programme.

¹⁴ Albarazi, Z. (2013). *The Stateless Syrians*, Report of the Middle East and North Africa Nationality and Statelessness Research Project, Tilburg Law School Statelessness Programme.

¹⁵ Ibidem.

'*Ajnabi*' (foreigners) and '*Maktoumeen*' (unregistered). Although there are no official statistics, it is estimated that in 2011 there were 300,000 stateless Kurds and 400,000 stateless Palestinians in Syria. As far as the Kurdish population is concerned, other than population growth, the reason for the increase in statelessness is the fact that the status of *maktoum* and *ajnabi* is hereditary and that Syrian Citizenship Law hampers women's right to pass down their citizenship to children. Finally, in 2011 a decision was made to grant *ajnabi*, i.e. those with the status of foreigners, the citizenship of the Syrian Arab Republic and accordingly 9.381 individuals were granted citizenship.¹⁶ However, not all of the foreigners were granted citizenship and the majority of the *maktoumeen* were not included in the scope of the aforementioned decree.

There are no special procedures, laws or mechanisms for the protection of the rights of stateless persons in Syria. For this reason, stateless Palestinians and Kurds in Syria have had to cope with many difficulties in practice. Compared to neighboring countries with high concentrations of displaced Palestinians, Syria entitles Palestinians relatively more access to employment and travel documents, but these practices are far from ensuring adequate protection. The situation of stateless Kurds in Syria is even worse. First of all, the property of Kurds who were deprived of their citizenship in 1962 was confiscated. The 2011 decree did not make any arrangements for confiscation or compensation. *Maktoumeen* are also barred from continuing to study after a certain level of education and cannot enroll in university. Stateless persons in Syria cannot be employed in state institutions or public economic enterprises; they can work in some sectors, for instance medicine, only with the permission of government ministries and are not allowed to work in the field of law at all. The issue of providing stateless persons with identity documents is a problematic area as well. People deemed *ajnabi* have a red card in place of a standard identity document and it is quite difficult for red card holders to acquire birth, marriage or death certificates. Persons with the status of *maktoumeen*, receive an identity certificate which has no official validity, and the document expressly states that the person is a *maktoum*.¹⁷ Finally, stateless persons have no access to travel documents and passports.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 18.

¹⁷ Human Rights Watch (1996). *Syria: The Silenced Kurds*.

Turkey

The current citizenship law in Turkey is Turkish Citizenship Law No. 5901, which was adopted in 2009. According to the law, Turkish citizenship can be obtained either at birth or later in life. Turkish citizenship acquired at birth is automatically granted on the basis of descent or place of birth and is effective from the moment of birth. For the acquisition of citizenship on the basis of descent, the following conditions are valid: children born to a Turkish mother or through a Turkish father within the unity of marriage either in Turkey or abroad and children born to a Turkish mother and through an alien father out of wedlock are granted Turkish citizenship. If a child is born out of wedlock to a Turkish citizen father and a foreign mother they are entitled to citizenship of the Republic of Turkey if the procedures and principles governing the establishment of blood lineage are fulfilled. With regard to place of birth, naturalisation takes place from birth onwards if a child is born in Turkey but unable to obtain the nationality of any country and both parents are foreign. Finally, any unaccompanied child found in Turkey is considered to have been born in Turkey unless otherwise specified.

The acquisition of citizenship after birth is based on the decision of a competent authority, the process of adoption or the exercise of the right to choose nationality. A foreigner who wishes to acquire Turkish citizenship can do so through the decision of a competent authority provided they meet the necessary conditions¹⁸ stated in Turkish Citizenship Law. However, meeting the necessary conditions does not automatically grant an absolute right to Turkish citizenship. This fact leads to arbitrary decisions in naturalisation procedures.

Within the scope of this study, it is important to briefly mention the Law on Foreigners and International Protection¹⁹ (YUKK) when considering the situation of Syrian refugees in relation to Turkish Citizenship Law. According to the YUKK, a “stateless person” is a person who does not hold the citizenship of any state and is considered a foreigner. According to Article 50 of YUKK, the

¹⁸ The requirements for application are set out in article 11 of the Turkish Citizenship Law. Available at: [http://eudo-citizenship.eu/NationalDB/docs/TUR%20Turkish%20citizenship%20law%202009%20\(English\).pdf](http://eudo-citizenship.eu/NationalDB/docs/TUR%20Turkish%20citizenship%20law%202009%20(English).pdf), Access date: July 8, 2017.

¹⁹ For English version of the Law please refer to http://www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/eng_minikanun_5_son.pdf, Access date: October 14, 2017.

statelessness status shall be determined by the Directorate General of Migration Management. Stateless persons shall be issued a Stateless Person Identification Document, which entitles them the right to legally reside in Turkey, and persons who are in the process of being evaluated as stateless in another country shall not benefit from this right. Stateless persons should obtain a Stateless Person Identification Document issued by the governorates upon approval of the Directorate General of Migration Management. This document is a substitute for a residence permit and is renewed by the governorates every two years without any fee. The duration of stay in Turkey with a Stateless Person Identification Document counts towards the total duration of residence. This is of particular importance because duration of residence is taken into consideration when applying for Turkish citizenship. It is crucial to underline the fact that for people under temporary protection, for instance Syrians in Turkey, the duration of stay does not count towards duration of residence, which hampers their applications for citizenship on the basis of residence. The rights and guarantees granted to stateless persons are listed in Article 51. According to this Article, persons holding a Stateless Person Identification Document may apply to obtain any of the residence permits set out in YUKK; shall not be deported unless they pose a serious public order or public security threat; are not subject to the reciprocity requirement sought in procedures concerning foreigners; are subject to the provisions of the Law No 4817, Law on Work Permits for Foreigners in activities and actions regarding work permit and are entitled to the provisions of Article 18 of the Law No 5682, Pasaport Law, which allows stateless persons to obtain passports.

The Best Interest of the Child and Statelessness

Being stateless as a child is generally an antithesis to the best interests of children.

African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

The term ‘best interests of the child’ is a term appearing in Article 3 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Prior to UNCRC, the term ‘best interests of the child’ was referred to in the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimination Against Women as well as in regional agreements accompanied by a great number of national and international laws. “General Comment No. 14 on the right of the child to have his/her best interests taken as a primary consideration” issued by the Committee on the Rights of the Child in 2013, presents a specific frame on how to interpret the concept of the best interests of the child. Because the concept is dynamic and it needs to be reconsidered according to the needs and circumstances of each and every child, the concept of the best interest of the child continues to be elaborated on in child rights literature. Considering refugee children in particular, UNHCR Guidelines on Determining the Best Interests of the Child (2008) provide guidance on how the concept of best interest of the child shall be embraced with regard to unaccompanied minors and separated children, unaccompanied minors and separated children in exceptional circumstances and children who are likely to be separated from their families without the consent of the parents. It is known that there are tens of thousands of children among those who fled from the civil war in Syria due to the rightful fear of being exposed to suffering as their State is not protecting or is not able to protect them. Beyond the fact that they have the status of asylum seekers, immigrants or refugees, the reality is that what they aimed at was to move away from a war zone. UNCRC imposes important obligations on state parties related to children in armed conflicts.²⁰

The Committee on the Rights of the Child defines the best interests of the child as a dynamic term that needs to be assessed in accordance with special circumstances and conditions. Moreover, the Committee designates it as one of the four general principles of the Convention, which is effective in interpreting and actualising all rights of child. Therefore, it is obvious that general principles of the UNCRC are connected to each other. Hereunder, the connection of the best interests of the child principle with other general principles can be summarised as:

The child’s best interests and the right to non-discrimination (Article 2): All children have the right to non-discrimination and this right is not a passive obligation with regards to duty-bearers, namely State. The Convention sets forth prohibition of all forms of discrimination against all children by the State in the enjoyment of rights under the Convention. This also requires measures taken

²⁰ For detailed information please refer particularly to Article 22, 38 and 39 of the Convention.

by the State to ensure effective equal opportunities for all children to enjoy the rights under the Convention.

The child's best interests and the right to life, survival and development (Article 6): All children have the right to life, survival and development. States must create an environment that respects human dignity and ensures the holistic development of every child. The state has the obligation both to ensure respect for and realisation of the irreversable right to life, survival and development whilst assessing and designating the best interests of the child.

The child's best interests, right to participation and to be heard (Article 12): The child's right to participation is key consideration in respect of the realisation of all the other rights. Recognising and considering the child's right to express his/her views freely and express the views in all matters affecting the child is a precondition as well as a necessity.

General Comment No.14 on the UNCRC emphasises the objectives for providing a basis both to completely realise all the rights that are projected in the Convention and the holistic development of the child. The Committee has pointed out that "an adult's judgment of a child's best interests cannot override the obligation to respect all the child's rights under the Convention." It recalls that there is no hierarchy of rights in the Convention; all the rights provided for therein are in the "child's best interests" and no right could be compromised by a negative interpretation of the child's best interests. Within this context, the following parameters should be borne in mind to give full effect to the child's best interests:

- a. The universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated nature of children's rights;
- b. The recognition of children as right holders;
- c. The global nature and reach of the Convention;
- d. The obligation of States parties to respect, protect and fulfill all the rights in the Convention; Short-, medium- and long-term effects of actions related to the development of the child over time.

The best interests of the child are defined as a threefold term in General Comment No.14. These are:

- a. *A substantive right*: The right of the child to have his or her best interests assessed and taken as a primary consideration when different interests are being considered in order to reach a decision on the issue at stake, and the

guarantee that this right will be implemented whenever a decision is to be made concerning a child, a group of identified or unidentified children or children in general.

- b. *A fundamental, interpretative legal principle*: If a legal provision is open to more than one interpretation, the interpretation which most effectively serves the child's best interests should be chosen. The rights enshrined in the Convention and its Optional Protocols provide the framework for interpretation.
- c. *A rule of procedure*: Whenever a decision is to be made that will affect a specific child, an identified group of children or children in general, the decision-making process must include an evaluation of the possible impact (positive or negative) of the decision on the child or children concerned. Assessing and determining the best interests of the child require procedural guarantees.

The best interests of the child have implications for the elaboration of all implementation measures taken by governments; individual decisions made by judicial or administrative authorities or public entities through their agents that concern one or more identified children; decisions made by civil society entities and the private sector, including profit and non-profit organisations, which provide services concerning or impacting children as well as guidelines for actions undertaken by persons working with and for children, including parents and caregivers.

The focus and scope of the States Parties' obligations in regards to the best interests of the child are linked with many fields. Among them are the obligations to ensure that the child's best interests are appropriately integrated and consistently applied in every action taken by a public institution, especially in all implementation measures, administrative and judicial proceedings which directly or indirectly impact children, and to ensure that the best interests of the child have been assessed and taken as a primary consideration in decisions and actions taken by the private sector. The obligation of States Parties to ensure that the best interests of the child are taken as a primary consideration under all circumstances reflects the necessity of reviewing and, where necessary, amending domestic legislation and other sources of law.

The fact that the term 'best interests of the child' is special and complicated by its very nature requires unique assessment by taking into consideration each

specific situation individually in practice. According to the General Comment No. 14, within the specific factual context of the case, it is important first to find out the relevant elements in a best-interests assessment, to give them concrete content, and to assign significance to each one in relation to another. Secondly, to do so, it is crucial to follow a procedure that ensures legal guarantees and proper application of the right.

Assessing the child's best interests is a unique activity that should be undertaken in each individual case, in light of the specific circumstances of each child or group of children or children in general. Elements to be taken into account are the child's views; identity; preservation of the family environment and maintaining relations; care, protection and safety of the child; level of vulnerability; the child's right to health, right to education and balancing the elements in the assessment of the child's best interests. Among the procedural safeguards to guarantee the implementation of the child's best interests are the right of the child to express his or her own views; collection of data; difference in children's and adults' time perception; involvement of qualified professionals; access to legal representation; implementation of clear legal reasoning; use of mechanisms to review or revise decisions; performance of child rights impact assessment (CRIA) and dissemination.

Statelessness and Syrian Refugee Children in Turkey: In Consideration of (Inter)National Law

*My entire life is a question-mark*²¹

The harsh reality for many stateless persons is a story of lack of opportunity, protection and participation²². Presumably one third of stateless people around the world are children. However, the figures might actually be higher when taking into account the difficulty in collecting explicit data concerning the state of statelessness and the fact that statelessness is intergenerationally transmitted due to discrimination against women in citizenship laws

²¹ UNHCR Division of International Protection (2015). *I am Here I Belong The Urgent Need to End Childhood Statelessness*, p. 19.

²² Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (2014). *The World's Stateless*, p. 29.

as well as forced displacement as a consequence of conflicts. Stateless people encounter obstacles in almost every aspect in life. They are exposed to many violations of rights, from education, health and travel to preclusion of retirement, arbitrary detention and expulsion. It is well known that stateless children are more vulnerable to these violations. In addition to this, children who are de facto stateless and not able to prove their nationality and legal status due to lack of birth certificate are open to similar risks²³. Regardless of their ultimate status, any period of childhood spent stateless is bound to have a devastating effect on the psychological state of the individual. According to UNHCR research, stateless children interviewed described themselves as “invisible,” “alien,” “living in a shadow,” “worthless” and “like a street dog”, and it is more than enough to understand the destruction caused in children by the state of statelessness²⁴.

International law recognises the right to citizenship of every child. The importance of the right to citizenship is emphasised in Article 24, Paragraph 2 of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which states that “every child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have a name” and Paragraph 3 of the same Article which specifies that “every child has the right to acquire a nationality”. Article 7, Paragraph 1 of UNCRC indicates that the child shall be registered and shall have the right to a name immediately after birth, to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents. It is clear that the use of “immediately after birth” is intended not only to prevent situations of de jure statelessness that may otherwise arise at birth, but also to prevent states from avoiding their responsibilities for any reason. Again, Article 7, Paragraph 2 of the Convention also underlines that, when it comes to statelessness of children, States Parties undertake to enforce these rights in accordance with their national laws and their obligations under the relevant international instruments.

As stated previously, the Committee on the Rights of the Child asserts that when it comes to the right to citizenship, States Parties shall ensure citizenship to

²³ For detailed information on this issue and country examples please refer to Bhabha, J. (2011) (Ed.) *Children Without a State A Global Human Rights Challenge* The MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, London.

²⁴ UNHCR Division of International Protection (2015). *I am here, I belong The Urgent Need to End Childhood Statelessness*, p. 19.

children, within the scope of the principles of 'not to discriminate' expressed in Article 2 and 'best interests of the child' articulated in Article 3 of the UNCRC. In Paragraph 1 of Article 6, The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child states that every child shall have the right to a name from his/her birth onwards, while Paragraph 2 of the same Article asserts that every child shall be registered immediately after birth.²⁵ Article 2 of the European Convention on the Legal Status of Children Born out of Wedlock emphasises that maternal affiliation of every child born out of wedlock shall be based solely on the fact of the child's birth, while Article 3 states that paternal affiliation of children under this circumstance may be evidenced or established by voluntary recognition or by judicial decision. These articles are an attempt to prevent children from falling into a state of statelessness.²⁶

According to the Law on Foreigners and International Protection in Turkey, stateless people shall make their application on international protection in person to the governorates. In cases where an application is lodged with law enforcement units within the country or at the border, the application shall immediately be reported to the governorates. The governorates shall carry out the actions related to the application. Every foreigner or stateless person is entitled to apply on their own behalf. Applicants may apply on behalf of accompanying family members whose applications are on the same grounds. In such cases, consent of the adult family members shall be required for applications made on their behalf. Persons who apply to the governorates for international protection within a reasonable period of time on their own accord shall not be subjected to criminal action for breaching the terms and conditions of legal entry into Turkey or illegally staying in Turkey, on the condition that that they shall provide acceptable reasons for such illegal entry or presence. Actions related to children are carried out within the scope of Child Protection Law which means that Syrian refugee children are subjected to the same treatment as children who are Turkish citizens. However, neither Child Protection Law nor the 20 October 2015 dated Ministry of Family and Social Policies Directive

²⁵ The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. http://www.achpr.org/files/instruments/child/achpr_instr_charterchild_eng.pdf, Access date: October 10, 2017.

²⁶ European Convention on the Legal Status of Children Born Out of Wedlock <https://rm.coe.int/1680076da4>, Access date: October 10, 2017.

on Unaccompanied Children²⁷ include an emphasis on stateless children. Even though the Unaccompanied Minors Directive identifies the procedures to follow on education, sheltering, health, temporary and international protection, it does not refer to the state of statelessness and its determination.

It is clear that attempts at protection against statelessness are made through many international and regional tools. Human rights laws and organisations lay emphasis on the principle of the best interests of the child and the need for the child to be protected against statelessness. In almost all cases of childhood statelessness, the best solution is to grant children the nationality of the country they were born in and have lived all their lives.²⁸ Moreover, it is underlined that it is not only in the child's best interests, but also in the interest of the State to address statelessness at birth or as soon as possible to avoid the privation caused by statelessness (Ibid.). Yet, it is emphasised that stateless children must be allowed to enjoy their basic rights, including education and health, until they acquire a nationality and thus states should contribute to integration and social cohesion.

Consequently, it is known that States hold the primary duty to identify stateless persons in order to implement their international obligations towards these populations under the UN statelessness conventions (1951 and 1961) and in accordance with international human rights law.²⁹ Turkey is not a party to the 1961 Convention, however, it is a party to the 1954 Convention. Unfortunately, the directive issued on 30 March 2012 by the Ministry of the Interior "Directive on Reception and Accommodation of Syrian Arab Republic Nationals and Stateless Persons who reside in the Syrian Arab Republic, who arrive to Turkish Borders in Mass Influx to Seek Asylum" was not shared publicly. Therefore, neither non-governmental organisations nor relevant parties were able to express an opinion on the content of the directive. However, the expression "stateless people" within the name of the directive is an indicator of the awareness of the authorities on the problem of statelessness among Syrian refugee groups. On the other hand, experts of public institutions who were interviewed

²⁷ <http://cocukhizmetleri.aile.gov.tr/data/5639efb8369dc5844ccfa126/refakatsiz%20%C3%A7ocuk%20y%C3%B6nnergesi.pdf>, Access date: September 23, 2017.

²⁸ UNHCR (2015). *I am Here, I Belong The Urgent Need to End Childhood Statelessness Report*, p. 23.

²⁹ Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (2014). *The World's Stateless Report*.

as part of this study indicated that there had not been any work with regard to statelessness within their institutions. This leaves question marks with regard to stateless people and in particular to what degree the needs of children can be determined. Besides, as mentioned before, the problems faced by Syrian refugee children are multiple. States' obligations as specified in both domestic and international legislations are clear in relation to determining stateless people and combating their state of statelessness. In addition, it is emphasised that the best interests of the child shall be pursued when determining nationality and protection status, in particular of unaccompanied children and children in general.³⁰ When considering these obligations and risk areas, it is the Turkish State's duty to determine stateless people, to ensure services in accordance with their status of statelessness and to develop meaningful policy on the matter. As for children in particular, international conventions and the best interests of the child should be taken into consideration and the solution which is the most convenient to the best interests of the child, including acquisition of citizenship, should be designated by taking notice of special conditions of each child.

Notes from the Field: Looking At the Risks

In a world comprised of states, the problem of statelessness remains a glaring anomaly with devastating impacts on the lives of at least 10 million people around the world who live without any nationality³¹

It is the children who are most affected by statelessness either due to discrimination against women and/or ethnic, religious, sectarian groups or conflict of laws. UNHCR, which launched a campaign³² in 2014 with the slogan "I Belong" to end statelessness within ten years, estimates that there are at least ten million stateless persons around the world, one third of whom are children. The most

³⁰ UNHCR (2014). Handbook on Protection of Stateless Persons Under the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons.

³¹ <http://www.unhcr.org/statelesscampaign2014/Global-Action-Plan-eng.pdf> , Access date: September 2, 2017.

³² For actions adopted during the campaign please refer to <http://www.unhcr.org/statelesscampaign2014/Global-Action-Plan-eng.pdf>, Access date: October 5, 2017.

important part of the campaign within the context of this study seems to be Action 2 which aims to ensure that no child is born stateless.

While UNHCR works on the registration of Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon, it does not carry out any work on the registration of Syrian refugees in Turkey since Turkey has its own registration system. For the first time in the history of the Republic, Turkey is facing a dense and long-lasting wave of refugee migration. It is obvious that it is crucial for Turkey to cooperate with UNHCR in taking measures against statelessness and in implementing relevant Conventions. According to the data provided by Directorate General of Migration Management, as of May 2018, there are 505.904 children between the ages of 0 and 4,³³ most of whom are likely to be born in Turkey and under high risk of statelessness. Almost six hundred thousand Syrian women residing in Turkey are of reproductive age (Ibid.) and this recent data definitely shows that the number of Syrian children born in Turkey will increase in the near future. What is more, due to Turkish and Syrian citizenship laws and practices that will be put into play by Turkish³⁴ and Syrian authorities in the future, children who are not born in Turkey are also at risk of statelessness. A representative from an INGO emphasised this fact:

The real problem with statelessness will show up after returns. For registration, the birth certificate and the parents' identity documents are required. The risks involved in these cases are: If the child was not born in hospital, if the parents do not have identity cards or if their status is ambiguous... In these cases acceptance of the statement becomes risky. For instance, will the statement be accepted if the parents cannot provide documents proving their identity either in another country or after their return to Syria?

Accordingly, it should be pointed out that the factors discussed below constitute risks that can cause Syrian refugee children to become stateless. Whether

³³ http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik3/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713, Access date: May 29, 2018.

³⁴ Recently, the Turkish Parliament's Refugee Subcommittee that operates under the Human Rights Committee prepared a report and decided to make an impact analysis study on the issue of granting citizenship to Syrian children born in Turkey and that legislative amendments can be made based on the findings (March, 2018).

these risks will become reality requires not only a multidimensional monitoring and evaluation of the matter, but also of the implementation put into practice by Syrian and Turkish governments.

To begin with, the population migrating from Syria to Turkey is quite diverse, including Doms, Abdals, Kurds and Palestinians. Nomadic groups such as Doms may not want to register their children born in Turkey or may not have knowledge of these mechanisms because they are already stateless. Again, Palestinians and some Kurds were already stateless in Syria and their children born in Turkey can acquire Turkish citizenship only if the parents of these groups have stateless identities and were able to attain identity cards upon entry to Turkey. However, in cases where they cannot prove that they are stateless, the child is at risk of statelessness. In cases of the lack of an identity card, marriage certificate or other documents, children will be at risk, even if the parents are Syrian citizens. This is because birth registrations recorded outside of Syria should include the father's name as well as the child's place and date of birth as this information is necessary to prove blood lineage in the event of the family's return to Syria. Another important aspect to mention is the fact that because of discrimination in hospitals and limited opportunities for translation, Syrian women prefer to give birth in their own houses or in the houses of Syrian doctors, nurses or midwives. Apart from health risks, this situation leads to the risk of statelessness as it is summarised by an international non-governmental representative below:

Birth rates at home are so high. The family is not much interested in identity cards, just when it is needed. ... At the Foreigners Branches, Syrians and their children are asked for birth certificates, while collecting the identity cards. Those who gave birth at home are directed to hospitals. I remember, there was a child, 3–4 months old. When the family comes to get the identity card, they can't because there's no birth certificate. When they go to the hospital, they can't get the birth certificate because too much time has passed since the birth and this fact causes the child to face difficulties in accessing basic services such as health or education in the future.

Furthermore, a child whose father is not of Syrian nationality and born to a Syrian mother in Turkey is at risk of being stateless. This is because even

though Turkey registers children who are in this situation as Syrians, a child born outside Syria whose father does not hold Syrian nationality and whose mother is Syrian becomes stateless according to Syrian law. Apart from these issues, Syrian women may live with Turkish men without being officially married, or they may marry under the age of 18, which is illegal in Turkey. A representative of an international non-governmental organisation summarises the situation as follows:

Men do not want to prevent pregnancy and do not allow women to do so. There is the belief that breastfeeding prevents pregnancy, but there is nothing like that. There is one year or less between the children... I do not know whether men perceive children as an indicator of power. Men say, "If you do not give birth, I will find someone else to give birth." There is already a second wife, third wife. ... There are too many child brides, 12–14 years old who are married. They also have children ... Because of the possibility of complaints, penalties, etc. they prefer to state their age as 18–19 if they have no documents in their hands when they apply for identity cards.

In such a union, if the father does not accept the child's lineage, the child is at risk of becoming stateless. However, if the father is a Turkish citizen, the child may acquire Turkish citizenship through lineage based on the choice of the parents. Syrians remaining in Turkey under temporary protection can register their newborn children by applying to the Syrian Arab Republic Consulate in Istanbul. However, many Syrians fail to register their children because they are hesitant to go to the consulate for fear of being labelled as dissidents. Accordingly, these children face the risk of being stateless.

Another important fact is that many Syrian men lose their lives due to war, or they disappear or are still in combat. In these cases, children born outside Syrian territory may not be able to claim Syrian citizenship because they cannot prove their paternal lineage. Finally, another problem lies in lack of knowledge of procedures. Birth registration documents need to be issued to Syrian children born in Turkey and Birth Registration Offices need be informed. This is important both for proving the child's place of birth in order to obtain Turkish citizenship and to document it in future applications after their return to Syria.

Unfortunately, many Syrians are unaware of this procedure, and this poses a risk for of the child's statelessness.

As a result, although Syrian refugee children seem to bear no risk of statelessness in terms of Turkish Citizenship Law, the real situation is far from it. It is known that when it comes to reducing statelessness, states have obligations and are obliged to act on behalf of the child's best interests especially when unaccompanied children and children at risk of statelessness are involved. This will only be possible when an effective implementation of laws is accomplished. In addition, Syrians who wish to transfer to Turkish Citizenship may apply for it according to the provisions of citizenship law. For this reason, informing Syrian citizens about the law and facilitating the application process would be important steps to reduce statelessness.

Concluding Remarks

Those who arrived were never refugees, they were just guests

(NGO worker)

Interviews were conducted within the framework of this study and other resources were addressed to reveal that Syrians living in Turkey are coping with many difficulties, from education to health and discrimination to violence. The process that has taken place since 2011 including steps taken and not taken by the international community and Turkey as well as the uncertainties in short, medium and long term plans for the Syrian population in Turkey, cause problems to grow and deepen or generate new problems. Within this context, the 'risk of statelessness' that emerged as a result of the Syrian crisis should be considered as a situation that will especially affect the lives of children in the long run.

In this day and age, when the structure of nation-states is considered, the fact that the legal bond between the individual and the state is established through citizenship, places citizens in an advantageous position, whilst depriving citizens' others of the right to have rights. This causes de facto or de jure stateless persons to have a wide array of their rights violated or restricts their access to rights, and causes the needs of stateless persons to become invisible in nation-state practices.

It is clear that Syrian refugees and Syrian refugee children have faced such risks since the Syrian civil war began in 2011. Consequently, one should be mindful of the fact that although Turkish Citizenship Law No. 5901 does not create the risk of statelessness for Syrian refugee children born in Turkey, both the problems faced by Syrian refugees in accessing services and the ambiguities in registration, in particular birth registration, may lead to high numbers of new cases of statelessness, which poses the highest risk to separated and unaccompanied minors.

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OKSANA KOSHULKO*

*The current position and recent experience
of the children of labour migrants, internally
and externally displaced persons, refugees and
asylum seekers in Ukraine*

ABSTRACT : This chapter presents the results of research examining different categories of Ukrainian children growing up with their parents and other adults during the transformations of the 21st century in their own country. Among these categories are children of labour migrants, internally and externally displaced persons, children of the Ukrainian military and children who are themselves members of the Ukrainian military, children living in “grey zones” along the front-line, and children living on the temporarily occupied territories of Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. All these categories of children exist in addition to Ukrainian children unaffected by these events, which is explained in this chapter.

KEY WORDS : Ukraine, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Crimean Tatars, children, humanitarian missions, international organisations, internally and externally displaced persons

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Introduction

The chapter provides an analysis of several categories of Ukrainian children who were born and grew up in a period of socio-economic and political transformations in their Motherland. They are the children of labour migrants, children of the members of the Ukrainian military and children who are themselves members of the Ukrainian military, internally and externally displaced persons including Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars, children living in the temporarily occupied territories of Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea as well as children living in “grey zones” along the front-line.

Labour migration from Ukraine started approximately twenty years ago, during which period several million Ukrainians have gone abroad to work. This means that many of the children of these migrants grew up with only one parent, or in some cases without the presence of either parent.

Internally and externally displaced persons appeared as a phenomenon in Ukraine in the period between 2013–2014, when the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity for the freedom and dignity of the Ukrainian nation took place, fighting against corruption and lawlessness in the country. These events were followed by the Russian occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the Russian war against Ukraine in Donbass. This has led to internal and external displacement of a large part of the Ukrainian population. Among the displaced were children from Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, including Crimean Tatars and Ukrainians, who were forced to leave their homes because of the occupation of these territories by Russia. The children of Crimean Tatars and their parents were particularly affected by this occupation as they had previously lost their Homeland in 1944. In 2014, they were once again forced to leave their homes.

Children living in “grey zones” along the front-line and children living in the temporarily occupied territories of Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea are affected by the war and the occupation on a daily basis.

Children of Ukrainian soldiers and children who are themselves members of the Ukrainian military are fully aware of the consequences of the war for them, their families and their homes in every region of Ukraine. Some of the children in this category have received posthumous Orders of Merit that were awarded to their fathers or mothers. Similarly, some parents

have received the posthumous Orders of Merit that were awarded to their children.

Classification and analysis of the categories of Ukrainian children affected by transformations in Ukraine

The following are the categories of children affected by the socio-economic, political, state and other transformations in Ukraine in the 21st century:

- children of Ukrainian labour migrants;
- children of internally and externally displaced persons;
- children of members of the Ukrainian military;
- children who are themselves members of the Ukrainian military;
- children from “grey zones” along the front-line in Donbass;
- children living in the temporarily occupied territories of Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

This chapter will analyse the abovementioned categories.

The children of Ukrainian labour migrants

Labour migration from Ukraine to many countries of the EU, the United States and Canada started approximately twenty years ago and is the subject of research in many countries where migration exists. In this period, thousands of Ukrainian children have grown up without their mothers or without either of their parents. In effect, these children are orphans with living parents.

Naturally, this situation has caused trauma, difficulties and challenges in the lives of the children who have been left behind, especially if their mothers have had to work abroad. Female migrants comprise over 40% of all Ukrainians who have left the country to work abroad.

According to the data of Hofmann and Reichel in their paper “Ukrainian Migration: An analysis of migration movements to, through and from”, the percentage of female migrants from Ukraine is nearly 50%: *‘the share of females among potential emigrants is 48%, among returning migrants it is 41%’* (Hofmann & Reichel, 2011).

If children could live with their mothers or parents abroad, this would be the best solution but it rarely happens.

The children of these migrants can be classified into the following groups:

- children growing up in Ukraine without one or both parents. This refers to families where the parents were forced to work abroad to earn more money than possible in Ukraine;
- children of labour migrants where the child lives abroad without their parents because of a need to study in a special school for talented children or at a university abroad;
- children living abroad with their parents. However, this number is small compared to the number of children growing up in Ukraine without mothers or both parents.

Some Ukrainian labour migrants try to invoke their rights to family reunification as enshrined in the Directive on the Right to Family Reunification. This Directive *‘establishes common rules for exercising the right to family reunification in 25 EU Member States (excluding the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark)’* (Family reunification, 2017).

European Social Charter (ESC), in Article 19, paragraph 6, provides *‘for the contracting states obligation to facilitate the family reunion of migrant workers who reside legally in the country’*. The European Committee of Social Rights (ECSR) has noted that this requires states to provide for *‘the liberal administration of the right to family reunion’* (The European Committee of Social Rights, 2015).

However, claiming this right is not a viable option for the majority of Ukrainian migrants, who are largely illegal in the EU or are domestic workers providing live-in services for a family. In these cases, it is almost impossible for the migrant to meet EU requirements for salary and accommodation in order to make a reunification claim and bring their children from Ukraine to live with them.

The ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child by Ukraine was completed on 28 August 1991 (Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989), and one of the rights of children stipulated in the Convention is *‘the right to live and grow up in a family’*; however, the majority of the children of Ukrainian labour migrants are deprived of this right.

The children of internally displaced persons

In general, the children of internally displaced persons are the children of Ukrainians, including Crimean Tatars, who have migrated with their parents and other adults to different government-controlled regions of Ukraine as internally displaced persons.

According to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, internally displaced persons are *'persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border'* (The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017).

'Over 3.1 million Ukrainians have been displaced by the violence, and struggle to access their rights' according to data from the Norwegian Refugee Council in Ukraine (NRC) (The Norwegian Refugee Council in Ukraine, 2017). Half of the displaced people are internally displaced from Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

Since 2014, due to war and the occupation, one hundred thousand children of internally displaced persons have fled Donbass and the temporarily occupied territories, the front-lines (the so-called "contact-line") and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. Today, according to official data from the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, there are 1.5 million internally displaced Ukrainians from Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea including the Crimean Tatars (Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, 2018).

As a consequence, the Ukrainian Government has passed legislation concerning internally displaced persons in the country, including resolutions on the registration of internally displaced persons, provision of monthly targeted financial support, the approval of the procedure for the use of funds received from individuals and legal entities to provide one-time financial assistance, welfare payments to persons displaced from the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine, as well as other provisions. The most important of these are:

The law in Ukraine "On ensuring the rights and freedoms of internally displaced persons" with amendments introduced as per the Laws No. 77-VIII dated 28.12.2014, No. 245-VIII dated 05.03.2015, No. 921-VIII dated 24.12.2015

(Law of Ukraine “On ensuring the rights and freedoms of internally displaced persons”, 2015);

The Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 509 dated 1 October 2014 “On registration of internally displaced persons from the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine and anti-terrorist operation area” (Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 509, 2014);

Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 505 dated 1 October 2014 “On providing monthly targeted financial support to persons who are moving from the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine and anti-terrorist operation conduct area to cover livelihood, including housing and utilities” (Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 505, 2014);

Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 535 dated 1 October 2014 “On the approval of the procedure on the use of funds received from individuals and legal entities to provide one-time financial assistance to affected persons and persons from the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine or anti-terrorist operation area” (Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 535, 2014);

Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 637 dated 5 Nov 2014 “On welfare payments to persons displaced from the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine and antiterrorist operation conduct districts” (Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 637, 2014).

Internally displaced persons from Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, along with their children, currently live across the country and some families of Crimean Tatars have moved to Western Regions of Ukraine. On one hand, the situation in their home region is disastrous, as they have been forced to temporarily abandon their houses in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. On the other hand, it is a good opportunity for the Crimean Tartars and inhabitants of other parts of Ukraine to integrate and explore each other’s traditions, culture and religions.

The majority of displaced Crimean Tatars try to open their own small businesses in their new towns in order to share their ethnic cuisine with other Ukrainians.

Other internally displaced people are trying to do the same all across Ukraine with the support of various international organisations, such as the International Organisation for Migration, which teaches beneficiaries how

to open small businesses and apply for grants available to small and medium-sized businesses.

With the financial support of the EU, the International Organisation for Migration, *'has organized training sessions on self-employment, micro-business and professional orientation for internally displaced persons and the conflict-affected population have started a new IOM project, funded by the UK Department for International Development. The project covers 24 regions of Ukraine and will provide training opportunities for over 2,300 people. IOM has also organised the National Toll-Free Hotline in Ukraine. The hotline operates within the framework of the EU-funded project "Supporting Recovery and Sustainable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons and the Conflict-Affected Population in Ukraine"'* (The International Organisation for Migration, 2017).

The children of externally displaced persons

Externally displaced persons are the people who *'have left their home temporarily, crossed an international border, and who expect to return eventually. Depending upon their ability to return, and whether they are subject to persecution in their home country, externally displaced persons may be entitled to recognition as refugees under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) mandate'*, according to the definition from the US Legal, Inc. (US Legal, 2016).

The 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol also defines "refugees". This Convention states that – *'individuals may suffer such serious violations of their human rights that they have to leave their homes, their families and their communities to find sanctuary in another country'* (The UN Refugee Agency, 1951).

Therefore, the children of externally displaced people, like their parents, are actually refugees who have left Ukraine due to the war with Russia. According to the data of the Norwegian Refugee Council in Ukraine, *'1.5 million have fled the country'* (The Norwegian Refugee Council in Ukraine, 2017). The majority of these people have migrated with their children to Poland, Germany, Israel, the Czech Republic, Finland, other European countries, Asia and the United States.

However, in Poland these refugees have been treated as labour migrants and only a small percentage of the Ukrainians who have arrived there since 2014 have been granted refugee status according to the data from the Office for Foreigners in Poland (in Polish: Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców) (Office for Foreigners. Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców, 2017).

From 2015 to 2016, a fellowship project was conducted in Warsaw entitled 'The reasons for Ukrainian female migration to nearby countries at the beginning of the 21st century and the difficulties encountered by this migrant population'. Semi-structured interviews and a survey were conducted among Ukrainians in Warsaw, Kraków, and Lublin. 42% of the respondents confirmed that they had come to Poland to escape the war in Donbass between Ukraine and Russia (Koshulko, 2016).

Additionally, a fragment of one of the semi-structured interviews that took place in Kraków in 2016 was used in the presentation "Ukrainians in the Light of Migration Crisis in Europe," which was delivered at the international workshop "Human rights – contemporary threats and challenges" organised by the Faculty of Law, Administration and Economics at the University of Wrocław. This interview confirmed that some Ukrainians who came to Poland after 2014 were not labour migrants, but refugees (Koshulko, 2016):

A question to the respondent: *'Did you come to Poland because of the undeclared war in Ukraine?'*

The respondent, a woman, 38-years-old (Elena) replied: *"Yes. We escaped from Russian separatists and by luck and the will of God we were not killed and we did not die"*.

According to data from the Office for Foreigners, in 2013 only two people of Ukrainian origin were granted refugee status in Poland. Eight other decisions were made in the same period granting Ukrainians tolerated stay. In 2014, there were 6 decisions granting Ukrainians subsidiary protection and 11 decisions granting tolerated stay. In 2015, there were 2 decisions granting Ukrainian nationals refugee status in the Republic of Poland and 18 decisions granting subsidiary protection. In 2016, refugee status was granted to 16 people from Ukraine and 51 decisions granted subsidiary protection, while in 2017 (from 1.01.2017 to 22.10.2017) there were 56 decisions granting refugee status only to Ukrainians (Office for Foreigners. Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców, 2017).

Concerning the externally displaced people from Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea who have fled to Germany, an American writer, independent intellectual and the editor of the National Economics Editorial, Spencer P. Morrison, wrote: *'Germany Hates Ukrainians - Accepted. Just 150 of 2.6 Million Ukrainian Refugees'* (Morrison, 2017). In other EU countries, according to the data provided by Emma Anderson, 'Italy accepted 165 Ukrainian applicants, followed by the Czech Republic (150) and Finland (145)' (Anderson, 2015).

Thus, we can assume that the children of many refugees and externally displaced persons have accompanied their parents to Poland, Germany, Israel, Italy, the Czech Republic, Finland and other countries of Europe, Asia and North America, where some of them have managed to remain. They face many new challenges due to language barriers and other cultural differences while living among the children of their adopted countries.

Children of Ukrainian soldiers and children who are themselves members of the Ukrainian military

This category encompasses two groups of children affected by the Russian war against Ukraine:

The first group consists of children whose fathers are, or were, members of the Ukrainian Army. Some of the children have lost their fathers or mothers because of the war and are very much affected by the conflict overall. Some of them have received Orders of Merit from Ukraine, granted posthumously to their parents.

The second group consists of children who are, or were, themselves members of the Ukrainian military. These children are 18–20 years old and they are, or were, soldiers in the Ukrainian Army. Some of them were killed, and some of them became Heroes of Ukraine, even though they were still children:

- 18-year-old Serhiy Tabala (Сергій Табала) (1995–2014) from Sumsky region, was killed on 6 November, 2014, is a Hero of Ukraine (posthumously);
- 19-year-old Oleksandr Mykytiuk (Олександр Микитюк) (1999–2018) from Vinnitsa region was killed on 30 April, 2018;
- 19-year-old Stanislav Kish (Станіслав Кіш) (1995–2014) from Zakarpatsky region, was killed on 3 August, 2014;

- 19-year-old Yevgen Kostiuk (Євген Костюк) (1996–2016) from Vinnitsa city, died in hospital in Dnipro city on 2 June, 2016.

Children in “grey zones” along the front-line

The Russian war against Ukraine started in 2014 and has caused several million people to leave Donbass. Some of these people became displaced farther afield but a portion of them have stayed in “grey zones” along the front-line for various reasons.

According to the data from international organisations and humanitarian missions, over 5 million people have become victims of this war. The UN Women in Ukraine reports: *‘this conflict has directly affected at least 3.9 million of Donbas’ 5.2 million people and had a significant detrimental impact on human welfare and social and economic conditions’* (UN Women in Ukraine, 2017).

The United Nations Population Fund in Ukraine refers to the same number of people: *‘conflict in eastern Ukraine has affected around 5.2 million people’* (The United Nations Population Fund in Ukraine, 2017) and the Foundation ‘Save Ukraine Now’ states: *‘five million people have been affected by the conflict in eastern Ukraine’* (Save Ukraine Now, 2017).

At the same time, the Foundation ‘Save Ukraine Now’ focuses on a figure of nearly two million children who have been affected by the war and the occupation of Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea: *‘more than two million have been driven from their homes; 1.7 million children need aid. The suffering has inundated the entire nation, straining resources and stretching the capabilities of established relief organizations’* (Save Ukraine Now, 2017).

According to data from the Norwegian Refugee Council in Ukraine *‘over 17,000 buildings have been damaged or destroyed during three-years of conflict in eastern Ukraine. With no immediate end in sight, the crisis continues to exacerbate the daily lives of thousands of people who have lost their homes and land’* (The Norwegian Refugee Council in Ukraine, 2017).

Some of the affected populations from Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea have moved to other regions in Ukraine, under Ukrainian control. Some of them have gone to Russia or migrated to other countries, including

Poland, Germany, Israel etc, while others still live in “grey zones” on or around the front line.

This situation has created several groups of children affected by the war in Ukraine:

- The first group consists of children living with their parents as well as those living without their parents in orphanages, in the liberated territories and “grey zones” along the front-line (the so-called “contact-line”);
- The second group comprises children who have moved with their parents to different, government-controlled regions of Ukraine as internally displaced persons, among them Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars;
- The third group consists of children who have migrated with their parents as refugees and asylum seekers to EU countries such as Poland, Germany, Italy, Czech Republic and Finland, as well as to Israel and countries in Asia and the Americas;
- The fourth group comprises children still living in the temporarily occupied territories of Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in non-government controlled areas.

Children living either with their parents or unaccompanied in orphanages, in liberated territories and “grey zones” along the front-line (the so-called “contact-line”), are exposed every day to acts of war. Sometimes they are unable to satisfy fundamental human needs in these areas due to the destruction of basic infrastructure.

Humanitarian missions, international companies and organisations from many countries are helping Ukraine, these children and their parents to survive and re-build their lives and their homes as well as recover lands in the liberated territories and “grey zones” along the front-line.

Among the international companies, organisations and humanitarian missions are Procter & Gamble, the United Nations Children’s Fund, the United Nations Population Fund in Ukraine, the Norwegian Refugee Council in Ukraine and many others. They are helping people with necessities, including medical aid. In Donbass, for example, they carry out *‘reconstructions of destroyed and damaged houses, repair community infrastructure, such as hospitals and schools, prepare civilians for the cold winter temperatures with fuel and proper house insulation’* (The Norwegian Refugee Council in Ukraine, 2017); they also *‘open parenting rooms in medical facilities’* (The United Nations Children’s Fund,

2017). Additionally, they provide many other types of help to the children and adults in the liberated territories and “grey zones” along the front-line.

In this way, the governments of many countries help people survive in the liberated territories and “grey zones” along the front-line under the control of Ukraine. Among the countries providing aid are the UK, Japan, the USA, Canada, Poland, Germany, the Baltic countries, Israel, Norway, while aid organisations include: the International Organisation for Migration, the Norwegian Refugee Council in Ukraine (NRC), the United Nations including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Development Program in Ukraine, the United Nations Children’s Fund, the United Nations Population Fund in Ukraine, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and others in addition to the Ukrainian nation, volunteers and the Ukrainian Army.

Children living in the temporarily occupied territories of Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea

Some Ukrainian children, including the children of Crimean Tatars, have remained in the temporarily occupied, non-government-controlled territories of Donbass and in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. At the time of writing, no information was available regarding how many Ukrainian children of any ethnicity live there or under what conditions.

Migration of internally displaced people and their children from non-government controlled areas of Donbass to the territory of Ukraine continues every day. This at least allows Ukrainian children coming from the temporarily occupied territories of Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea to Ukraine to grow up as Ukrainian citizens in their own State.

Conclusions

Currently, Ukraine is experiencing one of the most difficult periods in its history. The Ukrainian state is still forging its independence from the Russian state as well as the historical spectre of the former Soviet Union. The process is

ongoing, and did not end with the independence referendum in 1991 as has been said. The country is experiencing revolution, war, reforms, labour migration, the occupation of the territories of Donbass and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea as well many other societal and economic challenges.

Friends of Ukraine and international organisations understand that this is a difficult time for the State and they support and help Ukraine in every way possible, including support to the Ukrainian economy.

Ukrainian children are seriously affected by the transformation in Ukraine, particularly the children in the categories explained and explored in this chapter.

Ukraine must continue along its very difficult journey, effectively rooting out all elements of the former Soviet system.

Today, the state has chosen to accept international values in the areas of Human Rights, freedom from corruption and poverty, liberty, as well as other civilised values of the world. Current and future generations of Ukrainian children must not forget the price that Ukraine is paying today for their better future.

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PART II

RESEARCH

SMARANDA CIOBAN*

*Exploring how children perceive their work.
Case study in Salaj County, Romania*

ABSTRACT : The research deals with paid and unpaid work related activities undertaken by children. It strives to show that due to prohibitive labour legislation, children engaged in economic activities in Romania lack visibility and protection. From a children's rights perspective, granting children the right to participation as stipulated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child and taking children's views seriously will provide better protection to children against marginalisation and exploitation. Based on the way Romanian children engage in economic activities, the research focuses on the attitude these children have towards work in general as well as to the work activities they perform. The research methodology employed a combination of analysis which included semi-structured interviews and a questionnaire. The interviews were conducted in November 2016 in Sălaj County, Romania on a group of 7 children. The questionnaire targeted older children and was applied to 31 high-school students from both rural and urban areas in March–May 2017. The resulting data was coded and analysed through the aid of QSR NVIVO 11 software.

KEY WORDS : child work, children's rights, children's visibility, social research, childhood studies

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Introduction

As child labour is a relatively new area of study, there is a definite need for data in relation to the engagement of children in economic activities. In recent years, a large debate has emerged between researchers with regard to the meaning attached to work in children's lives. Three major points of interest on the topic of working children can be identified. The first point deals with aspects related to the way in which childhood and its relation to work is perceived by various scholars. These hypotheses are mirrored in the classification of Judith Ennew, elaborated in 2005. Starting from the status of childhood in international law, particularly by the conclusions of the 2004 *State of the World's Children* report, the famous British activist and researcher of children rights identifies four distinct views regarding the image of working children, namely the *labour market*, the *human capital*, the *social responsibility* and the *child-centered* discourses (Ennew, 2005: 27–54). The second one has its origin in the historical studies of Phillippe Ariés and centres upon the mental construction of childhood imagery. In this case, the research of Michael Bourdillon should be mentioned, which highlights the socio-cultural dimension of child work (Bourdillon, 2010, 2011). Finally, there are Cindi Katz, Tatek Abebe and Craig Jeffery, who discuss the political economy of infantile employment (See: Abebe & Bessell, 2011: 765–786).

A second dimension that needs to be considered when tackling children's engagement in economic activities relates to children's rights. Therefore, scholars question whether forbidding children's work should be perceived as a way to grant children the right to protection or as a way to infringe children's right to participation. In this respect, four schools of children's rights emerged: paternalism, welfare, liberation and emancipation (Manfred, Hanson, Saadi & Vandenhoe, 2012: 63–79). Paternalist and welfare approaches perceive children mostly as “becoming”, highlighting their vulnerability in terms of exploitation (Ibidem, 73–75). On the opposite side, liberation and emancipation perspectives give greater value to children's ability to choose what is in their best interest, claiming that society should grant them the right to participation (ibidem). In accordance with the emancipation approach, which states that children are competent actors who have a say related to matters that concern them (Ibidem: 77–78), the research conducted explores children's views about their work and

the meaning they attach to it. Built on the foundation of the views of emancipation scholars, the main premise of the research was: "children have the right to be valued as social actors and contributors to their households". As Verhelten and Langen point out (See Ibidem: 78), acknowledging children's rights does not necessarily mean emphasising their vulnerability. Instead, their vulnerability may be linked to communities' influence and principally to the ideas transmitted by family members. The study also highlights the main risk factors inherent to child labour and calls for improved regulation of current legislation to ensure that children have access to special rights that serve their best interest. On a larger scale, the paper sees children's work from a socio-cultural point of view.

Based on the continuum model presented by Bourdillon (2011), I tried to observe both harmful and positive aspects of working. To my mind, a certain type of work cannot be regarded as detrimental or beneficial solely by distinguishing between paid and unpaid work or by referring to age. Workplace relations and the meaning attached to them in different situations, even when "work" is not included within the SNA production boundary are illustrative of the way the child is influenced by the activities they perform. Further, it is my opinion that the SNA production boundary excludes the main activities, such as domestic labour, that enable society to take care of children. Effective for distinguishing between harmful and beneficial work, the continuum model reflects the complexity of work situations that range from intolerable to harmful, neutral, positive and beneficial in accordance to the power relations established between children and adults during the work period. Bourdillon (2001) states that for each kind of working conditions, specific actions should be taken. While the intolerable cases have to be eliminated and those responsible for them punished by law, the harmful circumstances have to be improved and transformed, the neutral ones have to be improved in order to become positive and the positive and beneficial ones should be encouraged so as to aid children in feeling empowered.

The following research mainly illustrates the meanings attached by children to their unpaid work and how they value this type of work as compared to paid work. Even in the cases where the interviewees got paid for completing a task, which was extremely rare, most of the work they did was still uncompensated. This fact may lead them to further undervalue the unpaid work they do. While

conducting the research, I noticed particular cases where children felt vulnerable and reported feeling at risk of marginalisation. As a consequence, I included the danger of “marginalisation” as the main point of my analysis and examined whether the sense of vulnerability is linked to the limitations in children’s participation in decision-making about matters that concern them.

While preparing the paper, I conducted research on how marginalisation is linked to society and education, based on the theories related to children’s work as classified by Ennew (2005), namely: work free childhood perspectives, labour market discourse, human capital discourse, child-centred discourse and social responsibility discourse. Moreover, as a departing point for my analysis, I used the conceptions of Bourdillon (2011) who believed that work may be beneficial for children in particular situations, as sometimes they cover some of their schooling expenses with the money they earn. This is particularly relevant while taking into consideration the effects of macroeconomic policies and political change in children’s lives. Acknowledging the influences of external factors on children’s lives, I grounded my analysis both on children’s views about the activities they engage in as well as their perception of relevant individuals they interact with, such as family members, teachers, friends and colleagues.

Finally, the analysis employed attached meaning to the way each child self-identifies. This image is usually influenced by the experiences that children live through and especially the attitudes that others have in relation to their experiences and activities. Therefore, I encourage children to talk about themselves, their experiences in school and daily life, their relations with parents and family members, their conceptions of childhood as well as what their desires and expectations are. The analysis of the interviews with children as linked to their environment and the specifics of the community shows the complexity of factors that influence children in their daily lives and their engagement in economic activities.

Methodology and methods

This study uses a mixed method of evaluation. Considering that my first interest relates to exploring the meanings that children attach to the work activities they do, I employed a qualitative method of research, namely a semi-structured

interview. This type of interview allowed me to collect information about children's perceptions. Still, a question arose about how much my bias influenced the interviewed children. Therefore, I decided to apply a survey with both open and closed questions in order to better observe how children view the same issues if they are not asked supplementary questions.

First, I conducted 7 half-structured interviews with children from mostly rural areas related to the way they see work and their engagement in work activities. I decided to include children from rural areas between the ages of 12 and 14 in my target group, as according to the National Survey on Children's Activities (INS, 2003), most Romanian children reported that they began to work between the age of 6 and 11.

Although legislation mainly states that children above 13 are allowed to execute light work (which excludes agriculture. ILO Convention No. 138 concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment, 1973), in traditional Romanian society, it is customary for up to 89% of children to be engaged in agricultural work (INS, 2003, Save the Children Romania 2002, 2006; Ghinăraru, 2004; Sîrca, 2017). In addition, international law regulations ratified by Romania state that a child aged 12–14 may be employed only in jobs not designated as hazardous and not more than 14 hours per week (Hazardous work-work that affects children's physical or mental development, ILO Convention No. 182 concerning the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999). In 2012, World Vision Romania published a study that assessed the time spent at work by children from rural areas in Romania. The research indicates that the average time spent at work by this group is about two hours per day, but 13% of the children declared that they worked at least 4 hours per day.

Considering the points mentioned, I conducted an analysis of the way children from rural areas perceive work in general as well as how they perceive specific work they do. I decided to focus on Salaj County, a region in the North West of Romania. Studies show that the incidence of child labour in Romania is different from region to region (INS 2003, Pantea 2008, Figure 1 The distribution of economically active children in the regions). The lowest values of child labour are registered in Bucharest, West and Centre (0.8% according to parents' reports and 0.5% according to children's reports in Bucharest; 4% according to parents' reports and 3.5% according to children's reports in the West; 5.8% according to parents' reports and 8.9% according to children's reports in the

Centre), while the highest percentage of children engaged in economic activities is in the South and West with more than 25%.

I decided to focus on a small village, Preoteasa, from a rural area that has a traditional community belonging to the parish of Valcău de Jos, Sălaj County. Preoteasa is situated in the North-Western part of Romania, at 55 km distance from the city of Zalău. It is a typical mountain village, with a population of 698 people (according to the 2002 Census), who work in agriculture, generally pastoral farming. The majority of them are Romanians, but there are also Roma, Hungarians and Slovaks. Regarding educational resources, the village has a kindergarten with 13 children, and a secondary school providing education to 54 children.

Due to the insufficient number of children, the Secondary School combines various grade levels in the same class. Thus, pupils from the 5th grade are in the same class with pupils from the 7th grade, whereas pupils from the 6th grade are in the same class with pupils from the 8th grade. As there are very few children between the ages of 12 and 14 in the village, I decided to interview children from the fifth grade in the secondary school who consented to participate in the research.

Choosing the sample for research

I selected the interviewees by employing snowball methods. First, I approached D., a boy of 12 from the village. Approaching D. was relatively easy owing to the fact that my father, who is a teacher of music at the “Ioan Sima Zalău” (an art school), told me that D. was working in agriculture and introduced him to me. As D. had trust in my father, he was open to talk about his life and experience. Next, I asked D. if I could make contact with his friends and ask them if they would agree to take part in an interview related to their daily activities and work. Out of the 9 children from the village that studied at the school, 2 boys and 2 girls agreed to talk to me. Before the interviews, which were conducted at D’s house, I asked each of the children again if they agreed to participate and informed them that it was not mandatory to provide answers to every question. At that time, I had 5 subjects. I then included F. and S., a girl and a boy from the same age group (12–13). F. is from the same community as the children from Preoteasa but she is enrolled

at a different school in the centre of town, while S. is from Zalău. F. and S. were included in the sample to cover aspects that were not sufficiently represented in the other cases. The main point considered was that both F. and S. had some health issues in the past that they managed to overcome. In addition, F. came from a bigger village and S. lived in an urban area, a fact that may influence their daily lives. The validity of the results of the interview, which were openly coded in QSR NVIVO 11, was tested by applying a survey to a small group of high school students from both rural and urban areas.

In order to assess how much the results of the interviews were influenced by my bias, and explore whether other children have differing perspectives on work, I decided to conduct another survey based on similar questions. In the case of that survey, I decided to ask the children for their consent and instruct them that they may answer only those questions they felt comfortable with. I kept these standards in order to ensure that children did not feel pressured in any way. The main point related to the survey data is that I decided to let children choose by themselves if they wanted to describe a school day or a free day. In this instance I chose children from a different age group, that is 15–17 years old.

The survey was conducted in two classes from the Orthodox High School in Zalău. I opted for this sample as children who want to become priests and social workers mostly choose this high school. In traditional Romanian communities, the priest plays a prominent role in social life and holds a higher social status, serving as a role model for the community. The children had one week to answer the survey questions. Before conducting the survey, I attended two hours of social counselling, which is a group session that takes place after classes where children are encouraged to talk about themselves and their activities. During these classes, I introduced myself and stayed with the children and their psychology teacher who is also the school counsellor, getting involved in the activities. These sessions were optional. Next, I asked the teacher to ask on my behalf if they would agree to answer some questions about their activities and their work. Together with Alina (their teacher), I handed the surveys out to those who agreed and asked them to answer the questions they wanted when they had time. After a week, the participating children gave their answers to Alina. They chose to write on different pieces of paper than the survey paper they received. For this survey, the sample consisted of 31 children aged 15–17.

The research design

The study constitutes exploratory research about the meanings that children attach to their work, taking into account their value systems, expectations, relationships with their families and other relevant aspects. As the target group consisted of children enrolled in school, the research presents case studies of children aged 12–13 that combine working with schooling. Based on the interviews, I conducted a descriptive analysis of the interviewed children, which outlines aspects that have a higher significance for each of them.

As the main paradigm, I combined interpretivism, which is focused on the concept of "empathetic understanding", with the view of childhood as illustrated by emancipation theory. Interpretivist scholars believe that the world should be seen through the eyes of the person who acts. Interpretivism starts from the premise that people are complex and understand the same reality in very different ways. In this sense, the interpretivist approach values the experience and perception of individuals, and is therefore appropriate for research that makes the value of children's views about their work activities one of its goals. The same focus on the child and the experiences they live is conceptualised by emancipation scholars, who also explore how children are influenced by existing power relations and advocate empowering children to speak and be involved in the process of decision-making in matters that concern them, including their engagement in economic activities.

Children's roles as active economic actors is also acknowledged by socio-cultural researchers (Bourdillon; Nieuwenhuys; Ali Mazrui). According to the sociocultural perspective which is employed as a guiding theory in this paper, children's work has to be analysed in its complexity as a superficial analysis of children's work leads towards diminishing it. In this respect, this study tried to identify activities that children regard as work and activities that may be conceptualised as work despite the fact that children perceived them differently. A specific challenge was to assert how children relate to school, work and leisure activities and when the differences among these categories are blurred.

Analysing and interpreting the data

This exploratory research was conducted based on two methods, namely semi-structured interview and survey. The semi-structured interview was based on an interview guide to which specific questions were added based on the child's answers and attitudes. After the last interview I had a small discussion with the group in which I asked for their feedback. The survey was based on the resulting interview guide and comprised of 21 questions.

The semi-structured interview

Qualitative research contributes towards unfolding and describing phenomena. It has as its main goals the description and understanding of social phenomena and the results in similar situations. One of the methods is the qualitative interview, which allows the researcher to collect data straight from the respondent. The semi-structured interview (which is a type of qualitative interview) has some fixed questions, but allows the interviewer to ask specific questions as well. This method offered me the chance to do two things at once, cover common ground between the interviews as well as explore their particular aspects.

The advantage of the interview is that it creates an understanding of attitudes. Still, there are numerous studies showing that interviews may be inappropriate to children because of the power relations between the child and the researcher. As Pantea explains (2008: 284), the researcher has to pay attention to some limitations that appear while conducting interviews with children. Considering that my subjects were children, before the interviews I attempted to create a climate of trust. I introduced myself to them, explained what I study and then read the consent form. After the children gave their consent (all together), I asked each of them to come in another room for the interview. Then, I asked the interviewee to help me turn on the audio device, to decide where the device should be placed and told some jokes or talked about what it would have been like for me to be interviewed at his age.

During the conversation, I employed a language similar to the children. These methods were meant to diminish the power relation that might appear while conducting interviews with children. Making them aware that it is fine if

they refuse to answer a question also helped in establishing a connection with the interviewed children. Furthermore, Pantea states (2008: 284) that power relations may be diminished if the researcher interviews two children simultaneously or based on their drawings. In this respect, I had a small-talk conversation with all the children together before the interview, which created a certain climate of trust.

The interviews focused on children's work, family relations, children's leisure activities, school and their opinion about school, children's relations with their friends, peer groups and teachers as well as the way they see their work and work in general. The interviews lasted between 17 and 40 minutes and were audio registered after the children gave their consent. Considering that the interviewed children were under sixteen, I asked for their parents' consent before asking the children if they would agree to take part in the research. After explaining the objective of the study and that the survey is anonymous, only one parent did not agree. Consequently, I did not conduct an interview with that child. I also met some children that were reluctant to participate in interviews and I accepted their decisions, without protest.

After the last interview, I asked the children for feedback about the interviews and how they felt. They declared that they were not used to talking about themselves and their work. With relation to other people's interest in their daily activities, their answers were very diverse. Some of them declared that it was nobody's business what they do on particular days, but they still answered that adults should be interested in how children feel. At the same time, the respondents stressed that sometimes adults are reluctant to listen to children or simply do not want to listen, because "adults" are very busy (in this category, the children included parents and teachers). What I noticed in the short discussion after the interview was that children believe that what they say does not have any relevance. Asked if the teachers listen when they express their views, the children answered that they did not have relevant ideas (this may be the feedback they receive from adults). Consequently, the short discussion conducted after the interviews showed that children are used to not being taken seriously.

Most of the interviews took place at D's house in Preoteasa, in a separate room. The place was familiar to all children interviewed. As I did not close the door, from time to time we were interrupted by the noise coming from the farm animals (chickens, cows). In addition, there were moments when we could

hear mobile phones ringing, laughing, etc. Although the noise made the transcription of the interviews very difficult, it made children feel at ease because they were familiar. The interviews were conducted in November 2016. After each interview, I took some notes, but the complete transcription was finalised in February–March 2017. D., F. and S. were interviewed in a room in my house, in Zalău. The place was familiar to them, considering the fact that all three children knew my father beforehand and came to this location for music lessons. While interviewing the children, I expressed my appreciation for the effort they invest in the tasks they engage in and their achievements. I did so bearing in mind theorists' observations that children's work is undervalued. All the children from the sample declared that school was very important to them. The majority believed that combining work and school offered them advantages in relation to children that do not work.

Coding and analysing interview data through NVIVO 11

QSR NVIVO 11 is a qualitative data instrument that facilitates the organisation and interpretation of data. The program allows researchers to add more analysis filters and establish connections between data during the research process, by providing the options to add new cases, sources and nodes. First, I included the transcription of the interviews from the analysis sample in the program as sources in a folder I called "internals".

For each interview, I created a general description (example: "Adr is a 12 year old girl from Preoteasa, a village from Sălaj county. She studies in the village school, in the seventh grade."), entered the details in document properties and identified it with an initial instead of a name. Each of them had attributes such as age and gender. Hence, the data from the internal folder (each interview that I conducted with the children was identified with an initial) were used to create a particular case, classified as a person and the main attributes were established: sex, age group, occupation and country of birth. Considering that all children were enrolled in schools, had the same country of birth and belonged to the same age group, the difference rested only in gender.

The only case that is included in two sources is D., who is a cousin of F. In the interview with F., she explicitly relates to D. in two matters. In total, F's references

to D. consist of 2.72% of the total reference and are related to D's work as well as F's opinion on D's approach to work. Asked if it is acceptable that a child helps his father in cutting wood from the forest, F. points out that this type of situation does not seem normal to her. The excerpt below illustrates her opinion:

“Interviewer: For example, a child wants to help his father to cut woods in the forest. Do you think it is fine if he helps his father?

F: Well, with woodcutting in the forest like you mentioned I don't think it's fine.

Interviewer: Why do you think so? I mean, in the case of a boy.

F: No. It also depends on the age. If, for example, the boy is 17 or 18, it may be reasonable. (...) Yes, when you are older. But when you are younger, you don't have physical strength, so it is harder. (...) Yes. For example, one of my cousins wants to drive a tractor and he is paid by villagers to work their land. He wants to do this, but I think that also my uncle guides him in this direction because he wants to take care of him- at least, this is my opinion.

Interviewer: Do you think it is right that he does this?

F: Mmm...maybe he does learn to drive earlier. Still, I don't think it's good. It depends on whether he is tired or not.”

(Personal translation, interview with F., girl, 13)

In the other cases, although the children are friends, they do not explicitly talk about each other. Still, they all referred to their peers affirming that they also work and help their families, that their friends also think they have too much homework (R.), that their friends laugh at them (R. and Adr.), or that they do not talk with their classmates about work (boys from Preoteasa: A., C., D.).

Next, I created the main nodes, namely: work, school, family, childhood, daily activities, expectations and responsibility. I then began the process of coding. As I coded the data, I included child nodes for work (agriculture, domestic labour), school (benefits, shortcomings, teachers), family (relationships, rules, values), expectations (parents, personal, teachers), responsibility (family, school, work) and I created issues like appreciation, attitude (negative, neutral, positive), friends. I coded children's answers from the interviews, from different excerpts, choosing appropriate nodes that fit in different situations. In the

next phase of the research, the nodes were re-examined so as to include all the data from the interviews and I then created some other nodes, namely: helping, marginalisation, recreation (activities, desires), and welfare.

As Figure 1 (Nodes compared by number of coding references (Personal Work)) may show, the main references were included in the nodes “work” and “family”. In the “work” node, the distribution between domestic labour and agriculture was similar, with domestic labour having most of the references (91, while agriculture had 79). In the case of domestic labour, I included excerpts that refer to taking care of siblings, cleaning, helping with food preparation and taking care of livestock, while agricultural work included planting, mowing the grass, seasonal work on the fields and tractor work.

Most of the references in the “domestic labour” topic were noticed in the interview with Adr. (24), followed by the interview with F. (19) and the interview with R. (18). Still, those 24 references in the interview with Adr. had only 3, 93% coverage (the smallest coverage of all the interviewed girls). The difference appeared due to the fact that Adr. employed only a few words while talking about work. While exploring the answers provided by Adr., it may be observed that although she says that she likes work, Adr. talks very little about her work activities. This may be proof that Adr. sees the work activities she does (cleaning, taking care of her brother, preparing food, feeding the domestic animals) as ordinary and undervalues her work. Adr. declared that she helped her mother 2–3 hours daily. The main coverage for the node “domestic labour” appears in the interview with F. (13.13%) and with R. (9.11%). According to F., she gets involved in all the jobs she is able to do because she wants to help her mother. Her mother is working as a hairstylist and is busy all day long. Therefore, F. believes that cleaning the house, taking care of her sister, giving food to animals are her responsibilities and she is interested in organising her schedule so as to be able to help her mother. Asked how she would feel if she had no work, F. answered that she would feel bored having nothing to do. At the same time, she admits that she does these types of work because these jobs need to be done. During the school year, F. said that she helped her mother with housework only after doing her homework and studying.

“F: I don’t like it so much because it is boring when you have nothing to do. When you have some work to do...one day you sweep the floor, one day if I want I clean the table.

Interviewer: But do you like to sweep the floor, do the cleaning, tidy the table?

F: Yes. I cannot say that this is only an obligation. I do this because I know that I have to clean my room, the house.”

(Personal translation, interview with F., girl, 13)

For R., some work may become a pleasant activity, a way of relaxation. Thus, during the interview, R. affirmed that the chore she liked most was cleaning the floor because then she could dance. R. asserted that she performed domestic tasks for about three hours per day.

“Interviewer: Can you tell me which chores you get engaged in you like?

R: Well, cleaning: washing the floor.

Interviewer: Why do you like that?

R: Yes, I like it. Well, while I wash the floor I dance and then I like it. (Laughing.)”

(Personal translation, interview with R., girl, 12)

The coverage of the domestic labour node shows that there is a gender division of labour in the communities from rural areas. Even if all children declared that they got involved in some household activities, the content from girls’ interviews had significantly higher coverage as related to domestic labour. In the case of boys, the highest coverage of domestic labour was noticed in the interview with S., who declared to be doing this work in order to help his mother. S’s parents work all day long in the market, selling fruit and vegetables. Asked if he liked helping his parents, S. stated that he liked doing this kind of work because he was thinking about his parents:

“S: I like it because I am thinking a lot about them (my parents), I mean they work for me and to ensure that I have good conditions and I am thinking that they go to work in the morning and they come back in the evening. Most of the time, I do not necessarily help them with work, with their work; I mostly help them with household chores because I am thinking about my mother, basically. I am thinking that

she is tired after working so much and maybe when she gets home she wants to sit and relax for a few moments. And I do not want her to do the cleaning and these kind of chores because she is tired and so I do the cleaning before she comes home.”

(Personal translation, interview with S., boy, 12)

In spite of the public view that children from rural areas are mostly engaged in agricultural activities, the coverage of the “agriculture” node was significantly lower than for domestic labour. Most of the references and the highest coverage were noticed in the interview with D. (22 references -6.05%) and A. (16 references -4.79%). For D., taking part in agricultural activities is a common practice in the summer holiday. The boy said that a normal summer day began with asking his grandparents if there was work he could get involved in. In addition, D. declared that he “would help every person that needed help with agricultural work and that he felt proud whenever his work was appreciated.”

“Interviewer: For example, has it happened that you helped someone else than your grandfather? D: Yes. I also help my uncle. I do every type of work. I mean agriculture.

Interviewer: When you work in agriculture, do you help only members of your family?

D: No. If it is necessary, I help whoever asks me to.

Interviewer: But if you help them, do they offer something else for you in return?

D: Sometimes. Only if I want them to.”

(Personal translation, interview with D., boy, 12)

In the summer, agricultural work takes more than half a day and children perceive their participation from an impersonal point of view, addressing work as “something that has to be done”. Even if they are twelve or thirteen years old, the interviewed boys from the rural community and the girl (R.) were driving tractors. Apart from work in agriculture and domestic chores, children referred to work in other contexts. This node is better covered in the interviews with S. and R. S. has a more complex understanding of the notion of work, stating that playing music and creating a YouTube video may also be regarded as forms of

work. Hence, S. classifies both paid and unpaid activities as work, stating that the main characteristic of work is that it is useful. In this sense, S. explains why he claims that creating a YouTube channel has to be regarded as work:

“S: It is work because if you use it to play... for example, certain people earn money from working in this field, from modern technology. They create programmes and this is work. With my YouTube channel, I say that it is work because there is filming and editing involved. There were times when I had to delete the video and post it again. It is work because you spend most of the time there to create content so that people can access your posts. As a YouTuber, for example, you have to create a video in such a way that people do not feel bored and you give them new information all the time.”

(Personal translation, interview with S., boy, 12)

The query shows words that children employed while talking about work. “Money”, “paid”, “depends”, “appreciate”, “useful” are some of the words found in the query. The topic that is prevalent in children’s interviews is family. Thus, while talking about their work activities, children relate to parents, brothers and grandparents. The highest coverage of references in the “family” node was registered in interviews with F., R. and A. I paid special attention to the interview with A. A’s father has been working abroad since A. was little. As a result, A. internalised his feelings for the family and he is distant while speaking about himself. Moreover, A. declared that his father did not always appreciate his work, but he got used to it (developed a certain form of resistance when people consider him “lazy”). In this respect, A. feels his work is undervalued.

“Interviewer: Can you tell me how your parents see your work? Let’s begin with your mother. How does she perceive your work?

A: Well, she appreciates that I help her...just that. I don’t know.

Interviewer: Does she rely on your help?

A: Yes (answers proudly)

Interviewer: Is it something like: do you want to help me?

A: No. Mostly it is like: whether or not you want to, you do it. It is good for you to do it. Interviewer: And your father?

A: My father too. When he asks he says to me...very good! Very good!
(Laughing) It was about time to do it (laughing).

Interviewer: It was about time? What does this mean? Do you think that in his opinion you do not do the work on time, which means you are sort of lazy sometimes?

A: Yes. Sometimes.”

(Personal translation, interview with A., boy, 13)

Among other essential dimensions are the topics of “helping”, “identity” and “marginalisation”. All the analysed interviews contained references to these nodes. For the “identity” node, the highest coverage appeared in the answers of S. (12–9.43%) and most of the references were to D. (29–6.72%). The identity node relates to the way children perceive themselves and value their work. Identity may also signal agency, as shown in the excerpt when S. says that not all people know him so well and this is the reason why he is not affected by offences. More than that, identity may be linked to empowerment, like D’s interview may indicate. Although D. is more reserved and does not feel at ease describing his feelings, he frequently relates to aspects that he is proud of (example: helping his parents, working in agriculture, lending money to his sister when she needs some, buying useful objects).

“Help” is another concept children refer to while talking about work. As the conducted interviews may show, children do not perceive their activities as work, but rather as something less significant: “helping”. The highest coverage of “helping” is found in the interview with F. who appreciates that helping her mother is normal and perceives it as a priority. Consequently, F. believes it is normal when her mother asks for her help in a demanding way. The conducted interviews also showed that there are specific situations in which people are more vulnerable to victimisation. In this sense, I designed a query which shows the risk of marginalisation. This risk was assessed by challenging children to answer some questions related to the consequences that refusal to work may have.

Interviewer: Have you ever heard an adult screaming at a child because he was working or not working?

F: Mmm...no. Sometimes I spend a few moments, maybe only a minute watching TV and my mother is coming and she thinks that I’ve

been watching TV for over an hour and I haven't finished my chores. And it seems normal to me because she needs help as she is in a constant struggle against time and all these kinds of things.

Interviewer: What happens if you do not want to work on a particular day? Does your mother quarrel with you?

F: Mmm...It depends on the circumstances. If I really have something more important to do apart from this job, she either tells me to finish it as fast as I can because she needs me very much, but if she does not need me that much, she lets me finish what I have to do."

(Personal translation, interview with F., girl, 13)

The topic of marginalisation (See Figure No 2: The risk of marginalisation, Annexes, Personal Work) was mostly present in the excerpts from the interviews with R., S. and C. and was connected to attitudes to school (R), working on the Internet and taking part in contests (S), or family (C).

"Interviewer: Has someone ever laughed at you or insulted you while you were working?

S: Yes. I mean, on YouTube, the bad comments and...

Interviewer: And how do you see them? How do they affect you?

S: I ... they do not affect me because they do not know me. I mean, they do not know me as my friends do and I tell you... I had comments that insulted me, telling me that I'm stupid. Maybe they are right, but there's not a big difference between the person in real life and the person I am on YouTube. I am the same, and not necessarily only on YouTube. On the Internet. "

(Personal translation, interview with S., boy, 12)

"R: At home, no. For example, it happened at school. Once I was on duty and the classroom was messy because we...we had some small fights, basically...and I brought the broom and I wanted to sweep the floor and some of my classmates told me: Oh, my gosh! Did you end up so badly, are you a servant? I got really upset."

(Personal translation, interview with R., girl, 12)

“Interviewer: Ok. Can I ask you if somebody has ever teased you, screamed at you or offended you because you were working?

C: No.

Interviewer: And because you were not working?

C: This has happened. Yes.

Interviewer: Who? Family members? Or who?

C: Yes.

Interviewer: How did you feel?

C: Fine.”

(Personal translation, interview with C., boy, 12)

The examples show children’s tendency to internalise what they feel and to answer based on what they believe is desirable for the person who asks them. Considering this fact, it is highly probable that the children’s answers do not reflect what they feel in all cases.

How work is perceived by children

Based on the Memos that I drafted while coding the interviews and further developed during the query, I attempted to explore the main characteristics of each child who took part in the interviews. This phase was meant to hint at the differences that may appear between what children say openly and what they feel.

1. A.

A. is a boy of 13 years old from Preoteasa. His father has been working at a slaughter house in Italy for 8 years. His mother is a housekeeper. He does not have brothers or sisters. When he was young, he felt the absence of his father; now he is indifferent to it. However, he thinks that it would be better if his father returned home. He works in the field together with his family, in particular with his grandfather. He is not paid for the agricultural work and he does not expect to be paid. He has been driving a tractor since he was 10 or 11 years old. A. also says that there are moments when he helps his mother in the housework, particularly when she has a lot of work and requests his aid. When he was asked how he would spend his free time, A. said that he would go to cafes and

pubs together with his friends from different cities in order to find a job. A. recognises that his work schedule is imposed by his parents and affirms that he usually respects it, but there are some moments when he does not respect it. Still, his parents do not notice the change in attitude. A. affirms that he is very angry when he does not want to do something, but he neglects his anger and he continues his work. A. also recognises that his father considers him “lazy”, but he is not affected by it. When he has duties, he works even if he feels tired. In A’s opinion, it is very important for a child to work, because work prepares him for the future and he believes that a child can be involved in agricultural work. A. has been going to school from an early age and wants to continue his school education in order to choose the profession he’d like to pursue and only after that to find a job. A. does not want to combine the present work (probably: agriculture) with school. For A., to be “prepared in life” is the most important.

2. Adr.

Adr. is a girl of 12, who seemed “a little bit timid and scared” during the interview. She is a pupil of the 7th grade in Preoteasa School and has a younger brother of about 10 years old. Her mother and grandmother do the housework and farm work: they work in the family garden, and rear livestock. Her father is a manager. Adr. learned to cook when she was in 4th grade. She is very close to her mother. She also feeds the animals and cleans the house (sweeps, dusts, washes the dishes, sets the table). She likes both housework and school. In the summer holidays, she usually wakes up at 9 o’clock. On an ordinary day, she plays computer games, meets her friends and after that she helps her mother with housework. During the summer months, she works in the field together with her family and she likes it (Observation: Adr. seems to be a person who probably offers answers in accordance to what she thinks the speaker wants to hear). At the same time, she mentions that she works in the field even when it is hot and uncomfortable. In Adr’s family, work is gendered: she is not allowed to weed or work on haymaking; she only picks potatoes and helps with corn harvesting. Adr. declares that her nails are often unclean due to agricultural work, but she is not disturbed by this fact (Adr. seems very preoccupied with her look). When she does not like the work in which she is involved, Adr. confesses to her parents and she leaves it. In such situations, her parents are upset and perceive her as being “lazy”. Adr. describes her ideal day as one filled with eating, playing and

shopping. She does not know what it would be like if she did not help her mother as she has never brought it up. When asked if she would like such a free day, she said that it would be boring. In Adr's opinion, teachers are not interested in the fact that children work in the household; they are interested only in teaching and giving homework. Adr. feels very responsible for her school marks and that is the reason she does her homework regularly. When she was asked if school work could be treated as work, she answered that school would be an easier kind of work. Adr. says that she usually has too much homework. She also mentions that her classmates have the same opinion. She usually expresses her dissatisfaction in the presence of her parents, but she never talks about it with the teachers. Adr. recognises that sometimes the boys mock her while she works. In her opinion, girls work more than boys and she justifies her claim by mentioning that her brother has a less busy schedule. She believes that it is better for a child to work. A child can take care of their younger siblings and help their parents with housework and agriculture. Although she does not think that all information taught at school is useful for her, she wants to focus on learning. Other skills can be learned after she finishes her studies, Adr. points out.

3. C.

C. is a determined boy of 12, whose father works on a farm in Italy and whose mother is a technician in Nușfalău (at 38 km distance from the village of Preoteasa). He also lives in Preoteasa with his brother who is five years older and studies in high school. He refuses to answer questions regarding work (what his opinion about work is, what work means, if it is important for him to work); he affirms only that work is very important to his parents because it provides the means for necessary supplies. In C's opinion, work is a kind of mutual help. He says that he does not work; he feeds the animals (the poultry, the cow and the dog), helps his mother in the household and drives a tractor. During the summer, he works on the field. Although he perceives agricultural work as an easy activity, he declares that he does not like to work all year. He believes that work implies payment and states that it is very important to obtain material benefits for what he does. However, he does not request money for helping his family or working in the field. He affirms that his classmates work and he is strongly convinced that all of them help their parents. It is normal for a child to help their parents, as C. pointed out. C. feels appreciated when his family say

that he is diligent. He is very angry when somebody insults him or considers him to be lazy because he does not work. He has never observed a situation where somebody was mocked because he was working; he remembers only the opposite. In C's opinion, a child can work on the field, but without working too hard. The ideal time is from 8 o'clock until noon. The work should not be done every day. He thinks it is perfectly normal for a child to wake up early, because he does. He does not accept parental violence, but he does not interfere when a classmate is insulted or beaten by relatives, as he claims that in this kind of situation that person has to handle it himself. In addition, C. affirms that school is "very important" to him, he likes school and wants to become a policeman.

4. D.

D. is a 12 year-old boy from Preoteasa who has an elder sister. His parents work in a firm in Nuşfalău. During the summer, he works on the field. Moreover, he takes keyboard lessons in Zalău. When he is at home, he helps his grandmother with feeding the livestock, his family with cleaning the house and also works with his grandfather on haymaking and wood-cutting. Sometimes, he does agricultural work for other people who ask for his help, including operating agricultural machines, and he gets paid for it. In such situations, he works all day. He appreciates that he gets approximately the pay of an adult. When he is asked why he likes payment, he declares that he prefers to be responsible and independent. D. states that he would be bored if he had nothing to do. He thinks that his work offers him an advantage for the future, particularly if he chooses a field in which he can apply the skills he has learned. His parents are very proud of him and appreciate his work. This makes him extremely happy. In his view, work is a part of ordinary life and this opinion applies also to payment. He either gives his earnings to his sister when she asks or buys whatever he wants. Of course, the latter decision is made after the parents' consent. He observes that his classmates work too. In a situation when somebody mocks him when he works, he stops the activity and tries to see what the problem is and find a solution. The same applies also when he feels tired. He has never been insulted while working. In D's view, helping parents comes first and his own concerns come second. Both school and work are important to him. However, school is better, claims D.. Concerning his plans for the future, D. says that he wants to become an engineer and to play the keyboard at parties and weddings.

5. F.

F. is a girl of 13 years old from Valcău de Jos, who suffered some health problems in the past, but overcame them with the aid of music (takes music lessons). However, some issues remain and still affect her self-confidence. F. has a younger sister and loves her very much. She has a gendered perception of work. Thus, she is preoccupied only with what she considers as “girl work”, namely helping her mother in the household, cleaning, cooking and taking care of her sister. She considers helping her mother a duty and talks about a gradual enhancement of responsibilities. She associates work with difficulty and does not include household activities in the work category. She never tells her mother when she is tired and stops only when she finishes her work. She is eager to demonstrate that she can set her schedule to do whatever and as much as she wants. However, she admits that she does not have much time for leisure. She has more time for leisure when she’s working with a classmate. In F’s opinion, teachers perceive housework as something normal and think that her classmates embrace the same view. They act like her and help their parents. The only dissatisfaction she expresses is connected with the fact that holiday homework takes too long and it affects her housework schedule. She does not approve of hard work for people under the age of 17.

6. R.

R. is a 12 years old girl from Preoteasa, whose father works on a farm in Italy. R. lives in a multi-generational home with her grandparents as many children have mentioned here. She has a younger brother of 7 years old. She helps her parents. She works with her mother doing housework, takes care of her brother and aided her father (before he left Romania) with farm work. She drives a tractor, cooks, feeds the livestock and carries wood. She learned how to drive the tractor at her father’s request. At first, it seemed very difficult to her but it gradually became easier. She loves cleaning and perceives this as a moment of relaxation (it makes her want to dance). She estimates that housework takes minimum of three hours per day. She says that she would like to choose a day to get up late and have no responsibilities. R. is concerned by the fact that she has too much homework and says that she talks to her class teacher about this issue, but the teacher has not shown much interest. Nevertheless, she was not punished when she sacrificed her homework in order to help her parents. She feels that sometimes she cannot do whatever she wants, but she does not know how to express it because she fears

that her parents do not understand her. Moreover, she mentions a situation in which her classmates insulted her because she was working. It was during a class cleaning. She realises that her parents have too many expectations of her. They are frequently upset when she gets poor grades at school.

7. S.

S. is a 13 year-old boy from Zalău, who has some health problems and has to undergo a medical check-up every month. However, he does not mention it during the interview (the researcher knows about it from other sources). Instead, he has a very strong sense of self-confidence and that is the main reason why he does not have a clear perception of work. The activities usually included in the category of “work” are described by him as “pleasure”. This way, he organises his schedule in four directions: helping his parents, school activities, YouTube blogging and music. It should be mentioned that he has his own YouTube channel with more than 400 subscribers (where he mixes Romanian songs), he also takes keyboard lessons and has his own band (with boys of the same age) that performs at parties and weddings. S. likes to be appreciated and his life seems to orbit around music. His motivation includes both sentimental attachment to music and financial motivation. These motives are linked to a typical desire for self-identity.

The analysis of children’s characteristics contributed to an understanding of how they perceive work. Nevertheless, interviews have an important limitation: the researcher’s bias, a fact that may have led to children answering the questions to satisfy the researcher, expressing mostly what they thought the researcher wanted to know. Consequently, in the second phase of the analysis, I conducted another survey based on the same questions provided in the interview guide. It represented a control phase, attempting to explore which types of activities children consider as work and their position in relation to the main actors of influence (parents, teachers and friends). Considering that a survey requires a certain understanding of the phenomenon studied, I decided to apply this survey to older children. They are more likely to have their own conceptions and apply critical thinking; facts that allow them to interrogate concepts and form their own views in relation to matters that concern them.

Validating the data: a pilot survey

The survey represents a quantitative method of research in which subjects respond to a series of statements or questions. The method is used for studying a sample. In the present study, the survey involves questionnaires, which are both closed-ended and open-ended. The survey is composed of 20 questions, 12 of which are closed-ended. The first question related to the age and the child's place of residence. Consequently, it was included with open-ended questions in a table imported to NVIVO 11. This survey was applied to 31 children from 9th and 10th grade from the Saint Nicholas Orthodox High school in Zalău. This educational institution was chosen due to the fact that it has a school dormitory. The children enrolled in this institution come from both urban and rural areas. The chosen sample included 11 children from urban areas (9 from Zalău, 1 from Cehu Silvaniei and one from Șimleu Silvaniei) and 20 from rural areas, 18 of who are from Sălaj County. The other two come from villages in Satu Mare county (a girl from 10th grade) and Vaslui county (a girl from 9th grade) and are living in the campus dormitory. Out of the 18 children that live in rural areas in Sălaj, 6 come from smaller villages (Chichișa, Cerișa, Chendrea, Vădurele and Subcetate) and the remaining students live in larger villages. As relates to gender distribution, the questionnaire was applied to 19 boys (9 boys in 9th grade; 10 boys in 10th grade) and 12 girls (4 girls in 9th grade and 8 girls in 10th grade). Gender distribution mirrors the specificity of the high school, as most of the children that choose this institution want to become priests. In the case of the girls, the school prepares them for a career in social work. The answers provided show that work plays the main role in children's lives. In the case of the girls, work is usually combined with schooling, a fact that leads girls to perceive both as important. For boys, school and work are distinct. Still, the answers show that both are important aspects of their lives. The answers of the surveyed sample create room for analysing the generative nature of work as seen by children. In this sense, children's opinions may be explained by taking into account the view that work allows one to acquire skills that will be necessary in the future.

The other questions of the survey that challenged the children to express their views were coded in seven nodes, each of them corresponding to the topic of the question, respectively: "the view of parents/brothers and friends on work",

“opinion about work”, “types of work”, “family description”, “describing an ordinary day”, “your life without work”, “activities”. The survey respondents were included as “cases”. The next phase of the analysis codes the information from the survey data in the nodes created for the interview analysis. At first glance, it may be seen that although reference coverage for each question is very small (0.46%), NVIVO 11 Program allows for an exploration of the differences in the way children regard a particular question. For example, children answered that they get involved in a range of activities, such as: domestic work, watering the plants, cleaning, studying, writing, feeding the livestock, carrying the water bucket, taking out the garbage, cooking, mowing the grass, feeding pets, intellectual work, singing in the Church choir, lifting bags with clothes onto a truck, sweeping the floor, helping parents and close ones, going to school, agricultural work, washing the dishes and playing on the computer. When asked about leisure activities, the most frequently mentioned were as follows: relaxing, studying, helping parents and family, listening to music, talking on the phone and on Facebook, playing on the computer, walking, sleeping, having fun, riding a bicycle, staying in bed and resting. Asked how they would feel if they did not have to work, most of the children answered that it would be boring or they would not like it. Still, one person said that it would be wonderful, while other children said that they would have more time to spend with their friends. At the same time, some children connected lack of work to being useless, not having enough money to live and feeling bad in relation to other people. These aspects also appeared in the interviews. Asked about work, the respondents reported to perceive work as: “useful”, “necessary”, “a pleasant activity”, “something necessary for survival”, “income”, “effort”, “money”, “benefit” and “a means to get what you want”. As the main categories, these aspects also appeared in the interviews. However, in the interviews with D. and S., work was also seen as empowering, a dimension that was not observed in the survey data. As in the case of the interviews, the answers of the survey participants indicate that children say little about their work when they are asked what they do on a typical day. Out of the 31 children, 7 mentioned work while describing an ordinary day. Out of those seven, only two explicitly referred to work: “I work if it is necessary”, “one day I went haymaking”. The other children identified work as a way of helping: “sometimes I help out in the household”, “I help”, “I help my mother”, “I help my parents” or “I clean

my room”. Asked about their families, most of the children say that they have a good relationship with family members and indirectly show their appreciation for them. Love, care, helping, generosity and calm are the main words used by children to talk about their relatives. Nevertheless, one girl says that her father and her brother do not understand her: “my mother is the best, my father never understands me and my brother is annoying”. Some of the children who took part in the survey provided less information about their families, or provided only objective information, a fact that may indicate some tension: “they work and there are two of them”, “they are from Zalău”, “I live with my parents. My father is a carpenter, and my mother is a housekeeper”, etc. This hypothesis is partially sustained for one particular respondent. Thus, the respondent who answered, “they are from Zalău” also declared that his parents did not appreciate his work: “my parents see my work as horrible”. The same situation is observed for the participant who answered, “they work and there are two of them”. Asked how parents/brothers/ friends see their work, they replied, “they think I work hard”. Also, the girl who declared to have a good relationship with her mother, but complained about the relationship with her brother and father, reported that her family’s opinion regarding her work was negative: “a waste of time”.

At first glance, both the interviews and the survey unfold a relationship between the family’s attitude towards work in general and the children’s work activities. Still, this relation has to be analysed further from a qualitative point of view, which implies conducting research among different age groups that belong to diverse family backgrounds. In addition, quantitative methods of analysis allow researchers to identify correlations between different variables (for example, the level of correlation between children’s work and the way familial perception of work, familial relationships and the meaning children attach to their work, the meaning that children attach to their work and the meaning families attach to children’s work).

Through this study, I intended to explore children’s attitudes towards work by challenging them to describe their activities and talk about their day-to-day life. In the future, the research will be extended so as to observe more cases (based on a grounded theory method of collecting and analysing data, which centres on the phenomenon, rather than on the person) and will operate on establishing relationships of dependence/ interdependence between different variables.

Conclusions

The research focuses on children's engagement in economic activities in Romania. It is situated in the field of childhood studies, a multidisciplinary field that looks at children's attitudes and the meanings they attach to their lives. Whereas paternalistic approaches might have seen children as passive, dependent or incomplete, this study aims to present them as equal participants in society, distinctly competent to adults, but of interest for who they are now, not only because of who they will become. Children's rights and the relationship between parents and children are the main points of analysis in this field. Moreover, the present paper mirrors how the relationship between parents and children and parents' attitude towards children's work determines whether children value their efforts and involvement.

The study also investigates how children perceive the activities they engage in and the reasons behind them. The discrepancies between work done by children as defined in the academic field and by children themselves, represent an incipient point for this analysis. This analysis portrays work both as paid and unpaid, centring upon the daily activities that children do and the way they talk about them. Besides, most of the activities described in the study are not included within the SNA production boundary, as they are types of domestic work and they are not regulated by any legislation. In addition, these types of activities are considered by society to have a limited economic value and they are underestimated.

Attitudes regarding work are seen in this paper as conceptualised by the sociocultural theory of Bourdillon who states that childhood is a social construction and advocates valuing children's work. Bourdillon also associates work with children's self-affirmation and self-confidence and asserts the need for studying the meaning children attach to work. Thus, some children perceived work from a formal point of view, saying that "work is what may not be within children's capacities" and work activities that children have to do should not be difficult. This does not mean that children should not "help" their parents with household chores, as domestic activities are basic and can be done by every person. Children also refer to the danger of child exploitation through work, stating that a child should not work all day long every day, but at the same time they point to the difference between younger and older children in relation to the activities

that they may be engaged in. Although some of the children pointed out that it is good for children to take up some activities at an early age in order to assimilate basic skills, most of the children agreed that responsibility and engagement in work comes with age. Boys and girls express different views on when a job is not fit for children. While one of the girls said that agricultural activities are hard and should not be assigned to children, the boys viewed agriculture as easy work that may be done even by young children. In addition, children hold that in spite of the fact that they should help their parents, they should not be forced to do activities they do not like or do not want to do.

The distinction between necessity and obligation of work needs to be further analysed, as it may constitute a protective factor against children's exploitation. Still, in practice, this distinction is sometimes blurry, as some children declare that they are not obliged to do some kinds of activities although reality shows the contrary. Moreover, the interviews conducted with children show that there is a difference between what activities children consider adequate for this age group in general and what activities they are personally engaged in. Growing up is the main dimension that children associate with childhood, assuming that growing up implies increasing engagement in work activities.

The interviews also show that "helping their parents" is not perceived and valued by children as work. Rather, it is seen as an activity they have to do, both taking into consideration their attachment to family members and societal regulations: "they should help their parents as well", "these are some basic activities that everyone should do". Consequently, it may be held that most of children's activities, namely helping, are not seen by children themselves and their parents alike as important. Doing domestic tasks is seen as normal and sometimes children are insulted when they refuse to do them. However, when asked about the reasons behind engagement in this type of activities, children affirm that it is their own decision and they are not persuaded by anyone to do them. Thus, work seems to be correlated to pleasure, decision-making, maturity and the child's own identity. The internalisation of the decision to work was shown by associating the answers children offered to the question "what happens if you do not want to work" to the information coded in the identity node. Although children engage in work activities because they want to, they confess that their refusal may upset their parents or cause their parents to call them "lazy". For children whose work is appreciated by parents, engaging in economic activities is a way

of earning appreciation and respect, as the case of D. may show. Apart from domestic and agricultural work, children may also engage in artistic activities, develop different applications/websites/channels on the Internet, sell products in the market as well as load or transport different goods.

Furthermore, the research analyses the differences between how children perceive work in general and the work they do. Most of the answers show that children view work as important, useful for one's survival both from a financial and a social point of view, essential for accumulating experience, a means of getting what one wants. In this sense, work is mainly identified with paid work. As related to the types of activities they do, children mainly define them as "helping" and view them as not very hard or time-consuming and having limited value. Most of the information in this dimension was provided by survey data, as during the interviews the children did not relate so much to their work. Thus, most of them said that parents thank them for their help, give them money and appreciate the activities they do. Children estimate that helping their parents with domestic tasks does not take more than three hours per day and is mainly done by girls but working in agriculture does not have a fixed time frame and is done mainly by boys. There is a gender division between jobs undertaken by children, a fact that further marginalises activities done by girls, which are considered as "not so important". At the same time, in the case of girls, work is also a way of socialisation (F. is helped by her friends and relative to perform the tasks), while for boys involvement in agricultural works is a sign of self-worth (D. feels proud that he works and he is paid for his work).

The presence of work in children's daily lives does not exclude schooling, although in some cases children name school as a "kind of work". For the interviewed children, school played a significant role in fulfilling their expectations and having a good life in the future, but most of them did not totally exclude the value of work in their development.

Limitations of the research

By illustrating children's attitudes regarding work in general and concerning the types of work they do, the present research claims that children's efforts in relation to work need to be valued in society.

Still, the paper presents various limitations: the number of analysed cases; the way the questions were formulated (as the construction of questions may show the researcher's bias and determine the respondents to provide answers based on their social desirability); the limited number of interviews (one interview for each person which means that the problem cannot be seen in evolution); the limited number of work situations (in relation to the diversity of situations identified by other scholars, such as Pantea in 2008). Furthermore, the research was coded by only one researcher and through a single method of coding (direct coding), a fact that involves a higher degree of data subjectivity and a higher influence of the researcher's bias.

Expanding the research: further steps

This research was meant to serve as an exploratory study about work activities regularly engaged in by children and to identify possible meanings they attach to work. As the next step, the research sample needs to be expanded so as to include children from various backgrounds who undertake other types of activities that were not represented in this paper, including participation in competitive sports, begging, selling different products, or being members of youth organisations. In this sense, I plan to include other children so as to provide saturation for the abovementioned criteria. Data collection for the research and its interpretation will be further developed based on grounded theory. Grounded theory approach assumes that interviews need to be transcribed and analysed right after collection, a fact that may provide more comprehensive data.

The conducted research also suggested some possible correlations between different variables, respectively parents/friends/families' opinions about children's work and family relations, parents/friends/families' opinions about work and children's opinions about their work, types of work and children's opinions about work. These possible correlations will be quantitatively analysed after conducting a survey that meets the criteria of relevance and validity.

The conducted study maintains that work in children's daily lives and the meaning attached to it represents a topic of great interest. Although it is not visible, work is the main component of children's daily lives both from a synchronic and a diachronic point of view. From a child-centred approach, it is

necessary for the academic field to provide a framework for analysis in order to allow children to express their views about how work influences them and how work may be beneficial to them.

Children state that work should be based on their ability and should distinguish between necessity and obligation, but these concepts are rather vague. In a country with inconsistent data about children engaged in economic activities based on a traditional mentality that “helping” is not work, children’s voices need to be heard. Still, the primary focus has to be placed on the main factors that influence children, including family relations, the way other people approach work, personal expectations, children’s experiences and the way their families perceive their work.

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Annexes

ANNEX NO 1 – QUALITATIVE STUDY

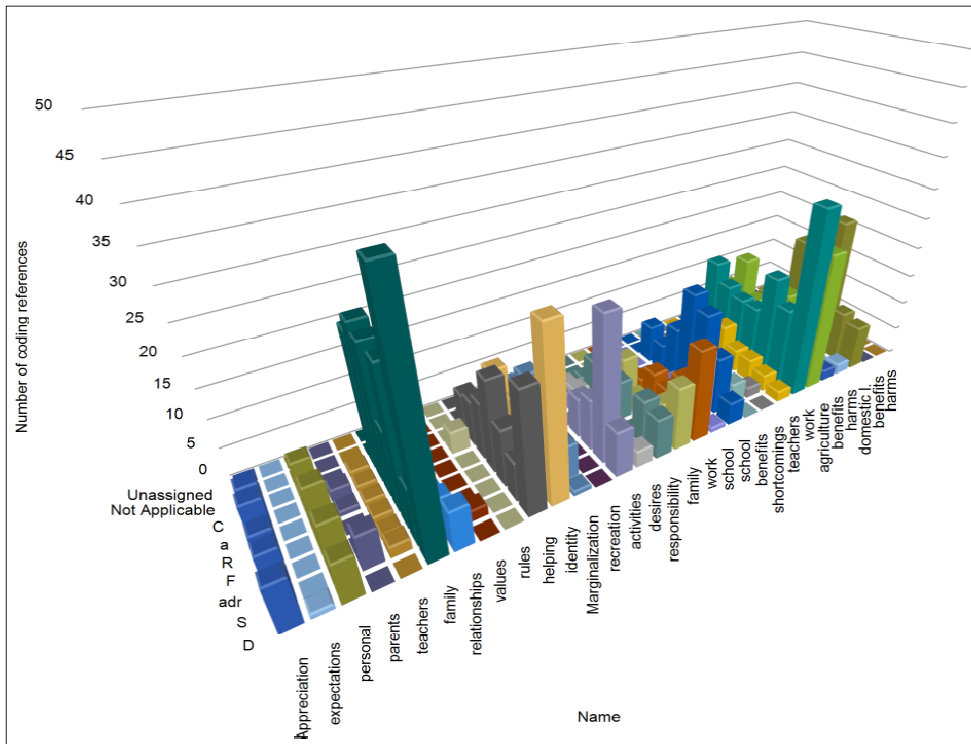


Figure1. Nodes compared by number of coding references (Coding by person: Name). Personal Work (QSR NVIVO 13)

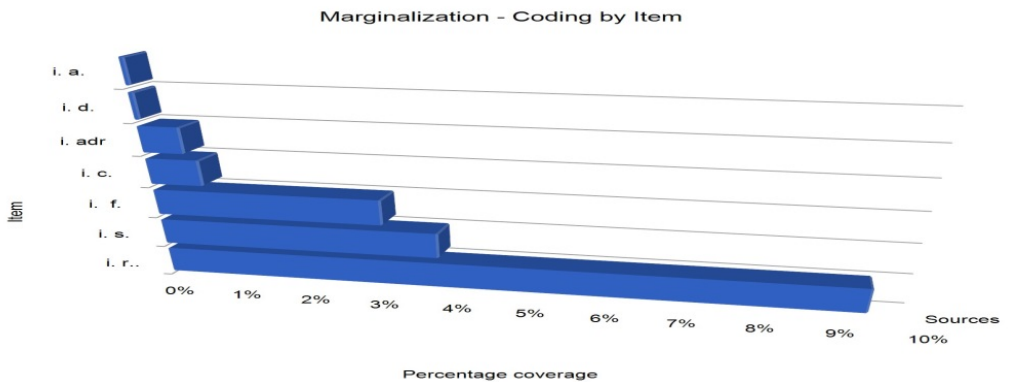


Figure 2. The risk of marginalisation. Personal Work (QSR NVIVO 13)

ANNEX NO 2 – QUALITATIVE STUDY

**Table 1. Nodes compared by number of coding references (Coding by person: Name).
Personal Work (QSR NVIVO 13)**

N		
Missing	Valid	
0	31	Gender
0	31	Is it important for you to work
1	30	Do you like the work that you do
1	30	Would you like to do something else in return
0	31	Do your teachers know that you are working
2	29	Do your friends know that you are working
0	31	Has anybody ever shouted at you or said bad words while you were working?
0	31	Has anybody ever told you to work even if you were tired
0	31	In your opinion, is it good for a child to work
2	29	Have you ever heard an adult shouting at a child because he/she was working
8	23	Have you ever heard an adult shouting at a child because he/she was not working
11	20	Is somebody upset with you if you do not want to work on a particular day
3	28	What is more important for you? to work or to go to school

Table 2. The risk of marginalisation. Personal Work (QSR NVIVO 13)

Gender					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	BOY	21	67.7	67.7	67.7
	GIRL	10	32.3	32.3	100.0
	Total	31	100.0	100.0	

Is it important for you to work?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	24	77.4	77.4	77.4
	NO	1	3.2	3.2	80.6
	Other answer	6	19.4	19.4	100.0
	Total	31	100.0	100.0	

Do you like the work that you do?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	22	71.0	73.3	73.3
	NO	1	3.2	3.3	76.7
	Other answer	7	22.6	23.3	100.0
Missing	999	1	3.2		
Total		31	100.0		

Would you like to do something else in return?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	11	35.5	36.7	36.7
	NO	10	32.3	33.3	70.0
	Other answer	9	29.0	30.0	100.0
Missing	999	1	3.2		
Total		31	100.0		

Do your teachers know that you are working?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	18	58.1	58.1	58.1
	NO	9	29.0	29.0	87.1
	Other answer	4	12.9	12.9	100.0
	Total	31	100.0	100.0	

Do your friends know that you are working?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	18	58.1	62.1	62.1
	NO	1	3.2	3.4	65.5
	Other answer	10	32.3	34.5	100.0
Missing	999	2	6.5		
Total		31	100.0		

Has anybody ever shouted at you or said bad words to you while you were working?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	6	19.4	19.4	19.4
	NO	25	80.6	80.6	100.0
Total		31	100.0	100.0	

Has anybody ever told you to work even if you were tired?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	3	9.7	9.7	9.7
	NO	26	83.9	83.9	93.5
	Other answer	2	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	31	100.0	100.0	

In your opinion, is it good for a child to work?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	26	83.9	83.9	83.9
	NO	3	9.7	9.7	93.5
	Other answer	2	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	31	100.0	100.0	

Have you ever heard an adult shouting at a child because he /she was working?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	15	48.4	51.7	51.7
	NO	14	45.2	48.3	100.0
	Total	29	93.5	100.0	
Missing	999	2	6.5		
Total		31	100.0		

Have you ever heard an adult shouting at a child because he/she was not working?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	11	35.5	47.8	47.8
	NO	12	38.7	52.2	100.0
	Total	23	74.2	100.0	
Missing	999	8	25.8		
Total		31	100.0		

Is somebody upset with you if you do not want to work on a particular day?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	38.7	60.0	60.0
	NO	8	25.8	40.0	100.0
	Total	20	64.5	100.0	
Missing	999	11	35.5		
Total		31	100.0		

What is more important to you? to work or to go to school?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	school	11	35.5	39.3	39.3
	work	7	22.6	25.0	64.3
	both	10	32.3	35.7	100.0
	Total	28	90.3	100.0	
Missing	999	3	9.7		
Total		31	100.0		

MAGDALINI ALEXANDROPOULOU*

*Key issues in age assessment procedures
of unaccompanied migrant children
in Greece and Germany
– Assessing age or children's needs?*

ABSTRACT : This text addresses selected key issues concerning age assessment procedures of unaccompanied migrant children as they have emerged in Greece and Germany, in order to discuss whether they are the result of non-harmonised and non-child-centred age assessment processes. The text hypothesises that such developments are associated with Eurocentric views and attitudes on the notion of childhood as well as on the status of the migrant child, hindering these children's ability to be heard and to actively participate in matters that affect them. Therefore, it uses an interdisciplinary approach in order to reflect critically on the concept of the "Other" in the subject of childhood and of "children out of place". The first part of the text will present the theoretical aspect (main discourse) of age assessment procedures as discussed within the international community. The second part will highlight key issues that I selected regarding Greece and Germany when transitioning from theory (regulations) into practice (methods carried out). This will include insights from individual interviews conducted with a sample of representatives from relevant NGOs, national and international organisations and experts in both countries. The text's contribution lies in providing a new way in which to approach the issue of unaccompanied child migrants and how to consider their voice in decisions that affect them. It aims to provide results that are applicable to teachers, pedagogues, human rights institutions, immigration authorities and practitioners that deal with children and youth with diverse cultural backgrounds within different contexts in their host countries.

KEY WORDS : unaccompanied children, migrant children, age assessment, key issues, Greece, Germany

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Introduction

Unaccompanied migrant children, travelling on false documents or having no documents at all, have become the human faces of a global rise in the movement of people – a movement that is expected to impact communities, economies and nations for generations to come

(Unicef, 2015)

Age assessment can be applied in a variety of contexts and is a crucial and yet challenging procedure that authorities may need to undertake when aiming to establish the chronological age of an individual lacking legal documents (EASO, 2013: 6). Age assessment has significant implications on what an individual is entitled to concerning protective mechanisms and the enjoyment of certain rights and provisions by law.

With respect to immigration procedures, if the age of the child is disputed, they will often enter the adult asylum determination process and will consequently be unable to benefit from any of the concessions available to those who can prove they are under 18 years old. Age can be disputed for a variety of reasons. Individuals either do not know their age or do not have the documents to prove it to the authorities. An increasing number of age disputes have led to a demand to assess age in a more objective way. In this respect, the European view on *childhood* as marked by *chronological age* in international law can have a huge impact on societies, including the formation of specific policies and attitudes. Therefore, it is important to explore the way in which European societies perceive these notions, which should not necessarily apply in all parts of the world.

This text explores selected key issues that have emerged in the practical implementation of age assessment procedures of unaccompanied migrant children in Greece and Germany by addressing the practical methodologies used in praxis in the two countries. Greece and Germany are the focus because it is these countries that, in recent years, have been two of the main transit and final destination countries for the large number of migrants and refugees that have come to Europe. Among these migrants and refugees are an unprecedented number of unaccompanied children. In this respect, the text considers how these recent developments have exacerbated issues such as the treatment of children and the provision of harmonised child protection processes (IOM, 2015: 2). It

hypothesises that the current age assessment processes are non-harmonised and non-child-centred and therefore contribute to children's mistrust of protective mechanisms, leading many of them to make the decision to pursue their own migration plan outside regular European procedures.

The first chapter outlines the main discourse regarding the reliability and ethics of the current procedures. It uses an interdisciplinary approach in order to reflect critically on the established interpretations by outlining two concepts, the concept of the "Other" in the subject of childhood and of "children out of place", framing the idea that the existing corpus of codified child rights is not evolving or is not sufficient for the promotion of their best interests and their right to be heard and participate in decisions that affect them. The concept of the "Other" with regards to childhood aims to create an understanding of how the European view of childhood, as marked by chronological age in international law, has an impact on children and leads to policies that should not necessarily be applied in all parts of the world. The concept of "children out of place", aims, among other things, to address the fact that the *voicelessness* of migrant children (Liebel, 2017: 126) on matters that affect them increases their marginalisation and categorisation as well as their social heritage or immigration situation which subsequently affects views, policies and decisions that concern them. Both of the concepts serve as important elements of the discussion over Eurocentric approaches and views as they have been derived from Post-colonial mentalities. These have then formed attitudes towards child migrants in Europe, affecting policies that include age assessment procedures.

The second chapter illustrates selected key issues that occur in the transition from theory into practice in Greece and Germany. Drawing on the insights of the people who are active in this field, the text aims to discuss the main hypothesis that the current legislative framework and its practical implementation in the two countries leads directly to a non-child-centred age assessment mechanism which does not consider the migrant child's voice and which could therefore lead to the child's mistrust of the authorities and protective mechanisms.

The text concludes with a number of recommendations on how to overcome the current challenges. This includes a stronger consideration of the children's right to play an active part in the discussion regarding their age assessment procedure, clearer guidelines, and greater cooperation between the authorities in first countries and final contact countries.

Method

Methodological assumptions of the realised research

The research hypothesises that the issues raised in both countries are the result of non-harmonised and non-child-centred age assessment processes. This stems from the *categorisation* and *view* of these children as migrants instead of recognising that they are first and foremost children. The text hypothesises that such developments are associated with Eurocentric views, attitudes and policies over the notion of childhood as marked by chronological age, hindering these children's ability to *be heard* and to *actively participate* in decisions that affect them. This leads to their *voicelessness* (Liebel, 2017: 126) and contributes to the children's mistrust of the protective mechanisms. Last but not least, the text hypothesises that such treatment is a possible reason why many of them decide to pursue their own migration plan outside of the regular European procedures.

Research Design

The research took place between the 15th of January 2017 and the 20th of April 2017 and focused on Greece and Germany. In carrying out the research, I involved a qualitative and participatory approach which included desk study as well as individual interviews with representatives of institutions, NGOs, international and national organisations that deal with age assessment in the two countries (United Nations Commissioner for the Refugees: Greece, Child's Ombudsman: Greece, Doctors of the World: Greece, Lawyer for the legal assistance of unaccompanied asylum seeking children: Greece, German National Coalition: Greece, Youth Doctor: Germany, Youth Welfare Office of Hamburg: Germany).

In the first phase of the study, relevant scientific literature, articles, as well as international and European regulations were collected and analysed. The second phase of the study involved individual interviews with various actors in both countries with the aim of collecting comprehensive data information to enable a comprehensive analysis and interdisciplinary insight into the complexity of the issue.

Methodological Limitations

Although the research project has reached its aims, there were some unavoidable limitations. At this point I would like to briefly comment on my decision not to include interviews with children or employ other participative research methods in this study. I definitely consider children's voices and views crucial and necessary when conducting research on them, and I stand for their right to "be correctly described, researched and counted" ("Unwritten Rights" by Ennew, Invernizzi, 2017: 1). However, due to time constrictions, I made the decision not to include child interviews in this part of this research. Furthermore, I recognise the danger of discussing adult interpretations on data gathered on children and therefore I point out the need for further research that includes field interviews with children with the view of increasing the depth and scope of the analyses.

Theoretical focus

Inaccuracy of age assessment methodologies

At a European level, one of the greatest debates between member states towards common standards for asylum procedures (EU, 2016: 1), involves the methods of age assessment procedures. Methods can be either medical, non-medical, or both. The accuracy, reliability and ethicality of the methods have been repeatedly questioned (MdM, 2015: 3).

According to available evidence (UNICEF, 2008: 28), it is clear that in most countries there is a *lack of specific guidance* about how and when age assessment should be carried out. Often informal and physical inspections, based on observation alone, are performed. Moreover, the *absence of multidisciplinary approaches* when establishing the age of an individual claiming to be a child has been highlighted as an issue of main concern (ENOC, 2016: 18). What is more, differing national laws and legislations mean that member states may use different methods when it comes to age assessment practices (EASO, 2013: 6). The need for harmonised approaches in dealing with the subject in line with international and community obligations is therefore paramount.

EU members that carry out medical examinations rely on different techniques that include dental examinations and X-rays of various bones of the body, including carpal (hand/wrist) and collar bone, as well as sexual maturity examination and physical development assessments by a paediatrician to determine the maturity of the individual (MdM, 2015: 3). However, the accuracy of these methodologies has been repeatedly challenged and such processes have been criticised for being *inadequate, inappropriate, unreliable* and *disproportionally intrusive* (MdM, 2015: 5-8). According to medico-logical analysis there are three main doubts that arise when using radiological techniques. The first one is the fact that the estimates have a *margin of error* (EASO, 2013: 8) that can be a number of years out. Some reports note that the deviation between the skeletal age of an individual and their chronological age can see a difference of up to as much as five years above or below the actual age of the individual (Ferraro, 2003: 131). Secondly, considering that there is some level of risk associated with X-rays and they are not a health benefit to the individual examined, the *bioethics principle of non-maleficence* when applying such methods for assessing age is called into question (AIDA, 2015: 5). Because of this, it has been argued (Aynsley-Green, 2012: 17-42) that “the use of radiology for age assessment for administrative as opposed to medical purposes is not only imprecise, but also unethical and potentially unlawful”.

Last but not least, due to issues relating to civil registration in some countries, it has been pointed out that such techniques *lack a sufficient scientific base* for the nationalities that make up the majority of the unaccompanied adolescents arriving in Europe. A person’s bone maturity is assessed against a set reference group. However, in countries where births of citizens are not effectively registered, then the researcher cannot actually verify the age of the reference group from this country (Noll, 2016: 5). This can mean that there is no valid reference group to compare the applicant to.

Assessing “childhood” by assessing “age”

The West is a name for a subject which gathers itself in discourse but is also an object constituted discursively; it is, evidently, a name always associating itself with those regions, communities, and peoples that appear politically or economically superior to other regions, communities, and peoples. Basically, it is just like the name “Japan,” . . . it claims that it is capable of sustaining, if not actually transcending, an impulse to transcend all the particularizations

Naoki Sakai, 1998 (Chakrabarty, 2007)

Since the emergence of child labour laws over one hundred years ago, chronological age has come to be of great importance as a precise age takes on a social value in relation to the law (Smith, 2011: 2). Furthermore, the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) has reinforced this significance by stating the first international definition of a child as “*any person below the age of eighteen years*” (CRC, Art.1) and the right to birth registration (CRC, Art. 7). In this regard, in a legal and politically constructed model of childhood, evidence of *identity* and *birth* have been recognised as a crucial precondition to the gradual acquisition of rights and responsibilities as well as an important aspect for securing protection. Therefore, children in the absence of official documentation inevitably face disputes.

Given this reality, when the authorities need to know the age of an undocumented child, the estimation of his/her age is carried out through various methods, the accuracy of which has been repeatedly challenged and criticised. Scheper-Hughes claims that international law is built on a definition of childhood that has roots in the West, where the definition of *childhood* is marked by *chronological age*, leaving little space for local understandings on concepts such as the concept of childhood, challenging its social relativity (Scheper, 1998). In recent years, a need for more specific international guidance on how age assessments should be carried out, and the weighting they should be given as part of *holistic* age assessment together with the knowledge of the individual’s background and context, has been repeatedly highlighted but still not often considered or implemented in practice (Smith, 2011: 41).

In this chapter, I discuss the subject of childhood as marked by chronological age in international law with regards to the “Other”, a concept coined by the Palestinian literary scholar Edward W. Said (Said, 1978). Said’s approach examines

the cultural representation and perception of the Middle East according to a Western point of view. He shows how Eastern culture is therefore perceived as not “normal”, and becomes *exoticised* and *ostracised* in the eyes of the West (Liebel, 2017: 82). By analysing this concept, I explore whether the notion of childhood as understood in Europe stems from Eurocentric postcolonial approaches and attitudes. Evaluating childhood from the perspective of Euro-centrism and a Post-colonial mentality creates an understanding of the influence this has over the development of policies and practices towards children who may experience a different form of childhood from that in the West. The analysis explores this “otherness” with the aim of addressing these “differences” in the notion of childhood as an asset, rather than an obstacle, towards forming policies. The theory is an important element in the discussion on this Eurocentric view, which has formed attitudes and affected policies towards migrant children.

Childhood as a social construction

Considering evidence from cross-cultural studies (Waller, 2006: 82), different social, cultural and religious groups define childhood and other stages of life differently. Social anthropologists and sociologists have long observed that childhood is a *social construct*, therefore leading to *diversity* in childhood experiences. Therefore, in some countries or within certain communities for example, birth registration is rarely recorded.

Considering that in different parts of the world childhood and birth registration have a different meaning and significance, it can be argued that the matter of chronological age as understood and assessed in Europe is associated with a “dominant western European pattern of childhood and youth”, often used to construct and qualify childhoods in all parts of the world, “which cannot and should not be universally applied” (Liebel, 2017: 119). Eurocentric views tend to qualify a *singular* understanding and view on *what* childhood is or *how* it should be, overlooking that childhood is in fact a socially constructed phenomenon which is differently understood depending on cultural, societal and political contexts (Ibidem: 79).

The way in which childhood is seen around the globe is quite diverse, therefore requiring a deconstruction of the terms used and their reconstruction using

approaches such as is Judith Ennew's concept of "children out of place", pointing out that childhood as found in non-Western cultures is formed differently than in the West, where childhood is often understood more "as a state of being protected and provided for that rules out the notion of shared responsibility" (Ibidem: 90). This "particular historically specific form or image of childhood which is used as a scale to evaluate children's lives that appear unconnected" (Ibidem: 79), leads to the categorisation of these children as "out of place" or "without childhood". These views, which are often associated with so-called developing countries, embody predominant understandings of the notion of children and childhood according to attitudes that are based on the memory of colonialism (Ibidem: 79). Such views therefore, "minimise or overshadow an already existent wealth of knowledge in the Global South in the form of 'epistemological violence'" (Ibidem: 82) and link childhood directly with human nature, overlooking the fact that childhood itself is a socially constructed phenomenon formed differently according to its contexts. The inclusion of "different" notions of childhood in policy lies in accepting diversity and finding a path to value distinct characteristics forming the notion of childhood in different parts of the world.

The "Othering" in the subject of childhood

When examining the impact of postcolonial attitudes in the notion of childhood, Said's concept of "Othering", as a way to address the world that the Europeans created through *Orientalism*, plays a vital role. The concept of the "Other" is defined by Said as "a style of thought based upon ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident" and is based on the West's own "fears, desires and feelings of superiority" (Said, 1978: 2). This has been essential for the construction of the European culture (Liebel, 2017: 83). Such views, however, have little to do with the real situations and contexts of people living in these regions meaning that the place of the East in European culture is often represented by the constructed knowledge of *Orientalism*. In connection to this, Frantz Fanon (1961) points out that the European view of civilisations from other parts of the world has negative connotations, while Kovel (1995) observes that the Eurocentric attitude "unfolds

the tendency of physical ghettoisation of certain types of people” (UNESCO, 2016: 22).

The concept of the “Other” can be used to illustrate the Euro-centric views on the notion of childhood. In this sense, regarding the matter of childhood as marked by chronological age in international law, the question raised is to which extent current European policies and practices recognise and consider the varied notions of childhood that exist. Deconstructing the notion of childhood as perceived in Europe shows that current approaches and views towards migrant children arriving in the EU without identification are often seen more as “problems” needing to be solved or as “Others”, rather than as individuals, whose experiences and contexts matter when making decisions that affect them.

In this regard, the notion of childhood as marked by chronological age within Western societies and which constitutes an integral part of the international legal framework, is differently understood in other parts of the world where childhood and chronological age are not necessarily interlinked. The relevant notions are differently perceived and have diverse significance according to different settings, raising questions regarding the nature and accuracy of the current policies and practices of age assessment procedures in Europe. In this respect, the concept of the “Other” is used as a way to examine the current legal framework regarding age assessment of unaccompanied migrant children in Europe. The aim is to bring about changes in current policies and practices to make them correspond to the varied contexts of children in different parts of the world.

The concept of “children out of place”

The greatest violation of children's rights is that we do not know enough about their lives or care enough to find out more

(Ennew, 2011)

Among the millions of people in the world who do not have full citizenship in any society and who are not able to fully enjoy their rights, there are also millions of children who, for different reasons and within different contexts, are doubly displaced from family and find themselves in places such as refugee camps, orphanages and bordellos (Brysk, 2004: 153). These children, like other

marginalised and disadvantaged social groups, experience consequences and inequality from social forces, such as poverty, war, and violence and are often treated as invisible or as exceptions to wider social processes (Ibidem: 153). In this sense, the experiences, contexts and circumstances in which children grow up and live in the world could not be more diverse, just like the varied solutions to accommodate these various realities and needs (Liebel, 2017: 119).

However, many of these children, due to their different experiences in life, have been categorised as children “out of childhood” and children “without” or “out” of place (Ibidem: 119). They are therefore often not treated as children, and instead considered as “foreigners”, “strangers”, “outsiders”, as those who “embody threat” (Cussianovich, 2017: 99) or “as *minorities that are simply different from the predominant type of childhood*” (Liebel, 2017: 126).

In this chapter, I introduce the concept of “children out of place”, coined by Judith Ennew, who claimed that labelling children, for instance as “street children” or “orphan children”, results in the categorisation of children and their association with negative connotations in Western societies (Bourdillon, 2017: 51). Using Ennew’s approach, which raises awareness of the perspectives of children “without a voice” and criticises the “pseudo-participation” of children in adult-led contexts (Invernizzi, 2017: 1), I explore whether the issues raised within the EU policies towards unaccompanied migrant children are the result of the European specific view towards these children. This chapter considers the statement that “children on the move”¹, and particularly unaccompanied children on the move, go missing from the system due to the current protective system that includes inadequate methods of age assessment or migration detention (ENOC, 2016: 28), and therefore questions whether this occurs due to non-child-centred asylum seeking procedures. The theoretical chosen layer serves as a way to discuss whether the current EU policies consider the place and context where these children *already* are and not the place where they *ought to* be in order to develop proper approaches that correspond to their varied needs, experiences and motivations.

¹ The term refers to a broad concept, encompassing children from diverse backgrounds and with different experiences. It regards those children who “(...) are moving for a variety of reasons, voluntarily or involuntarily, within or between countries, with or without their parents or other primary caregivers, and whose movement, while it may open up opportunities, might also place them at risk (or at an increased risk) of economic or sexual exploitation, abuse, neglect and violence” (IOM, 2013: 7).

An overview of the term

There are children everywhere in the world. In this regard, the respect and promotion of their human rights and dignity in line with their welfare and best interests, as outlined by the CRC, should be a primary consideration of any legal policy or approach. However, despite the international, national and regional ratification of legal instruments and guidelines that promote the protection of children's human rights, in many parts of the world children suffer from social inequality, exploitation, war, political persecution and poverty and are being socially, politically and culturally discriminated against. Therefore, they are often seen and treated as “out of place”.

In this regard, when we refer to children “out of place”, we are generally referring to groups we usually pity and which have “no childhood” (Liebel, 2017: 123). However, when Judith Ennew and Mark Connolly first coined the term of children “out of place” (1996), it was to be non-judgmental with the view of opposing any categorisation or labelling of children. In this respect, there has been a shift in the usage of the term where instead of centring on individual children as the cause of problems, children are now considered as “active subjects” who interact between different environments.

The concept of “children out of place” refers to children in vulnerable positions, who should not be treated either as incapable or “objects of concern”, but who should rather be respected as “moral persons” with a “moral status”, whose views and perspectives should be heard and considered in all matters that affect them (Invernizzi, 2017: 1). In this respect, the term does not function as a way of categorising and describing children who are experiencing particular situations. Instead, it functions as a way of criticising the views and approaches of adults (and sometimes of other children) towards children whose lives make them feel uncomfortable (Bourdillon, 2017: 51). These predominant views are based on preconceived ideas of how children *should* be living without considering how children *are* experiencing their lives, their varied backgrounds, and their views (Ibidem: 51). Therefore, the term serves as a way of describing children and young people whose “life design” and “self- understanding” do not correspond with the Western model of childhood (Liebel, 2017: 125), enabling the examination of the protection and promotion of their rights according to their own contexts and environments by

challenging dominant understandings, assumptions and interventions (Bourdillon, 2017: 51).

Using this concept, instead of being seen as “out of place”, children are examined *in* the places they are and are considered first and foremost as children. By doing this, different factors around them, such as “cultural expectations” or “regional inequalities”, are highlighted (Ibidem: 53). The term “out of place” does not imply that children have no place or that they do not belong anywhere. It suggests that children remove themselves willfully and independently, meaning that they do not depend upon “re-integration” concepts and treatments but are instead in need of being viewed differently in a way that guarantees them social respect while encouraging them to take on a self-determined role (Liebel, 2017: 124). Hence, it is crucial that the existence of *many* instead of *one* childhood in the world should be recognised and supported if these children are going to be protected and heard.

Within the concept of “children out of place”, attention is being drawn to the effects of their extreme discrimination and social exclusion which prevents their access to “written rights” as outlined in the CRC. In this respect, the term “unwritten rights” introduces the idea that the existing corpus of codified child rights is not sufficient. Such rights include: “the right to be correctly described, researched and counted”, “the right to be protected from secondary exploitation”, “the right not to be labeled” (Invernizzi, 2017: 2) and the right *not to be discriminated against and to be understood in their own cultural framework and not using chronological age imposed by western standards* (Cussianovich, 2017: 114). Last but not least, these “unwritten rights”, function as a tool to guide the interpretation of the written rights enshrined in the CRC towards policy making which should ensure that the children themselves and their varied backgrounds are not ignored or dismissed.

Unaccompanied migrant children as children “in” or “out” of place

“Unaccompanied migrant children” is a specific section in the wider category of “children on the move”. This encompasses a wide range of young people who, in different ways and for different reasons, have decided to leave their countries to look for a better future in new territories; a situation which contradicts

dominant ideas of where and what children should be doing, when taken from a Western point of view.

In this respect, when dealing with unaccompanied migrant children, we are dealing with children whose situation and varied context challenges the dominant ideas of what childhood should be. If we wish to correspond to the specific needs of these children, we would do well to follow Ennew's lead in thinking of them as *agents*, as it happens when addressing adult realities, rather than as *passive* victims. We can do this by taking into account their varied backgrounds, their reasons for travelling, desired final destinations and individual expectations. We can find out what these children want to achieve by travelling away from their countries of origin and also how they are planning to achieve their aims with the view to improve their situation and support their different needs and aspirations according to their own contexts. In this sense, child protection policies and legislative frameworks should consider these children's well being more *holistically* and should therefore include and consider the reasons for their travels by *consulting* these children directly.

In conclusion, I have argued that, when examining the case of unaccompanied migrant children, we should follow the lead of Judith Ennew, who opposes understandings and interventions that restrict children in categories such as "unaccompanied migrant children". In this sense, member States, whose role is not "...to create rights but is rather to recognise and protect them" and "therefore are obliged to guarantee them" (Cussiánovich, 2017: 109), should therefore also provide *access* to these rights by focusing on children and young people themselves according to the place where they already *are* or where they would like to be and not where they *ought to be* (Bourdillon, 2017: 61). In doing so, assumptions and views towards the well-being of these children should be constantly challenged with the aim of better supporting their efforts according to their particular situations and views on how and why they are travelling, allowing current policies and safeguards to provide care, help, trust and protection rather than simply controlling their lives. Considering such analysis, it becomes a paradox when 27 years after the adoption of the CRC and the further adoption of international treaties and guidelines regarding the protection of children's human rights, there is an urgency to refer to concepts such as "children out of place" or their "living" and "unwritten" rights, highlighting that the existing corpus of codified child rights are not evolving or are not sufficient. Current

policies towards these children should therefore broaden their scope to include the hidden side of their lives, in order to deal with dominant discourse on child migration in a manner that strongly considers their interests and needs.

Last but not least, pioneering the concept of “unwritten rights”, as outlined above, in the specific context of unaccompanied migrant children arriving to new territories on false documents or without any documentation or evidence of their age, addresses their right *not to be discriminated against and to be understood in their own cultural framework and not using chronological age imposed by western standards* (Cussianovich, 2017: 114). The last point highlights the imperative to treat all children as beings of equal value regardless of their context, nationality or ethnicity (Art. 2 of the CRC), and to address their right not to be assessed purely according to Western views and attitudes, where the notion of *childhood* is defined by *chronological age*.

Analysis

The verbal data regarding age assessment collected from individual interviews with the respondents, have affirmed that the key issues raised are the result of non-harmonised and non-child-centred age assessment policies and practices in Greece and Germany, thus verifying the first research question. In this respect, the key issues raised reflect the indifference on the incapability of the system to consider and value these children’s varying experiences, perspectives and the contexts affecting their lives in the present and in the future. In this sense, the second research question is also verified: age assessment practices based on Eurocentric policies and attitudes towards these children hinder their ability “to be heard” and lead to their *voicelessness* in decisions that concern them (Liebel, 2017: 126). Furthermore, as is pointed out in the interviews either directly or indirectly, this leads to children’s mistrust of protective mechanisms. This chapter aims to highlight that the varied key issues which have emerged in the two countries have been partially caused by specific *views* on these children first and foremost as *migrants*, as *out of place* or as *Others*, instead of as children. This chapter also aims to provide a framework for critical discussion as to how these attitudes have formed specific approaches towards age assessment practices of unaccompanied migrant children in Europe. The selected key issues addressed

in the interviews are summarised in the points below, the main ones of which, I and II, will also be discussed within the chapter:

- I. In Greece, *medical examinations* take a more systematic role, whereas in Germany examinations based only on *outward appearances* take a more systematic role. In both cases, there is *lack of multidisciplinary* assessment methods by independent qualified practitioners and experts from various scientific fields, as suggested by the international community.
- II. In Greece, different methodologies are often applied on the islands from those on the mainland. In fact, there is a “gap in the legal framework” between the islands and the mainland. In Germany, different methodologies are often applied *between* and *within* the federal states. In fact, there is a lack of federal guidelines on a policy level and of a sufficient legal framework before the referral to the Youth Welfare Office. In both cases, one important issue raised is the *involvement of the police* in the age assessment procedure. If the police arrest a child but deem them to be over 18, then the child will not be referred to the relevant authorities.
- III. In both countries, the *benefit of the doubt* and the child’s *right to be heard* and express their views on decisions that affect them are not always given during the age assessment procedures. In the case of Greece, often the benefit of the doubt is used *against* and not in favour of the individual’s best interests. Furthermore, in both cases there is *a lack of holistic and multidimensional* assessment of capacity vulnerability and needs that reflect the actual situation of the young person.

Medical examinations as a measure of “first” instead of “last” resort

(...) children shouldn't be treated with mistrust...especially within contexts which are particularly harmful for their psychology and their personality (...) We –as Doctors of the World- oppose such practices, which are carried out for non-therapeutic purposes or for the needs of controlling migration. However, if as a state you want to implement such practices and processes, then such practices should have a holistic approach

(Individual Interview, Doctors of the World; Greek Department)

In Greece, age assessment is carried out either by the Ministerial Decision 92490/2013² (MD 92490/2013) as part of the first reception procedures in the First Reception Centers (FRC) – and the Common Ministerial Decision 1982/2016³ (CMD 1982/2016) as part of the asylum procedure.

However, the interviews have drawn attention to the fact that in practice, the three phases⁴ as prescribed similarly in both ministerial decisions, are not implemented as such. In terms of the methodologies used, the interviews have shown that in many cases the psychosocial assessment appears to be extremely rushed. This is especially the case in the second phase (assessment of the cognitive, behavioural and psychological development of the individual) and the third phase of the assessment (assessment regarding medical examinations only as a measure of last resort). What is more, those carrying out the assessment⁵ often refer children directly to medical examinations⁶ with the aim of achieving a greater guarantee of the result (CO_GR). In connection to this, another interviewee argued that in practice, it is not only the second and the third phase of the procedure which is rushed, but often it is a matter of the whole procedure being followed the “*other way around*” (LLA_GR). In this sense, referral to a psychologist is carried out only when the results from medical examinations are in doubt.

Another issue raised regards the fact that in practice, the CMD 1982/2016 has not been implemented so far, due to basic shortages which are usually associated with deficiencies in the public structure of the country (MdM_GR). Furthermore, issues are also raised in the implementation of the MD 92490/2013 and

² Ministerial Decision of the Ministry of Health 92490/4.10.2013 “Program for the medical examination, psychosocial diagnosis and support and the referral of third country nationals entering without legal documentation, in first reception facilities”. Greek Government Gazette B’ (GGG), No. 2745/29-10-2013.

³ Common Ministerial Decision 1982/16. 2016.02.2016. Greek Government Gazette (GGG), No. 335/ 02-2016.

⁴ A) Assessment according to: a) *macroscopic features* of the individual, b) *cognitive, behavioural and psychological development* of the individual, if the person’s age cannot be adequately determined through the examination of macroscopic features, c) *medical examinations*, wherever a conclusion cannot be reached after the conduct of the above procedure and only as a measure of *last resort* (AIDA, CR Greece, 2016: 70–72).

⁵ According to the interviews, in most of the cases age assessment is carried out by the NGOs, because their staff includes psychologists and social workers (CO_GR).

⁶ According to the interviews, in the past medical examination was also performed by Forensics Services, but it is mainly performed by public hospitals (CO_GR).

the methodologies used within the First Reception and Identification Centres (FRC), which in reality are mainly encountered only on the islands. The current circumstances within the FRCs, which, according to the interviews, are operating more like “self-managed haunts” (LLA_GR), do not allow the implementation of the methodologies as prescribed by law. Initially, the *lack of experts* in the field, such as paediatricians, leads to examinations being carried out only by a psychologist or a social worker (usually in no more than 20 minutes) or the direct referral of the children to public hospitals (MdM_GR, LLA_GR). The conditions do not allow the safe implementation of these practices in a reliable way or in line with interdisciplinary and holistic approaches as prescribed by the international and national legal framework and guidelines. In this respect, according to the interviews, in Greece medical examinations “(...) are not practiced as a measure of last resort rather they take a systematic role” (MdM_GR). Under these conditions, the *lack of legal guardians* and their importance in the process was highlighted by all interviewees (LLA_GR).

Examinations based only on “outward appearance”

(...) we have to give the benefit of the doubt or indeed take the outcome that is best for this young person. No matter whether this person is 17 and a half or 19 years old. It should be the best outcome for that human being!

(Individual Interview, German National Coalition)

Age assessment procedure in Germany is prescribed within the new Social Code No.8 on the Improvement of Accommodation, Care and Support for Foreign Children and Youth of 2015.⁷ The law prescribes that the respective Youth Welfare Offices (YWO) with which the unaccompanied children have had their first contact shall initiate an age assessment of the individual, based on a “qualified procedure”, and only in case of doubt shall a medical examination be

⁷ Law on the improvement of accommodation, care and support for foreign children and youth (*Gesetz zur Verbesserung der Unterbringung, Versorgung und Betreuung ausländischer Kinder und Jugendlicher*) Official Gazette I of 28 October 2015, 1802. The most important regulations of the law are summarised in: Federal Association for Unaccompanied Refugee Minors (Bundesfachverband Unbegleitete Minderjährige Flüchtlinge), Provisional care – what is new from 1. November 2015 onwards? 2015 (Vorläufige Inobhutnahme – Was ändert sich zum 1.11.2015?).

performed. Furthermore, the new law states explicitly that the previously practiced examination of genitals is *excluded* in such contexts (BUMF, 2015: 2–3).

The respondents have pointed out that in Germany, the first phase of the procedure is in practice usually similarly performed across all federal states (YWO_GE). In this phase, an interview is conducted with the child and their social worker, guardian and the YWO present in order for the age estimation to be carried out based on pedagogical principles (DR.MED_GE). However, an issue raised during the interviews concerns the fact that, in practice, in the vast majority of cases the first phase of the assessment is based only on *outward appearances*. As a result, where “wrinkles” around the eyes, “old skin”, “strange” or “white hair”, are often considered as sufficient evidence of the age of the individual as a whole despite other possible indicators to the contrary. Such practices were criticised by many of the interviewees. One respondent explains: “(...) We do the interview and if we still have any doubt about their age, according to their physical appearance and not according to their personal development or personality, then we must refer them to the doctors” (YWO_GE).

Last but not least, it has been reported that in some federal states such as Munich, where the assessment is undertaken only in accordance with the first phase of the procedure, relatively long and “unfriendly” interviews are often performed (GNC_GE). Under these conditions, such issues raised in the first phase of the procedure question the reliability of the methodologies and the child-centred approach of the relevant procedures in terms of children’s best interests (Art. 3, CRC).

A “gap” in the legal framework between the mainland and the islands

As pointed out above, age assessment in Greece is prescribed in two formal procedures, the first of which is regulated by MD 92490/2013 and is carried out as part of the first Reception and Identification procedures in the context of the FRC.

However, according to the interviewees, this phase of the procedure is carried out only in the five hotspots on the islands. Therefore, no legal framework of assessment for those who are outside the FRC is provided (MdM_GR).

Hence, in the cases of those who are arrested or encountered on the mainland where no process of the assessment of the minority is prescribed, the only legal framework carried out is the CMD 1982/2016. This, however, requires that the person be referred to the authorities, who then examine the asylum application, and can then only initiate the procedure according to the CMD 1982/2016 when the individual's age is in doubt. If the person is not in the asylum process, then CMD 1982/2016 cannot be implemented as it does not apply. This means that there is no applicable legal framework for this individual's case.

Furthermore, children who have escaped from the islands (where they have already undergone age assessment in the context of the FRC) are often arrested by the police and have to undergo the processes again. This is due to the fact that there is no way for the police to ascertain that an age assessment has already been completed (MdM_GR, UNHCR_GR). In connection to this, one interviewee explains: "(...) as a result, the child has to go to the public hospital where a medical examination will be done...and sometimes at this point they assess them as adults. So, what really happens on the mainland is that the police take them to the public hospital in order to do a medical examination but without the existence of a legal framework that prescribes the process. The whole thing is being done in a very abstract way (...) in reality there is a legal gap on the mainland" (MdM_GR).

On these grounds, the issues raised on the mainland are more problematic than the situation on the islands, where the processes is more or less carried out as prescribed. The interviews drew attention to the fact that one of the key problems regarding children arrested on the mainland is that in the vast majority of cases, the police are involved and implement the first phase of the procedure as it was before the adoption of the CMD 1982/2016 (CO_GR). In the past, police used to estimate the age of an individual based only on their outward appearance. This is an issue which has been repeatedly criticised by many human and children's rights advocates in the country considering the fact that usually the police are not trained and do not have the required qualifications to carry out such procedures (UNHCR_GR). However, after CMD 1982/2016, despite the fact that the police are no longer to be involved with the FRC, it has been reported that they are still actually involved in mainland Greece (CO_GR).

Children claiming the age of majority and the issue of misinformation

One of the important issues brought up by the respondents concerns the case of children who have to undergo an age assessment procedure because they regret having claimed to be an adult in the past. The reasons these children claim the age of majority are associated with different factors, such as work, the involvement of traffickers and their influence over the children's minds and journey plans, as well as misinformation among children themselves (LLA_GR).

In respect to the traffickers, it has been argued that they misinform children with the aim of smuggling them, by telling the children that if they admit their real age, they will then be detained or held up in institutions where they will not be able to continue their journey into Europe. As a consequence, in the majority of these cases children refuse to give their fingerprints or apply for asylum in Greece and simply go missing from the system in illegal and dangerous ways (LLA_GR). Furthermore, another issue stressed in the interviews relates to the fact that in most of these cases, children trust the traffickers more than the competent bodies and authorities. This calls into question the reliability of the current practices and approaches towards these children, as seen from a child's perspective. Such information therefore affirms both hypotheses of the research: that current age assessment procedures are non-child-centred and therefore contribute to children's mistrust of protective mechanisms. This subsequently leads many of them to make the decision to pursue their own migration plan outside of the legal routes.

Last but not least, misinformation among children themselves is a crucial element in praxis, influencing their final decisions and actions (LLA_GR). This leads back to the issue of *insufficient* and *incomprehensive* information provided to children about the procedures, an issue which is associated with a lack of serious consideration of the child's views. According to an interviewee's statement, "there is a reason why somebody would claim the age of majority..." (LLA_GR).

Differences between and within the Federal States

In Germany's instance, one of the main issues brought up in the interviews concerned the country's federal structure and how it affects the implementation of harmonised age assessment procedures between the states. According to the interviews, the various issues raised in practice of age assessment procedures are either partially or entirely associated with the administrative federal structure of the country. Furthermore, as highlighted by the respondents, such differences in the practical implementation of the procedure as prescribed by law are not only encountered *between* federal states but also *within* them.

In this regard, as mentioned above, in Germany the second phase of the assessment involves medical examinations, which according to all of the interviewees, are not used very often in practice. In comparison, the authorities responsible for undertaking age assessments primarily consider what the child says along with the opinion of the social worker or the YWO (GNC_GR). It follows that in the majority of age assessment cases, the pedagogical worker responsible usually tries to reach a conclusion within the first phase of the procedure therefore avoiding referral for medical examination (YWO_GE). This however, depends on the federal structure and on whether the Family Court or the authorities are likely to further refer the minor to such procedures (GNC_GE), raising questions regarding the reliability of the procedures in terms of the child's best interest.

Last but not least, in respect to the cases where medical examinations are used, the interviews have shown that these also vary *between* and sometimes even *within* federal states (DR.MED_GE). Initially, a physical examination on the naked body is often carried out, including the examination of the sexual maturity of the individual, followed by an X-ray of the wrist and then by further radiological exams in cases where doubt remains (GNC_GE; DR.MED_GE). With regards to the physical examination, it has been reported that this often includes *genital examination*, which conflicts with the new law.

The interviews draw attention to the fact that examinations on the naked body might have severe consequences for young people, who often find such procedures "unusual" or "embarrassing". What is more, medical examinations with X-rays include a radiation risk that could lead to a tumor (DR.MED_GE). Such procedures do not ensure the *dignity* and *best interest* of the child as prescribed

in international provisions and principles guiding age assessment procedures. At this point, however, one interviewee states: “(...) The best interest of the child and what the law says are two different things... The law says that a minor is a person under 18 years old. So, this doesn’t mean that when a person is 19 years old and they need care, that we can say yes, because according to your personal development you are like a 16 year-old-person and you need help like a minor, and we can take you into care. That’s not legal! So, the law says that the age is the measurement, therefore we need a medical examination to detect the age...” (YWO_GE).

A “Gap” in the legal framework before the referral to the Youth Welfare Office

One of the crucial issues raised in the discussions regards the lack of legal framework for what happens before the referral to the Youth Welfare Office (GNC_GE). It has been claimed that when a child is arrested in a public place (e.g. trains, street etc.), the police or the federal structure shall decide whether or not the child should be referred to the respective YWO. This decision shall be made according to the personal opinion of the officials (GNC_GE). In these cases, if they assess the age of the individual as under 18, then the YWO, which is responsible for initiating the age assessment, will be informed and the child will be referred to them.

However, cases where an erroneous estimation of the child’s age is being made, meaning that they will not be referred to the respective YWO, result in severe consequences to the child’s present and future. Specifically, they will not be under the protective mechanisms⁸ available to children (GNC_GE). One interviewee stated that there is a demand for adopting federal guidelines prescribing procedures and approaches to be followed when dealing with these cases. She stated: “The police in Hamburg might react differently than the police in Bayern. We have regional differences, but we do not have general guidelines

⁸ UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, Art. 3, Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU; UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, General Comment No. 6. – Treatment of Unaccompanied and Separated Children Outside Their Country of Origin (2005); UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, General comment no. 12- The right of the child to be heard (2009).

saying that “If the person insists that he is under 18, then give the benefit of the doubt and involve Youth Welfare Services” (GNC_GE).

Conclusions – Recommendations

The overriding purpose of this text is to point out and explore the key issues raised by the practical implementation of age assessment procedures of unaccompanied migrant children in Greece and Germany in order to discuss whether these issues are the result of non-harmonised and non-child-centred age assessment processes. Both of the research hypotheses are verified: age assessment practices in the two countries are non-harmonised and non-child-centred and children’s views are not seriously considered or taken into account, therefore hindering their ability to be heard. The practical application of the procedures leaves worrying protection gaps in both countries, taking into consideration that the practices discussed run against the *best interests principle*, the right to *dignity* and the child’s right to *participate*. Furthermore, a reversal of the “benefit of the doubt” principle in practice illustrates that the protective principles governing the treatment of children in age assessment procedures are regrettably not followed in these two EU member states. Under these conditions, the second hypothesis of the research is affirmed: such developments are a cause of children’s distrust of the protective mechanisms, leading many of them to decide to pursue their own migration plan outside the regular European procedures.

Influencing both of the theoretical layers of the thesis are the concepts of “children out of place” and the concept of the “Other” in the subject of childhood. These concepts highlight that the key issues raised in the practical implementation of the relevant procedures derive from specific policies and approaches which are formed by attitudes and views that see unaccompanied migrant children according to understandings of ways of life that do not apply to them. As a result, in Western culture these children become *exoticised*, *ostracised* (Liebel, 2017: 83) or viewed with *indifference*. Such views reflect the deficiency or inability of the system to *consider* and *weigh* these children’s experiences, perspectives and varied contexts in order to face their multiple challenges and to provide effective protection according to their particular needs, varied backgrounds and contexts. At this point, however, the question raised is whether the

key issues within age assessment reflect, more than anything else, the lack of political will of the EU Member States to develop an understanding that corresponds to varied contexts around the world. This understanding should not and cannot be based on Eurocentric approaches and policies. This reflection stems from the pioneering approach of Judith Ennew, which takes the child as a *subject* with the aim of addressing various realities and finding proper and durable solutions for the protection of children's human rights.

In any case, Europe cannot afford to fail young newcomers. The first step towards this goal is to recognise that unaccompanied migrant children, as all children, have human rights which should be respected, promoted and reinforced in line with their best interests and welfare. The reality indicates that there is a need to consider these children's "particularities" as a major asset rather than an obstacle towards policy making and decisions that affect them, with the aim of ensuring that children's best interests are taken into account, as enshrined in the CRC. This text supports the thesis that EU member states are required now more than ever, to implement policies and approaches that consider the variety of factors, experiences and contexts pertaining to these children, above all in line with the recognition of the fact that first and foremost they are children.

The question must be raised of what should be done specifically in order to promote and enhance these children's interests regarding age assessment procedures as implemented within EU member states, including Greece and Germany. This includes how EU legislation and guidelines should be implemented with the aim of achieving better protective mechanisms to tackle the actual challenges faced by these children. As discussed in the analysis, in a legal and political system where growing international consensus about the documentation of a person's age is seen as an important aspect for the gradual acquisition of rights and responsibilities, this text recognises that age assessment is an inevitable procedure. The procedure is agreed upon by member states, however it is clear that there is a great demand for more support. Therefore, the text advocates that the starting point must be the recognition of unaccompanied asylum seeking children first and foremost as children. Taking into account the demand for a stronger consideration of children's interests, the focus of this study supports the importance of coherent approaches and durable solutions that promote a better understanding of the needs of these children. This can be done by

prioritising their voices, views and contexts in order to guarantee the fulfillment of the same rights that all children living regularly on a given territory have. This can be achieved by promoting these children's right to speak up for themselves in the name of their best interest. In doing so, the text concludes that there is a need for *clearer guidelines* in regard to age assessment of unaccompanied children *within* and *across* nations, *capacity training* of the authorities dealing with these children before, during and after age assessment procedures, and greater *operational* and *transnational cooperation* between the competent bodies in first countries and final countries, including the exchange of best practices and the development of joint approaches on an issue of common concern.

With regard to the latter point, the text above supports the view that Europe needs an effective and efficient asylum system that is able to ensure a fair and sustainable sharing of responsibility between EU member states that in turn ensures the quality of decisions made towards its children. The new developments have indicated that EU members have not had a united voice in regard to this situation, "but rather have avoided accepting responsibility or acting on the basis of the principles of international law with regard to human rights", indicating "(...) a split between European countries and the rest of the world" (UNESCO, 2016: 20). This text suggests that now more than ever, member states are required, to reform and remodel their policies and approaches towards migrant children in order to correspond to their human rights and best interests.

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A. APPENDIX

A.1. List of Code names for the Transcriptions

Interview Type	Code Name	Institution / Organisation	Date of Interview
Individual Interview 1	UNHCR_GR1	United Nations Commissioner; Representative of the Child's Protection Department, Greece	10/02/2017
Individual Interview 2	CO_GR2	Child's Ombudsman; Representative of the Children's Rights the Department, Greece	20/02/2017
Individual Interview 3	MdM_GR3	Doctors of the World; Legal Advisor, Advocacy Officer, Greece	20/02/2017
Individual Interview 4	LLA_GR4	Lawyer for the legal assistance of the unaccompanied asylum seeking children, Greece	13/03/2017
Individual Interview 5	GNC_GE5	German National Coalition; Representative of the Network for the Implementation of the UN Children's Rights Convention, Germany	21/02/2017
Individual Interview 6	Dr. Med. N_GE6	Youth Doctor, Germany	21/02/2017
Individual Interview 7	YWOH_GE7	Youth Welfare Office of Hamburg; Representative, Germany	2/03/2017

SARA AMADASI*

*Children Playing with Narratives.
The Relevance of Interaction and Positioning
in the Study of children's transnational
journeys*

ABSTRACT : This chapter focuses on narratives that children with a migration background generate in interactions amongst themselves and with adults in a school setting. These narratives concern their travel experience and the meanings related to culture and identity. The relevance given to the observation of interactions allows the researcher to reflect on these concepts as well as children's sense of belonging as positioning modes, focusing on processual, relational and contextual aspects that guide the production of different narratives. The analysis of interactions and positionings represent a relevant perspective for both the comprehension of the production of narratives in communication processes from a linguistic point of view and for the purpose of fostering and widening reflections on children as active participants in social processes. In particular, it is apparent that positioning strategies activated by children within their groups and narratives concerning their travel experience are interrelated. Together they constitute interactional play through which children and adults become co-constructors of meanings linked to identity, culture and belonging. This paper aims to reflect on how children play as well as deal with their transnational experiences in daily school life. The research was conducted over a year in Italy at two primary schools and one first grade secondary school. It is based on video recordings of workshops with these children. The analysis of the ways children intertwine stories to sustain particular and impermanent identity positionings provides an opportunity to introduce reflections on the relationship between essentialist and non-essentialist treatment of concepts like culture, identity and belonging.

KEY WORDS : mobility, interaction, narratives, positionings

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Introduction

The transnational journeys of children with a migration background who are included in the Italian school system reflect a high level of contemporary social complexity, presenting the possibility to discuss and reflect upon several and heterogeneous issues which are relevant in social sciences.

Visits to children's countries of origin take place for different reasons. Those happening during the school year involve a break from school. They represent a fracture in the school system and shed some light on the social changes with which the school as an institution has to deal with. Based on these issues, it is possible to investigate widespread narratives in schools which legitimate and reconfirm the institutional structure of the educational system.

Children's transnational mobility allows us to reflect upon the role of children in social processes, and perceive them as deeply involved in global dynamics, taking distance from perspectives which observe and present children merely as passive recipients of cultural and social events. By focusing on their active participation and interaction and, thus, in social processes, experiences of international trips are a good opportunity to investigate the dynamics of negotiating cultural identity.

The concepts of narratives and positionings are particularly appropriate for both these purposes.

Originally these two aims and perspectives were intertwined and analysed as part of the same research that was conducted during my PhD studies. However, in this paper I will focus on the part of the research that was conducted with children.

I begin by describing the theoretical background surrounding positioning, narratives, interaction and children's agency, moving then to the methodology adopted in collecting data with the children.

This is followed by a presentation and discussion of some of the extracts collected during the focus groups, why I selected them for this chapter and how they can be useful in the analyses of children's transnational mobility.

In-between theoretical domains

This work follows a postmodern and social constructionist approach, which claims that human knowledge is constituted in communication (Baraldi, 2009). By trying to orient the research to the investigation of the multiple implications that children's transnational mobility might have, I found it relevant to give space to a plurality of theoretical and methodological influences.

In addition to sociology, I took advantage of studies coming from several disciplinary fields, such as social psychology, anthropology and (socio)linguistics, in order to have access to a broader vocabulary, range of concepts and ideas which might contribute to the process of construction of meaning that social research implies.

Moreover, the investigation of transnational trips of children with migration backgrounds involves two different sociological domains, represented by the sociology of migration and the sociology of childhood.

Concerning the sociology of migration, for several decades the studies in this field have used the term *transnationalism* to describe the ways in which migrants construct and reconstitute their embeddedness in more than one nation-state (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1995: 48).

By referring to multiple ties and interactions linking people and institutions across the borders of nation-states (Vertovec, 2000), the concept of *transnationalism* and the strong increase of transnational individuals and communities has led researchers to rethink terms like culture and identity, undermining all the concepts and definitions founded on territoriality.

In this paper, this challenge is associated and presented inside a non-essentialist perspective framework, which examines culture and identity not as given elements which guide the behaviour of an individual, but rather as the results of linguistic and social processes.

Recently, the study of transnationalism and transnational migrations has reached studies concerning children and childhood. This has given rise to research focused on children who are part of transnational families (Parreñas, 2001), who live in permanent return migration experiences (Hatfield, 2010) and research that consider the relationship between emotions, place and belonging (den Besten, 2010; Urry, 2005).

Studies related to the effects that migrants' relations with two or more nations have on their culture and identity construction, are still rarely associated with

childhood studies or children's potential to actively negotiate their cultural identity. Much of the work that focused on the discussion of children's international movements has frequently focused on the risks these journeys represent for their sense of belonging (Lijadi & van Schalkwyk, 2014).

These studies, as well as those in which the effects of these experiences are considered in their complexity, involve different aspects such as intercultural schooling (Fanning & Burns, 2017). They adopt an essentialist understanding of concepts like identity (Fail et al., 2004; Hoersting & Jenkins, 2010) and culture (Moore & Barker, 2012: 554). As a result, they present children as passive victims of global dynamics with none or few possibilities of undertaking action in the social and cultural worlds that surround them.

This view of children as stuck between cultures has been called into question recently by some authors (e.g. Mannitz, 2005; Amadasi, 2014) and presents two problematic aspects. Firstly, it sustains and is sustained by a block narrative of cultural difference which "promotes the idea of national cultures as the prime, defining and confining units of cultural identity" (Amadasi & Holliday, 2017a). Secondly, it ignores children's agency and children's active participation in social processes.

Agency, Interaction, Narratives & Positioning

Agency and participation are two terms upon which the sociology of childhood has built major reflections. In particular, children's participation represents a discourse that has been established in the last decade both in the scientific field and social politics, especially in some parts of Northern Europe (Jans, 2004; Kjørholt, 2002; Hill et al., 2004).

For what concerns agency, several definitions have been given in childhood studies. The one I consider for my research rejects an interpretation of agency as merely an "exercise of authentic choice or self-directed action" (Valentine, 2011: 348) to promote an understanding of agency as being able to give relevance to relational constraints that children cannot avoid facing or interacting with. Agency is thus perceived here not as an individual ability, an innate feature of a specific individual. Instead, it has to be understood and studied in its interactional fulfillment and, when it concerns children, both in the relations

and interactions they have with other children and in interactions with adults (Baraldi & Iervese, 2014).

This interpretation of agency finds a strong fundament in Anthony Giddens's theory of structuration (1990) where Giddens refers to agency not as "the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in first place" (Giddens, 1984: 9).

According to Giddens's interpretation, agency represents the capacity to 'make a difference' and the agent becomes the author of certain events as, somewhere in the chain of acts, he or she comes across the possibility to act differently. Therefore, agency is the capability of individuals to shape their own lives, and, by doing so, also to influence their social contexts (Amadasi & Iervese, 2018).

Following this perspective, participation represents an expression of agency and children are recognised as active participants as they "respond, mitigate, resist, have views about and interact with the social conditions in which they find themselves" (Moosa-Mitha, 2005: 380).

Children's interactions with other children, as well as with adults, represent a meaningful opportunity to reflect upon children's agency, due to the processes of negotiation, positioning and the construction of narratives in which they are involved and through which they play by portraying a certain identity to the interlocutor(s).

The choice to use the concepts of positionings and narratives is twofold. Firstly, they permit the analyses of culture and identity as products of interaction, and not pre-existent individual features. This approach is extremely relevant when avoiding the risk of cultural essentialism, which sees individuals as entirely defined and constrained in their behaviour and interactions by their culture of belonging (Holliday, 2011).

Secondly, but strictly related to the first point, positionings and narratives allow the researcher to constantly reflect upon children as *choosing subjects* (Amadasi, 2014; Davis & Harré 1990), who adapt and adjust their stories according to the contexts and situations they partake in.

Positioning relates to communicative events in which speakers take up, reject, confirm or negotiate fluid positions with other participants of interaction (Amadasi, 2014; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999: 19–20).

The act of positioning is related to the social context in which the participants find themselves, and the network of personal and collective narratives that a certain

situation brings to light (Amadasi & Holliday, 2017a). It is in fact through narratives that positionings are sustained and legitimated, becoming visible.

Narratives are the way through which we familiarise ourselves with and give meaning to the social world (Somers, 1994: 606; Somers & Gibson, 1994); additionally, they guide action (Baker, 2006). Through narratives, participants give coherence to their actions, and by choosing them they make sense of positionings taken up in a given interaction.

They are also highly dynamic and subject to continual changes (Baker, 2006), and this allows participants to adapt, adjust and modify them according to their own positionings and interactional needs.

The interplay between positionings and narratives in an interactional process is relevant to reflecting upon what children choose to reveal about their own personal experiences and their negotiations. It is also salient when examining how they decide to employ these narrative choices in relation to context and the interactional environment to exhibit a certain cultural identity. Like adults, children are actively engaged in this process that Holliday (2016) defines as small culture formation on the go, which, in a given social situation, represents people's ongoing, joined activity of constructing and negotiating culture (Amadasi & Holliday, 2017b: 4).

Methodology

This article is part of a series of works following a similar methodology and theoretical framework aiming to analyse adult-children interaction in school and children's participation in social processes (Amadasi, 2014; Amadasi & Iervese, 2018).

The research was conducted in a primary school and a first grade secondary school in the province of Reggio Emilia as well as a primary school in Parma.

The first part was conducted in Reggio Emilia, with students attending two classes of Italian as a second language (ISL). The second stage was conducted in Parma in a class with children of both migration background and children with no previous migration experience.

For this project, I adopted different but intertwined methods and tools. This choice can be defined as methodological triangulation (Flick et al, 2004). The

use of different methods in collecting data allows the researcher to adopt the tools which are more appropriate to a certain context and situation (Belotti, 2013) with the aim of gaining additional knowledge (Flick, 2004: 183).

During the first part of the fieldwork, 5 months of ethnographic observation during standard ISL lessons was conducted. This stage represented a *progressive field-access strategy* (Wolff, 2004: 202), whose purpose was not only to accomplish the research plan but to create and negotiate with teachers an appropriate situational context for the research itself (*Ibidem*).

Subsequently, focus groups with the same ISL groups and the students in Parma were conducted through the technique of facilitation, whose aim is to facilitate and promote communication and participation of all participants, with a specific focus on the process rather than the result derived from the encounter (Baraldi, 2014: 26).

Moreover, focus groups allow the researcher to avoid imposing a rigid schedule to which participants must adapt. Additionally, they help build the work and other activities on the basis of feedback received from the participants, leaving each encounter open to be moulded by the peculiarities of the group. All the meetings were video-recorded and transcribed using the Jefferson code.

The main topic around which the encounters were developed was that of travel and travelling experiences.

In Reggio Emilia, the ISL group in the primary school involved pupils aged 7–10, while the ISL class of the first grade secondary school involved girls and boys aged 11–15.¹ Both groups consisted of 15–20 students each,² all coming from different countries.

During this stage, each ISL group was divided into 3 subgroups, so that the working groups did not have more than seven or eight participants each. Three encounters were conducted with each group.

A shorter session – in terms of hours – but focused on the same topic, was then conducted in Parma with the entire class. This group, composed of 24 children aged 8–9 and including both children with a migration background and children with no migration experience, was also divided into subgroups.

¹ Although the standard age for first grade secondary school in Italy is 11–13, most of the students attending ISL class have repeated some years due to their poor level of Italian language knowledge.

² The number of students in a ISL class can vary during the school year due to new arrivals and departures.

The first encounter with participants opened with the reading of *The Little Prince*. However, this version of the story was without an end. A joint discussion was held with the intent of identifying the aspects of the story that children deemed relevant. Then the participants were asked to create an ending together.

Starting from these story endings and the main points of interest the debate raised, the second encounter focused on the discussion of their own personal travel experience. The third encounter was different for the two ISL classes: while children aged 7–10 were asked to make a list of things or people they would bring to Italy from their countries of origins and things or people they would take to their countries of origins from Italy, children aged 11–15 were given cameras a week before the last encounter and asked to take pictures describing their lives. Through these pictures, they could show what they appreciate or do not appreciate in their lives in Italy, what aspects of their departure countries they miss or do not miss, and the moments in which they feel happy or sad living in Italy. For the third encounter, they were asked to choose some of the pictures taken, and to describe them to the group.

The difference in the activities planned with the two classes was not due to age, but to the agreements that were negotiated with the teachers.

In Parma, the work was organised differently for the first encounter. It was also based on the reading of the story but conducted with the entire class (24 children). The second encounter was focused on personal stories and was conducted by dividing the group into subgroups.

Before starting the activities, all students' parents were asked to consent to their children's participation in the research. A consent form was also given to the pupils, asking them to confirm their willingness to take part in the research. All the names in the transcriptions are pseudonyms.

The interactions recorded amongst children and between children and adults are investigated according to an analysis of interactions. Analysis of interactions partially uses conversation analysis: the focus is directed to linguistic acts as actions acts into actions, and how stories are integrated in the conversation and its development (Jefferson, 1978).

Data and discussion

The extracts I present in this paragraph are chosen from different meetings with different groups. They have been selected for this chapter not only because they clearly describe children's thoughts and perspectives concerning their migration experiences, but also because they display the interconnection between positionings and narratives. It is possible to focus on the gradual but intertwined development of children's storylines in each of them and these factors cannot be considered independently. Instead, they are deeply interconnected with each other and with the context that is generated in the interaction.

The first extract I present is taken from the third and final meeting conducted with students of the ISL group of the first grade secondary school. The children are aged 12–13 and for this meeting they were asked to take pictures through which they could describe their lives and their relationships both with Italy and the countries they had left.

In this extract, we see three boys (Jowinder, Amrit, Ahmed) and a girl (Shabnam) participating. In the translation from Italian to English, I tried to maintain the speakers' mistakes and hesitations in the selection of certain words.

By referring to the story of *The Little Prince*, and the protagonist's difficulties in choosing where to live amongst all the planets he visited and all the friends he met, the researcher is initiating a discussion with the participants about where they would choose to live if they had their choice.

Extract 1³

1. **Jotwinder:** a noi piace stare in Italia perché qui c'è elettricità!
we like to stay in Italy because here you have electricity!

³ Transcription symbols

[] Overlapping utterances;

(.) Micropause (>2 seconds)

() Inaudible expression

(**expression**) Not clear expression, probable

((**expression**)) Description of non-verbal act

text- Interrupted turn

: Sound extension of the last letter of a word

.hh Indicates an inbreath

2. **Ric:** perché qui c'è elettricità perché nei villaggi dove eravate non c'era elettricità?
because here you have electricity (.) why, there was no electricity in the villages where you were?
3. **Amrit:** sì c'è però mh: poche ore
yes, but just for few hours
4. **Jotwinder:** con l'acqua (.) Perché la fanno con l'acqua
with water. They do it with water
5. **Ric:** occhei ((ad Ahmed)) Anche da te Ahmed?
okay ((addressing Ahmed)) At your place as well Ahmed?
6. **Ahmed:** ((annuisce))
((he nods))
7. **Ric:** ma a te:- a te dove piacerebbe stare se potessi scegliere? Qui o in Pakistan?
but you – where would you prefer to live if you could choose? Here or Pakistan?
8. **Ahmed:** in Pakistan
Pakistan
9. **Ric:** in Pakistan, anche tu?
in Pakistan, you too?
10. **Ahmed:** sì
yes
11. **Ric:** come mai?
why?
12. **Ahmed:** perché lì ci sono i miei amici, ci sono tanti parenti e i miei piccoli cugini
because there I have my friends, and lots of relatives and my little cousins
13. **Ric:** mh
mh
14. **Shabnam:** ha lasciato: i: suoi: nonni
he left his grandparents
15. **Ahmed:** sì qua io sono (da solo)
yes here I am (alone)
16. **Shabnam:** ma non hai fratelli?

- but don't you have brothers?*
17. **Ahmed:** un fratello piccolo
a younger brother
18. **Ric:** e: tua sorella: (.) Fatima
and your sister, Fatima
19. **Ahmed:** mh (.) e un fratello grande
mh (.) And an older brother
20. **Ric:** quindi siete in quattro?
you are four then?
21. **Ahmed:** sì
yes
22. **Ric:** occhei pero i parenti:: tutti i parenti sono rimasti in Pakistan?
okey but relatives eh: all your relatives are in Pakistan?
23. **Ahmed:** sì
yes
24. **Ric:** e pensi di andar- perché loro hanno detto che: vanno quest'estate eh-
and you think you will- because they said this summer they go eh-
25. **Ahmed:** io non lo so
I don't know
26. **Ric:** tu non sai ancora? Ma ti piacerebbe?
you don't know already (.) But would you like to?
27. **Ahmed:** sì
yes

In turn 1, Jotwinder presents his and Amrit's positioning to the group, maintaining that if they could choose where to live, they would choose Italy. The position he takes up, and which he also attributes to Amrit, is expressed through a specific narrative which focuses on access to certain services that are not so widespread in India. This is followed by an explanation of some peculiarities of the villages they left.

When in turn 5 and 7 the researcher asks Ahmed what he would prefer, he indicates his preference for a life "there", which is sustained by a personal narrative describing the feeling of loneliness he experiences in Italy due to the

absence of some of his relatives. Shabnam completes this description, expressing understanding of what Ahmed is saying with a statement (turn 14) and a question (turn 16) which encourage Ahmed to continue with his story.

Soon after Ahmed's turn, Amrit intervenes and introduces a new perspective.

28. **Amrit:** voglio fare- prof, voglio fare un aereo che- ((si imbarazza, si mette una mano davanti alla bocca e si azzittisce))
I want to build- I want to build a plane which ((he gets embarrassed, and he stops himself by putting a hand on his mouth))
29. **Ahmed:** ti porta in India eh?
it will bring you to India right?
30. **Amrit:** sì
yes
31. **Ric:** un?
a?
32. **Ahmed:** un aereo
a plane
33. **Ric:** per che cosa?
for what?
34. **Amrit:** per andare (.) dove voglio.
to go (.) wherever I want
35. **Ric:** ah occhei (.) cioè tu vorresti avere un aereo per andare dove vuoi?
ah okey (.) you mean you would like to have a plane to go wherever you want?
36. **Amrit:** no (.) devo farlo.
no (.) I have to build it.

After Ahmed's intervention, Amrit, who was previously involved in Jotwinder's positioning, intervenes again and introduces to the group a third different positioning: in turn 28 he expresses his ambivalence concerning the choice between here and there. This ambivalence is not narrated through an inability to choose, but rather with the desire to build a personal plane which would help him to travel anywhere he wants to.

Turn 29 and 30 are very important in this sense: while Ahmed interprets Amrit's intervention as an expression of nostalgia for India, which is confirmed by Amrit in turn 30, a few turns later (34) he gives space to a new, complex narrative which implies a feeling of ambivalence and attachment to more than one place, and a desire to easily reach all of them (*to go wherever I want*).

The exchange between Amrit and the researcher in turns 35 and 36 is also interesting. The researcher's use of the phrase "would like to have" is substituted by Amrit with the expression "I have to build", which gives even more emphasis to his desire and his active intervention to reach this goal.

The next extract is chosen from the primary school in Reggio Emilia. Here, the children are 8-9 years old and the two protagonists are a boy, Manvir, and a girl, Parneet.

This is the third and last meeting with this group and the researcher asks the children to tell a story they consider amusing, related either to Italy or another country, or to travelling in general.

Manvir is the first one to speak.

Extract 2

1. Manvir: io vo- io andrò all'Inghilterra e il mio pa- e- e- lui non c- là non gioca- là non giochiamo a:: calcio là giochiamo a:: una cosa indiana (.) Cricket!
I wa- I will go at the England and my da- and- and- and- he doesn't- there doesn't play- there we don't play:: football there we play:: an Indian thing (.) Cricket
2. RIC: a cricket!
cricket!
3. Manvir: sì!
yes!
4. RIC: mh (.) e perché vai in Inghilterra?
mh (.) and why do you go to England?
5. Manvir: eh: perché- perché qui- qui a- al nostro papà non:: al nostro zio scusa non – non trova l::: .hh

- eh: because- because here- here t- to my dad doesn't:: to our uncle sorry he doesn't- doesn't find j::: .hh**
6. RIC: lavoro?
job?
7. Manvir: lavoro e allora noi abbiamo pensato che alle vacanze a- andiamo all'Inghilterra e poi quando inizia la scuola veniamo e poi (.) andiamo a – alle vacanze: là
job and so we have thought that in the holidays we g – go at the England and then when the school starts we come and then (.) we go i- in the holidays: there
8. RIC: ah ho capito, quindi dopo tornate in vacanza in Inghilterra?
ah I see, so then you go back for the holidays in England?
9. Parneet: io- io ti devo dire una cosa!
I- I have to tell you something!
10. RIC: aspetta, tienila in mente che sentiamo:: Semiha o Anwal
wait, keep it in mind that we listen to:: Semiha or Anwal

In this extract Manvir describes the decisional process concerning international movements that his family have planned. In this description, Manvir moves from different places and national associations (cricket as an “Indian thing”) without positioning himself as part of one national group. In his description, each place seems to satisfy a certain need in his family's everyday life (England for work; Italy for school; India for sport) displaying a certain fluidity of movement grounded on specific needs and with no declaration of belonging, apart from that of the family group, which is never defined in national or cultural terms. Moreover, by explaining in detail the reasons for the choice (turn 5) and by using the pronoun “We” four times in the same sentence (turn 7), Manvir positions himself as an active agent in the decisional process of the family concerning these journeys. This includes the statement “We have thought”, which reinforces his active role in the decisional process.

Paarnet's contribution follows that of Manvir. Although she is stopped by RIC to give those who hadn't yet spoken a turn, a few turns later she continues with the announcement of her future trip to India (turn 11) and some details about it (turn 13, 15, 17).

11. Parneet: io- io a giugno a:: giugno sedici giugno devo andare in India
I- I at June i::n June 16th June I have to go to India
12. RIC: tu il sedici giugno vai in India? ((Parneet annuisce)) e quanto stai?
you go to India the 16th June? ((Parneet nods)) and how long are you going to stay there?
13. Parneet: eh non so quello non mi ha detto il papà mi ha detto che il sedici giugno partiamo e alla domenica veniamo in Italia
eh I don't know that dad didn't tell me he told me that on 16th June we leave and on Sunday we come to Italy
14. RIC: okey e sei felice-
okey and are you happy-
15. Parneet: perché alla domen- domenica se- sedici giugno partiamo che sarà domenica e torniamo alla domenica
because on Sunday six – 16th June we leave and it will be Sunday and then we come back on Sunday
16. RIC: e sei felice (.) di partire? un po' agitata? O sei felice?
and are you happy (.) to leave? A bit worried or happy?
17. Pooja: sono felice perché metterò il mio nuovo vestito .hh quello che mi aveva comperato la mamma
I am happy because I will wear my new dress .hh the one my mom bought

Following Manvir's statements about his future movements, in this last extract Parneet tells the other participants about the trip to India that her family is planning.

What is relevant in both stories in Extract 2 is how children narrate these future plans resorting to aspects of daily life for the construction of their storylines. This is particularly visible in turn 16. Although the researcher tries to encourage Parneet to elaborate on her feelings concerning the impending departure and her sense of connection to one place or the other, Parneet musters her eagerness for the journey with a completely unexpected reason: she is happy because she will wear a new dress, the one her mom has bought her. Here, much like in Manvir's story, Parneet does not mention her sense of belonging nor cultural issues. In both positionings of "children on the move", their narratives say

something deeply connected to everyday life and contingent needs to legitimate their condition of movement and the feelings related to it.

Compared to the first extract, here children do not introduce elements of nostalgia or hesitation and focus only on their multiple attachments to multiple places. These divergent narratives should not be observed as conflicting research results but as the outcomes of different ways of dealing with transnational experience and everyday decisions concerning future life that we all experience.

What is common to all these narratives is that the choices children make do not concern their travel experience, but rather how to express certain feelings and take up certain positionings in relation to other participants and the researcher. In this sense, what these extracts aim to show is children's negotiations and active engagement inside the process of small culture formation on the go (Holliday, 2013: 3).

Conclusions

It is not always easy to choose where to live. Friendships, job requirements, relationships with parents and relatives are bound to constrain us in these kinds of choices. Children are not detached from these processes and constraints, and like adults, their reflections and thoughts concerning relationships with multiple places show all the complexities and ambivalences that these situations imply.

Through the extracts I presented here, my aim was twofold. The first was to show the active role children play in complex global changes. The second was to reflect more specifically on interactional dynamics, which influence participants in social interaction to choose a certain position in relation to the self and the group, and to support it through more or less personal stories and narratives.

These two points are not independent, but mutually complementary. It is exactly in the communicative management of such complicated and ambivalent issues, that multiple choices in the display of a certain cultural identity become possible, that social construction processes become visible and observable.

The dynamism characterising narratives allows the participants of a social event to play with them and to present biographical or emotional aspects through

which they sustain and give coherence to the interactional position they take up inside the group discussion.

For instance, both in the case of Amrit and Manvir it is possible to observe a bi- or multi-focal perspective, as they both present themselves as orientated, related and engaged in multiple geographical dimensions.

Although in the extracts cited here there are different and sometimes opposing narratives emerging, what resonates in all of them is the emphasis children give to their daily orientation to a “here” and one or more “there”, both in their social relationships, personal perspectives and their embeddedness in social environments.

In the narratives which describe a sense of nostalgia as well as those in which children discuss the different opportunities that some places give, what they do is present a cultural identity which is not related to national or cultural labels, as we usually understand them, but rather a construction of themselves as individuals that are engaged and actively interconnected with two or more nations.

I intentionally do not use the expression “transnational individual” or “transnational identity”, although this might seem appropriate. The reason for this choice is that this kind of definition could restrict the variety of identity constructions that events like those analysed can show, with the risk of falling into dichotomous and essentialised identity.

As we saw, not all the children expressed their ability to live transnationally. Ahmed for example, in this specific context, clearly states that he wants to go back to Pakistan. However, what is relevant is that in all these discussion situations, multiple and co-created meanings emerged, displaying the children’s engagement in reflections which revealed their openness to several possibilities. They also implied a huge variety of identity and cultural affiliations as well as several ways to express, display and play with them.

Furthermore, to focus on these aspects of mobility management from the perspective of children does not imply ignoring the difficulties and problematic aspects that some of these children might experience. It is intended, however, to present the issue of mobility in all its complexity, avoiding the risk of polarising mobility around the essentialised issues of “positively belonging to two cultures”, or “dangerously being stuck between two cultures”.

In conclusion, it intends to recognise children's ability to deal with social and cultural issues, and to consider their experiences and views as meaningful features that affect the construction of social processes as a whole.

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MONIKA DOMINIAK-KOCHANEK*

Culture and patterns of parenting. Is parenting universal or culture-specific? Evidence from Poland and the USA¹

A critical step on the path to fully understand parenting is to evaluate the forces that shape it

Bornstein, Cheah, p. 6, 2006

ABSTRACT : This article is aimed to address the question whether it is possible to establish a list of universal parenting practices and recommend it to all parents across cultures and countries. In search for the answer, the evolutionary and cultural approach to parenting were discussed. The evolutionary developmental standpoint accentuates the common aspects of parenting based on the parental investment theory and attachment theory. On the contrary, the core of the cultural approach to parenting is the assumption about the variation in disciplinary practices as the natural consequence of the variation in the norms and standards required to be internalised by the competent member of a certain group or society. To find out which standpoint is supported by empirical evidence, the retrospective data on the disciplinary experiences of young adults from Poland and the USA were compared in the following dimensions: the amount of investments put into parenting by mothers and fathers in both countries and the frequency of use of various kinds of parenting practices across Poland and the USA. The results were confronted with the core question on the universal and culture-specific aspects of parenting. Also, implications for immigrant families were discussed in terms of the extent to which a profound change in their child-rearing practices must occur in the course of acculturation.

KEY WORDS : parenting practices, young adult, evolutionary psychology, cultural context

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Introduction

Parenting and forces constructing it lay still within the scope of investigations but two meta-factors seem to be the most prominent determinants of how children are brought up by mothers and fathers, namely: evolution and culture. The evolutionary perspective on parenting emphasises that certain parental behaviours are common regardless of the culture since their function is to support children on their way to reproductive age. On the contrary, the cultural perspective on parenting exposes the diversity in parenting as a natural consequence of the fact that values and norms parents try to transmit to children differ across cultures. Parents in collectivistic countries strive to bring up children who respect the elderly and are focused on educational success which is a source of pride for the whole family. For parents in individualistic countries, it is important to shape self-governance, independence and motivation to achievement regarded as the individual success of a child rather than the family triumph. Taking together the cultural and evolutionary approach, one can assume that a certain set of parental behaviours should be common across cultures or countries. However, these parenting practices serving socialisation goals specific for a given culture remain different. This study focused on comparing parenting practices used by mothers and fathers in Poland and the USA. More specifically, four types of parenting practices measured retrospectively were compared in terms of the frequency they were used by mothers and fathers in both countries. Beyond the frequency factor, different child-rearing values of each parenting practice were taken into account. Accordingly, some parenting practices serve to induce a permanent change of child behaviours (e.g. explaining the rules), others are just to bring a short-term change of behaviour in a given situation (e.g. spanking). The results provided an insight into the similarities and differences of parenting practices used in both countries and enabled us to speculate on the extent to which the parenting pattern has been shaped by evolutionary and cultural factors. The findings were discussed in terms of the challenges facing immigrant families, whose parenting may not fit the standards of the host country, though evolutionary aspects of parenting could play the role of the common background. Such background should serve as a starting point for a gradual change of parenting into the standards shared by the rest of society in the country of residence.

Evolutionary developmental approach to parenting

From the evolutionary developmental perspective, certain aspects of parenting are common regardless of the cultural setting within which child-rearing occurs. This is a central idea stemming from parental investment theory (Trivers, 1972) which assumes that differences in the amount of investment females and males put into parenting and mating are the function of reproduction cost. The passing of genes to offspring requires from females a nine-month gestation followed by providing postnatal nutrition, hence, the amount of effort put to fulfil the role of a parent must be much higher compared to men. Across cultures, men also provide parental care to their infants but their reproductive success is less dependent on the amount of this care than in the case of females, of which the range of pre- and postnatal investment is crucial for child survival. Thus, parental investment theory pinpoints that in the case of men, focus is on mating rather than parenting, the latter of which is in turn mothers' responsibility to a greater degree. It does not mean that fathers are not engaged or interested in child-rearing but the ratio of their participation in parenting is much lower compared to mothers and additionally depends on the extent to which their fatherhood is certain enough (Bjorklund, Pellegrini, 2002). Fathers cannot be sure as much as mothers that they invest in their own biological child and the more doubts they have about their fatherhood, the less they invest. Previous research showed that across cultures, mothers interact with infants more frequently than fathers (Bortnstein, Putnick, 2015) regardless of the fact that female activity in labour market has slowly but gradually increased. As a result of the continuous child caregiving, further striking differences in mothers' behaviour toward the child emerge. More substantial child-rearing experience accounts for mothers' better ability to sublimate their own interests and feelings as well as to deal with child-rearing difficulties even in the case of children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (Stevenson, William, 2000). Among further gender differences that may substantially contribute to a higher quality of parenting provided by mothers are better inhibitory skills enabling gratification delay, greater ability to properly decode nonverbal signals (Bjorklund, Kipp, 1996), greater empathy (Hoffman, 1977) and higher proneness to experience and anticipate guilt feelings for inappropriate behaviours such as aggression which can effectively hamper aggressive outbursts (Campbell, Muncer, Coyle, 1992).

Having the characteristics listed above, mothers are able to provide children with a stable environment conducive to development and optimal adjustment. Furthermore, since mothers serve as primary caregivers, they also more frequently become principal attachment figures compared to fathers and across cultures it is secure attachment style which is the most often acquired by infants (van IJzendoorn, Kroonenberg, 1988). Hence, not only is the investment in parenting made by mothers higher than that made by fathers but also the quality of care provided to children by mothers increases their chance for optimal development and adaptation, and consequently for the transfer of genes to the next generation. Potential cultural differences refer to the frequency of acquiring insecure attachment styles. For example, in Germany children more frequently internalise avoidant attachment compared to anxious attachment while this proportion is reversed in Japan (*ibidem*). One can pinpoint that in line with parental investment theory, the majority of main attachment figures all over the world invest into parenting aiming to increase the chance for reproductive success, though, under less favorable circumstances, cultural differences emerge that must strictly fit into what is acceptable and undesirable in parent-child relations in a given social milieu. However, the consequences of internalising insecure attachment styles appeared to be culture-common. Growing up in a high-stressed family environment leads to the reduction of gender differences in the amount of parenting and mating (Bjorklund, Shackelford, 1999). Namely, just after puberty that occurs earlier than in youngsters from secure family environments, individuals distressed in childhood manifest proneness to invest more in mating than parenting regardless of their biological sex. Furthermore, the prevalence of insecure attachment becomes higher as the result of the father's absence, which indicates the importance of paternal investment and the distress evoked by its lack regardless of cultural background (*ibidem*).

To sum up, two phenomena have been mentioned in the context of culture-common aspects of parenting. The first one, derived from the evolutionary perspective on human development, refers to parental investment in child-rearing which is greater in mothers compared to fathers, though fathers' engagement is also important for establishing a secure family climate. The second phenomenon is of ethological origin and relies on the child's internalisation of attachment to the parent, which substantially increases the likelihood of his or her survival. Considering these theoretical frameworks, one can argue that

regardless of the culture, mothers are not only more engaged in parenting but also fulfil this role more competently than fathers. To which extent the so-called social factor representing specific societal values and cultural norms regulating relations within families could reformulate the pattern of parenting derived from evolutionary approach, is the crucial issue discussed below on the basis of the overview of cross-cultural research on parenting.

Cultural approach to parenting

Considering the fact that socialisation within family serves as a crucial process enabling the child to become a competent member of society, cultural variation in parenting must be associated with the variation in values and norms relevant in a given society. The nature of the association between culture and parenting is conceptualised as the bidirectional dynamic influence which is particularly emphasised in ecological system theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). According to this theory, no matter to what degree a certain ecosystem is outward to so-called child's immediate environment, all ecosystems interact with each other while influencing one another (Ibidem). Thus, parenting as the crucial aspect of the child's microsystem shapes and is shaped by social and cultural values which are in turn inherent aspects of the macrosystem. More specifically, having been raised in a certain cultural background, parents unconsciously do their best to transmit norms highly valued in their social milieu. By their choice concerning their child's upbringing, parents try to meet the expectations of the community within which they live. Hereby, culture is reproduced by parenting since parents adopt parenting practices and style which best reflect values and norms of the culture within which the child's upbringing occurs (Cauce, 2008). Yet, parenting patterns have also changed over time due to the increased number of single parents, higher rate of mother's participation in labour market or migration which gradually shape the cultural standards in child-rearing. Such cultural change over time as the effect of the change in parenting was well-illustrated by Diana Baumrind (1967, 1968). Baumrind conceptualised three distinct parenting styles, namely: authoritative, authoritarian and permissive, which were further extended to include neglectful parenting style introduced by Eleonora Maccoby and John Martin (1983). In the search for the source of

the authoritarian attitude toward the child, Baumrind (1978) indicated Catholic tradition accentuating the importance of the unconditional surrender to God's will just as authoritarian parents behave toward their children expecting obedience and conformity. However, the spread of Montessori's ideas on raising children has shifted interest to the authoritative parenting style. In countries scoring high on individualism, this approach is becoming the most fruitful parental approach to child development and the most expected from caring and loving parents (Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbush, Darling, 1992). High demandingness of authoritative parents followed by their high warmth and acceptance have long-term positive effects on developmental outcomes in behavioural and educational domains as well as overall adjustment of the child. At the behavioural level, children who experienced authoritative style at least from one parent were at a lowest risk of delinquency, while females whose parents were permissive and males whose parents were neglectful more frequently revealed externalising problem behaviours (Hoeve, Dubas, Gerris, Laan, Smeenk, 2011). Further, authoritative parenting style predicted higher academic success (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, Fraleigh, 1987) and master orientation (Gonzales, Doan Holbein, Quilter, 2002) compared to authoritarian and permissive parenting that were more related to performance orientation manifested by children. Finally, adolescents scored higher on self-esteem, life-satisfaction and lower on depressive symptoms when their mothers were authoritative but not authoritarian or permissive (Milevsky, Schlechter, Netter, Keehn, 2007). However, this extraordinary impact of authoritative parents on child outcomes has one substantial limitation. It works as long as European-American families are considered while a different pattern of parenting turned to be beneficial for children in Asian-American families in the US. Research showed that Chinese-American students performed better at school when they experienced authoritarian style at home (Chao, 2001) which harmoniously corresponds with socialisation values emphasised by parents such as child's obedience and submissiveness (Xiao, 1999). The parental pursuit of shaping children's interdependence and conformity to their reference group has its root in Confucianism which exposed the importance of a hierarchical relation between the child and the parent or teacher, high importance of educational success and the role of effort put to achieve it (Hui-Chen Huang, Gove, 2012). Additionally, it is important that immigrants from China try to retain their cultural values based on Confucianism, no matter

whether they live inside or outside the Chinese community in the US (Ibidem). Consequently, academic success of children remains at the top of the hierarchy of socialisation goals formulated by parents. In fact, Asian students strive very hard to achieve this aim. As the results show, the American society holds a stereotype of Asian students as hardworking and extraordinarily intelligent, however, some teachers perceive them as passive and quiet (Schneider, Lee, 1990). This is an excellent example of attributional bias resulting from cultural difference. While Asian students internalised the hierarchical relation with the teacher which hampers their asking questions in the classroom, for teachers their behaviour is attributable to personality features.

On the contrary, European-American parents, who are apt to use the authoritative style, emphasised the importance of independence, individual autonomy and self-governance stemming from the Judeo-Christian tradition (Ibidem). Thus, when the culture within which socialisation occurs exposes the same values as those transmitted to the child by means of parenting style, a salient cohesion of values stressed by the family system and the macrosystem is achieved. Consequently, the child is provided with a clear-cut message about appropriate and undesirable behaviours. This cohesion in rules and values operating in each ecosystem the child is enmeshed in might be one of the important aspects contributing positively to child development even when parents use such different instruments of socialisation as authoritative or authoritarian parenting styles.

An alternative explanation of identical child outcomes as the effects of very different parenting styles is to acknowledge Baumrind's theory as ethnocentric and inapplicable to any other culture, community or nation than the European-American White population (Pong, Johnston, Chen, 2010). In some cases, studies with parenting style theory as the theoretical framework conducted outside the US showed the same value of authoritative parenting for child adjustment, while in other cases different patterns of parenting turned out to be beneficial. More specifically, a large survey conducted in the UK concluded that authoritative parenting was related to healthier eating behaviours as well as better mental and physical health of adolescents (Zahra, Ford, Jodrell, 2013). By contrast, in the Spanish sample permissive parenting style¹ predicted

¹ The authors used quadripartite model of parenting styles measuring the authoritative, authoritarian, neglectful and indulgent parenting style defined by low strictness and high parental warmth which conceptually corresponds to permissive parenting style.

psychosocial adaptation of adolescents, who reported higher self-esteem, lower level of psychological maladjustment and problem behaviours compared to the participants whose parents were authoritarian and authoritative (Garcia, Garcia, 2009; Martinez, Garcia, 2007). To explain the phenomenon of permissive parenting style in Spain, the authors indicated that permissive parenting better corresponds with egalitarian relations which are predominant in the Spanish society as opposed to hierarchical relations promoted in Asian culture. Thus, instead of accentuating the idea of ethnocentric nature of parenting style theory, they put emphasis on the cohesion between rules and values applied in micro- and macrosystem that makes permissive parenting most beneficial for the child in one cultural context and authoritarian or authoritative parenting in other cultural contexts.

Another well-described phenomenon in parenting area refers to the psychosocial effects of using corporal punishment by parents across countries and toward children of different ethnicity. Although physical discipline is detrimental for children since it evokes fear and physical pain, the results illustrating the overall psychological adjustment of children experiencing corporal punishment at home are not so consistent as one might expect. The first unexpected findings referred to African-American children who experienced corporal punishment more often than European-American children with no negative effect on the level of externalising problem behaviours (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, 1997; Lansford, Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, Pettit, 2004). Other findings manifested even stronger differences between African-American and European-American children. While spanking at home correlated negatively with the number of fights at school initiated by African-American children, the same correlation was positive for European-American children (Gunnore, Mariner, 1997). Next, a similar phenomenon was found in cross-national comparative research conducted in China, India, Italy, Kenya, the Philippines, and Thailand (Lansford et al., 2005). When the prevalence of corporal punishment was high in a given country, its effect on the psychosocial adjustment of children became low. To explain this finding that seems to be inconsistent, the researchers established the concept of cultural normativeness of corporal punishment. Spanking is considered as culturally normative if the use of it is both prevalent and acceptable in a certain culture. Consequently, children physically punished perceived it as one of disciplinary practices most peers experienced at home

rather than an act of aggression manifested by parents as role models. Thus, the coherence between parenting practices accepted in the society and parenting practices used by parents operates as a protective factor, particularly when the methods to correct child misbehaviour are far from what psychologists and educators recommend.

Current study

This study aimed at defining common and universal aspects of parenting based on the comparison of Polish and American parents. To do so, the pattern of applying four parenting practices by mothers and fathers in both countries was established. More specifically, mothers' preference for using corporal punishment, psychological aggression, punitive and inductive methods in the process of child rearing were evaluated considering the country of origin as a potential factor determining this preference. Then, a corresponding pattern of using parenting practices was provided for fathers taking into account their country of origin. Finally, mothers and fathers' parenting practices were compared in terms of the frequency parents were apt to use them when their child misbehaved. While comparing them, special attention was devoted to the extent to which mothers and fathers focus on inductive methods and punitive methods. The prevalence of these two types of parenting methods was regarded as an indicator of the overall investment into parenting by mothers and fathers because of the undisputable rearing value of inductive methods and the conditional rearing value of punitive methods. The term "inductive methods" was derived from the terminology originally used by Martin L. Hoffman (2000) who described them as the effective methods in the process of child's socialisation. Among them are: explanation, modelling appropriate behaviours or highlighting the victim's distress caused by the child's behaviour. A common characteristic of the techniques listed as the indicators of inductive methods, is that all of them enable children to understand the perspective of others. Hoffman and his colleague provided empirical evidence that when inductive methods are used by parents, the child's empathy and proclivity for prosocial behaviors emerge. Moreover, the child's development of moral reasoning is advancing rapidly (Hoffman, 1975; Hoffman, Saltzein, 1967). Thus, among other practices taken

into account in this study, inductive methods serve child rearing purposes to the largest extent, going far beyond the need for correcting the child's misbehaviour in a given situation.

The role of punitive methods is more complex. In this study the punitive methods are represented by a set of non-aggressive techniques such as temporal deprivation of privileges, putting the child in "time out" or giving extra chores as a consequence of misbehaviour. On the one hand, all of them are based on punishment and some pressure must be put on the child to implement them sufficiently. On the other hand, one can assume that the more rules have been discussed with the child along with the consequences for breaking them, the less pressure is needed to enforce them. If, additionally, parents are consistent with regard to what the child should not do and what kind of behaviour is permissible, then punitive methods can serve child-rearing purposes. Consequently, taking into account parental investment theory which assumes greater maternal than paternal investment in parenting, it was hypothesised that mothers in Poland and the US will use inductive and punitive methods more frequently compared to fathers representing both countries since both methods can contribute considerably to child-rearing (hypothesis 1). Furthermore, in line with masculine gender role, it was predicted that fathers in both countries will score higher on parenting practices involving aggression, either physical or verbal, since aggressive behaviour is considered a masculine-type act rather than feminine (Bem, 2000) (hypothesis 2). Finally, no predictions were formulated concerning country-specific differences in parenting practices within the group of mothers and the group of fathers representing both countries. This aspect of the study was more explorative in nature but the results might contribute to our knowledge on cross-national peculiarities in parenting and broadly on how much culture can determine parenting practices.

Methods

Participants. Data for the study in Poland and the USA were collected in a university setting. To run the cross-national comparisons, the samples were selected in a way to maximise the similarity in terms of age and family history. In Poland, 187 students whose mean age was $M = 19,51$ ($SD = 1,2$) participated

in the study, including 137 females and 50 men. The majority of the participants were raised by biological parents (91,4%), 5,35% indicated that they were raised by adoptive parents and 2,69% by a single parent. No ethnic differentiation was noticed in the Polish sample. The American sample consisted of 215 students (140 females and 75 men) whose mean age was $M = 19,16$ ($SD = 1,15$). Of these, 86,05% were raised by biological parents, 0,5% by adoptive parents, 11,63% participants indicated that they were brought up by a single parent and 1,7% participants chose the option “other” which was supplemented by the following example “extended/foster family”. In terms of ethnicity, the American sample consisted of 76,6% Caucasian, 11,5% African-American, 3,7% Asian, 1,4% Hispanic, 0,9% Black-Hispanic and 4.6% ”other”. The Polish sample was 100% Caucasian. The study was approved by the University Ethics Board both in Poland and the USA.

Parenting practices. Participants filled out the Dimensions of Discipline Inventory (DDI) originally developed by Straus and Fauchier (2005–2011) for the purpose of International Parenting Study. The DDI measures the frequency of a wide range of parenting practices defined as disciplinary behaviours undertaken by parents to correct child misbehaviour. The questionnaire enables the measurement of a wide range of parenting practices including: psychological aggression, corporal punishment, punitive methods and inductive methods. Psychological aggression relies on a conscious manipulation of the child’s emotions by a parent through inducing a sense of guilt, shame or suggesting that parental love is conditional and depends on the child’s behaviour. The use of offensive insults by a parent that may disrupt the child’s self-esteem is an additional indicator of psychological aggression. The subscale of psychological aggression consists of four items that enables the evaluation of how often the mother and father: shout or yell at the child; try to make the child feel ashamed or guilty; hold back affection; tell the child that he or she is lazy, sloppy or thoughtless. The subscale of corporal punishment contained four items enabling the measurement of how often the mother and father shake or grab the child; spank, slap, smack, or swat the child; use a stick, a belt or other objects; make children kneel down or pull their ears. The scale of punitive methods has eight questions about how often parents try to change the inappropriate behaviour of the child by means of punishment not involving any verbal or physical aggression i.e. “time out”, sending children to their rooms or withholding their pocket money. Finally, the subscale of inductive

methods was taken into account with questions referring to how often the mother and father explain the rules, demonstrate appropriate behaviour or praise the child for abandoning misbehaviour. The participants were asked to rate retrospectively on a five-point Likert scale (from never = 1 to very often = 5) how often their mothers and fathers performed disciplinary behaviours included in the four scales in order to correct the participant's misbehaviour when they were 10–13 years old. The participants in Poland and the US were instructed to assess parenting practices separately for mothers and fathers. The Cronbach's alphas estimated separately for the Polish and American samples were acceptable for each subscale in both countries. More specifically, the Cronbach's alpha for psychological aggression scale was $\alpha = 0,79$ in both samples; for corporal punishment scale $\alpha = 0,87$ in the Polish sample and $\alpha = 0,85$ in the American sample; for punitive methods scale $\alpha = 0,87$ in the Polish sample and $\alpha = 0,88$ in the American sample; finally, for inductive methods scale $\alpha = 0,75$ in the Polish sample and $\alpha = 0,83$ in the American sample.

Results

To capture the common and the universal aspects of parenting of mothers and fathers in Poland and the US, a univariate mixed-design repeated ANOVA was performed with the country of origin (Poland, the USA) as a between-subject factor and parenting practices (corporal punishment, psychological aggression, punitive methods, affirmative methods) as a within-subject factor. Considering the fact that the retrospective data on parenting practices was collected separately for mothers and fathers, ANOVA was run two times to define the similarities and differences in parenting within the group of mothers and the group of fathers. The results concerning parenting practices by mothers showed that the main effect of parenting practices is statistically significant [$F(3, 402) = 1275, 19, p < 0,001, \eta^2 = 0,76$]. Thus, according to the participants, when they misbehaved at the age of 10, their mothers preferred some methods over other, using them with different frequency. The Bonferroni pairwise comparison showed that the misbehaviour of participants was the most frequently corrected by punitive methods ($M = 19,72; SD = 5,89$), then by means of inductive methods ($M = 15,39; SD = 3,39$). Psychological aggression was used by mothers relatively seldom compared to the

methods mentioned above ($M = 9,2$; $SD = 3,5$), finally, mothers were the least likely to use corporal punishment ($M = 6,6$; $SD = 3,07$). Another significant result referred to the interaction effect between the country of origin of mothers and the frequency they were apt to use the four types of parenting practices [$F(3, 402) = 30,1$, $p < 0,001$, $\eta^2 = 0,07$]. Using the Bonferroni pairwise comparison, it was found that American mothers were more likely to use punitive methods than Polish mothers ($p < 0,001$) and the inductive methods as well ($p < 0,001$). Also, with regard to the frequency of applying corporal punishment, American mothers scored higher compared to Polish mothers ($p < 0,01$). The only common aspect of parenting by Polish and American mothers referred to the frequency of applying psychological aggression as a method of correcting child misbehavior. The detailed results of interaction effect obtained for parenting practices and country of origin of participants are presented in Figure 1.

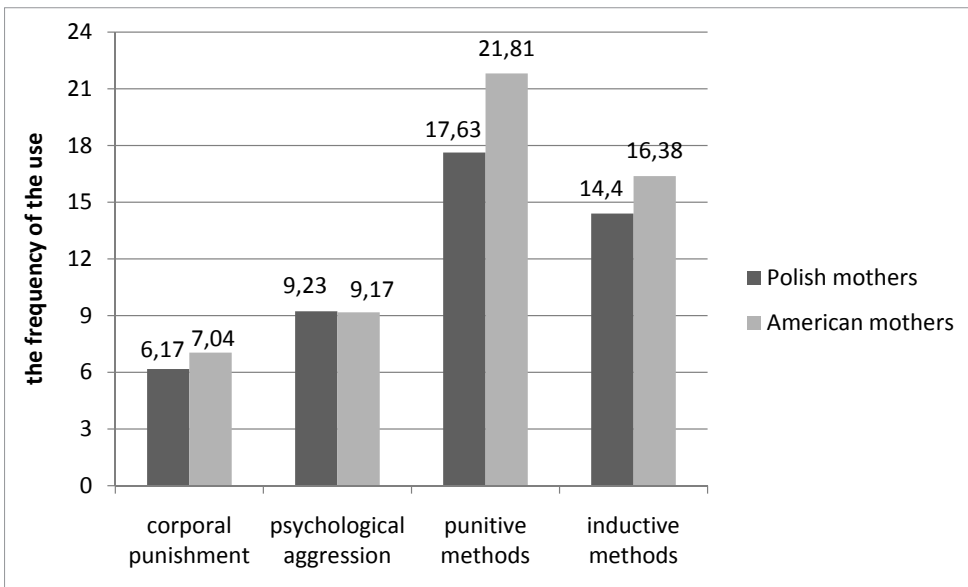


Figure 1. The frequency of the use of four parenting practices by Polish and American mothers

To define the pattern of similarities and differences in parenting by fathers from Poland and the US, another univariate mixed-design repeated ANOVA was run within the following factorial design: 2 (country of origin: Poland,

USA) x 4 (parenting practices: corporal punishment, psychological aggression, punitive and inductive methods). Again, the results showed that both the main effect [$F(3, 392) = 941,52, p < 0,001, \eta^2 = 0,71$] as well as the interaction effect were statistically significant [$F(3, 392) = 20,12, p < 0,001, \eta^2 = 0,05$]. The main effect of parenting practices by fathers resulted from the different frequency of applying four parenting practices. Fathers were apt to correct child misbehaviour primarily by means of punitive methods ($M = 18,57; SD =$), used more frequently than the inductive methods ($M = 14,28; SD =$). Then, inductive methods based on praising and explanations were administered by fathers more frequently than the two others methods, i.e. corporal punishment ($M=6,74; SD =$) and psychological aggression $M = 8,86; SD =$). Finally, no difference was found with regard to the extent to which participant experienced from fathers corporal punishment or psychological aggression.

On the basis of the interaction effect, one can assume that there were substantial differences between fathers from Poland and the US in the frequency with which they were apt to correct child misbehaviour by applying each of the parenting practices. The Bonferroni pairwise comparison showed that while the child misbehaved, two of the four parenting practices were more eagerly used by American fathers as compared to Polish fathers. These were punitive and inductive methods. The former were more frequently used than the latter and at the same time both methods were applied to a greater extent than corporal punishment and psychological aggression. No difference was found with regard to the frequency within which corporal punishment and psychological aggression were used by fathers while the child misbehaved. Means illustrating the differences and similarities in applying four parenting practices by fathers from Poland and the US are presented in Figure 2.

To define further aspects of parenting which were common or specific for parents in Poland and the US, maternal parenting practices were compared with paternal parenting practices controlling for the country of origin. Thus, another series of ANOVAs was performed with a given parenting practice by mothers and fathers as a within-subject factor and the country of origin as a between-subject factor. Means and standard deviations of the frequency within which the four parenting practices were used by mothers and fathers were presented in Table 1 along with the results of ANOVA. Since none of the interaction effects between the particular parenting practice applied by mothers and fathers and

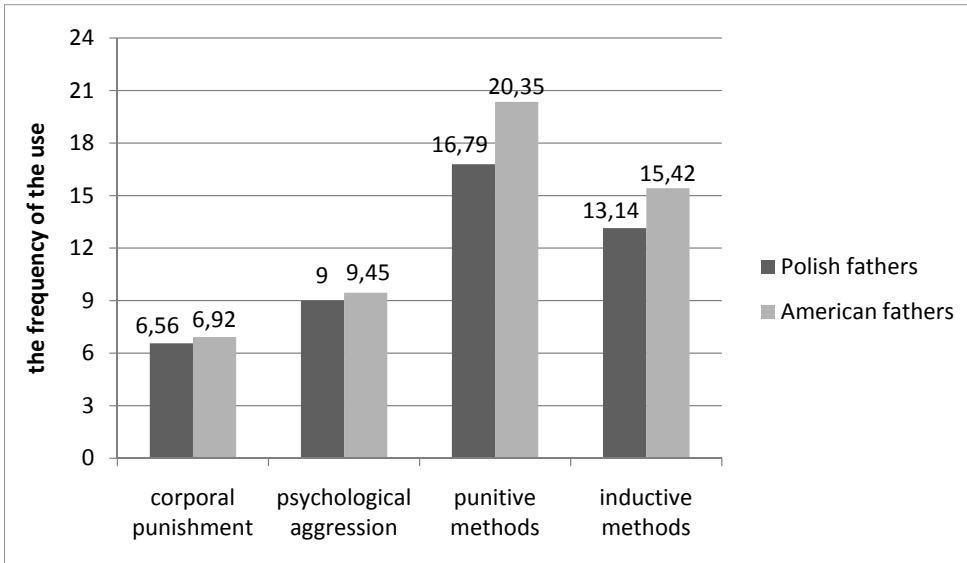


Figure 2. The frequency of the use of four parenting practices by Polish and American fathers

their country of origin turned out to be statistically significant, the detailed results concerning these aspects of the ANOVA results were skipped in the table.

Table 1. Mean and standard deviation scores of parenting practices and ANOVA results

Parenting practices	Mothers (M/SD)	Fathers (M/SD)	F(df)	p	Eta ²
corporal punishment	6,55/0,15	6,64/0,15	$F(1,403) = 0,51$	ns	0,001
psychological aggression	9,16/0,17	9,20/0,18	$F(1,401) = 0,49$	ns	0,000
punitive methods	19,65/0,27	18,51/0,29	$F(1,375) = 24,07$	$p < 0,001$	0,06
inductive methods	15,41/0,16	14,26/0,18	$F(1,375) = 75,49$	$p < 0,001$	0,16

The results showed that according to the retrospective recall of participants their fathers used methods involving aggression, either physical (corporal punishment) or psychological (psychological aggression) to the same extent as

mothers. Thus, harsh discipline regardless of the country is equally often used by both parents, though stereotypically one could assume that it is the father's role to use coercive methods and the mother's role to reassure the child after punishment. However, punitive methods and inductive methods were more often used by mothers compared to fathers. Considering the effect size which is greater in the case of inductive methods than punitive methods, one can argue that the differences in parenting between mothers and fathers grew particularly in the case of discipline of pronounced child rearing value. While punitive methods could be considered in terms of effective ways to change child misbehaviour under some conditions, the importance of inductive methods in child upbringing is unquestionable.

Discussion

Two hypotheses were formulated in this study. Hypothesis 1 derived from parental investment theory assumed that mothers in both countries invest more in parenting than fathers. To evaluate the amount of this investment, the frequency of applying two parenting methods was taken into account. These were inductive and punitive methods. The former, based on explanation and the modelling of proper behaviours, have per se an important contribution to child upbringing, while the latter could be beneficial for child rearing when applying consistently and in line with the rules discussed with the child. The results supported the hypothesis that regardless of the country, mothers invested in parenting more than fathers. In their retrospective recall of parenting practices experienced in childhood, the participants in Poland and the US indicated mothers as rearing figures in the family system who corrected their misbehaviours using inductive and punitive methods more often than fathers. Furthermore, the fact that no country-related differences in the maternal practices reflecting positive parenting were found, corresponds with the core assumption of the evolutionary standpoint. Since the common parental pursuit is the reproductive success, providing developmentally important care and socialisation for the offspring is one of the substantial components to achieve this aim. Therefore, when positive aspects of parenting are considered, the results across studies appeared to be universal regardless of culture or countries just as in this study. For example,

comparing mothers representing European-American and African-American communities on warmth and behavioural control, which are beneficial for child development, no differences were found, while the focus on ethnic socialisation goal such as shaping ethnic identity and ethnic pride differentiates both groups (Hill, Tyson, 2008). Similarly, in a large cross-national comparative survey, including 37 countries differentiated in terms of Human Development Index, in the vast majority of the countries mothers reported higher engagement in positive, enriching activities with their child (e.g. telling stories, playing or taking the child outside) than fathers. Even with regard to gender differences in maternal parenting, few differences were found in spite of the fact that, particularly in low-income countries, in adulthood gender determines to a great extent the position in labour market or general opportunities for personal development and self-realisation (Bortnstein, Putnick, 2015).

With regard to the negative aspects of parenting, such as corporal punishment and psychological aggression, the results of the study revealed only one country-related difference. Mothers in the US used corporal punishment more often than mothers in Poland, but no difference was found in this regard between fathers. Although it seems interesting why American mothers rather than American fathers used physical discipline more frequently, the difference itself might be attributable to cultural background. This point of view is partially supported by the fact that in some countries societal attitude toward banning corporal punishment at home is far from approval, despite empirical facts showing the relation between physical discipline and child internalising and externalising problems (Dominiak-Kochanek, Frączek, 2014; Gershoff, 2002; Grusec, Goodnow, 1994). For example, the social debate in the US has not yet addressed the issue of banning corporal punishment at home because there are still strong opponents of abolishing corporal punishment at school who believe that its abolishment could increase violence at school. On the contrary, Polish mothers had been introduced to the detrimental effects of corporal punishment for child development in the course of social campaigns before the law banning corporal punishment was enacted in 2010. Undoubtedly, there are still many advocates of spanking in Poland but the social attitude toward corporal punishment has been gradually transformed. However, it is a process rather than a rapid change and Poland seems to outdistance the US slightly according to the results of this study.

Contrary to hypothesis 2, fathers in both countries did not use parenting practices involving aggression more often than mothers. Since from a theoretical point of view, both corporal punishment and psychological aggression could be classified as forms of interpersonal aggression (Frączek, 1986), fathers were expected to use them more often because aggression is more a masculine than feminine-typed act. Even though aggressiveness is more attributable to a masculine gender role, using harsh discipline toward own child must not have been associated by parents with a salient evidence of being aggressive. Instead, they probably perceive corporal punishment and psychological aggression as two of many methods that one is supposed to apply as the reaction to child misbehaviour. Furthermore, compared to the punitive methods, and particularly to inductive methods, corporal punishment and psychological aggression do not require from parents any gratification delay skills or positive reinforcement after applying a slap comes immediately. As Elizabeth Greshoff concluded in her meta-analysis (2002), corporal punishment or even a threat to apply it, makes a child become obedient immediately due to the fear of pain. On the contrary, inductive methods require from parents to explain the rule the child had broken through his behaviour and there are many factors that can impede this task. Firstly, the child may ignore parental explanation while being focused on the attractive activity forbidden by the parents. Secondly, the quality of explanation may not fit the child's cognitive level making it difficult for the child to understand the rules. Thirdly, the parents may not be cohesive in terms of the rules required from the child. Thus, positive reinforcement could be delayed over time which can efficiently discourage parents from using inductive methods or even make them believe in their inefficiency. From this point of view, it is not surprising that parents in both countries so often apply punitive methods which are a kind of in-between methods. On the one hand, the child is punished and his awareness of the potential loss of privileges may effectively prevent him from misbehaving in the future just as corporal punishment. On the other hand, it is still a nonaggressive way to change child behaviour through which the child cannot acquire any patterns of antisocial behaviours. It seems that due to these facts, parents in both countries prefer punitive methods over inductive methods, though the preference should definitely be reverse.

The crucial question that emerges on the basis of the results obtained in this study is about the range of common and different aspects of parenting in both

countries. Trying to define the ratio of similarities to differences, one can conclude that parents in both countries have a lot in common. Mothers were more engaged in child rearing than fathers, which is well-justified by parental investment theory. Differences appeared when the frequency of using punitive and inductive methods was taken into account with the general rule that American parents discipline their children more often than Polish parents. Taking the findings together, one can conclude that a solid common background exists stemming from evolution. It does not inevitably mean that the process of acculturation with regard to parenting will be easy for immigrant families but potential intervention programs could be built upon evolutionary foundations.

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DOMINIKA ZAKRZEWSKA-OLĘDZKA*

*Socialisation processes in mono-
vs multi-cultural environments and attitudes
towards Otherness. An international
comparison study in Poland and Israel*

ABSTRACT : In their current social structures, Poland and Israel represent two contrasting profiles of ethnic and religious composition. While Poland is rather homogenous (97.10% of inhabitants are ethnically Polish² and 87.7% are declared Catholics³), Israel consists of a vibrant ethnic and religious mosaic. In this article, I will analyse how young people's upbringing shapes their attitudes towards other national and ethnic groups, based on the results of research carried out among young adults from both countries (PL N = 131, IL N = 123)⁴. The analysis shows that the representatives of a multicultural society (Israel) express a lower need for social distance towards "others" than Poles. Moreover, individuals who had an opportunity to establish closer contact with the representatives of even one of the abovementioned groups, postulated lower distance towards all minorities. In the final part of the article, I discuss a form of education for cultural diversity that might provide knowledge and skills necessary to counter prejudices and stereotypes. It is also a form of education that can constitute a space for intercultural dialogue in a homogenous society by presenting an activity carried out by The UNESCO Janusz Korczak Chair at The Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw within the project "School Active in the Community."

KEY WORDS : socialisation, contact hypothesis, cultural opening, prejudice, stereotypes

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² http://stat.gov.pl/download/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5670/22/1/1/struktura_narodowo-etniczna.pdf, s. 29, Access date: November 5, 2017.

³ http://stat.gov.pl/download/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5670/22/1/1/struktura_narodowo-etniczna.pdf, s. 95, Access date: November 5, 2017.

⁴ The data are part of the study "Life satisfaction and mutual prejudice among Polish and Israeli students. Comparative study and pedagogical implications", carried out in Poland and Israel in the years 2015–2016.

The structure of Polish and Israeli society and the attitude towards others

Contemporary Polish and Israeli society are very different in many respects, including the extent to which their inhabitants are ethnically diverse¹. As the structure of society affects the way in which its systems operate, including the reintegration and readaptation of migrants and refugees, as well as dealing with otherness in the education system, it is worthwhile to look at the development of the current situation in both countries and to reflect on the activities that make effective multicultural education possible in a monocultural society (Poland) which privileges one ethnic group, language and religious practise and aims for everybody to live the same way (Wang & Freeland, 2004).

Israel, in contrast, is a highly culturally diverse country, which combines the faiths and habits of indigenous peoples and immigrants who brought with them their culture and religion. The waves of immigration of Jewish settlers to Palestine and, subsequently, to Israel are called Aliyah², which in Hebrew means returning to the homeland of the ancestors. Although the common element among people allowed to use the so-called right of return³ is Jewish faith,⁴ these persons and groups, depending on their country of origin, differ not only in their level of religiousness but also in the customs practiced. Each of the Aliyah brought new qualities to Israeli society and to the development of the country.⁵

In addition, it should be remembered that indigenous peoples of other faiths, as well as immigrants and refugees from nearby Arab countries, are constantly arriving in Israel as a result of seeking refuge from natural disasters or the

¹ Own observations during the implementation of several Polish-Israeli educational projects taking place in both countries the aim of which was, among others, to improve the participants' knowledge regarding the relations between different social groups.

² [http://www.jhi.pl/psj/alij\(j\)a](http://www.jhi.pl/psj/alij(j)a), Access date: November 5, 2017.

³ The right of return was adopted in 1950 and introduced by an act of law in 1952. It states that every Jew has a fundamental right to immigrate to Israel. He or she is treated as a person whose ancestors were outside their country, and now is returning to this country. According to this law, "a Jew is one who was born from a Jewish mother or converted and is not a believer of another religion."

⁴ <http://embassies.gov.il/warsaw/ConsularServices/Pages/wizy.aspx>, Access date: November 5, 2017.

⁵ <http://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/jewish-immigration-to-palestine/>, Access date: November 5, 2017.

ongoing warfare in their countries.⁶ All this makes Israeli society a diverse and dynamic religious, ethnic and cultural mosaic. There has so consistently been a large influx of immigrants into Israel that in 1968 the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption was established in order to streamline the process. Its task is to supervise the reception process of people wishing to live in Israel, checking and collecting documents and supporting information. At present 81%⁷ of people living in Israel are Jews, and there are a number of minorities which include Arab Muslims, Bedouins (also Muslims), Arab Christians, Druze, and Cherkesses. Due to such great diversity and a high percentage of Arabs (Muslims and Christians), Israel has two official languages – Hebrew and Arabic.

Even the Jewish community, constituting the majority social group in the country, is greatly differentiated internally, not only culturally, depending on the part of the world and the country from which the family came, but also in terms of religiousness (conservatism or liberalism).⁸ The statistics of the PEW Research Centre⁹ indicate that at present 40% of Israeli citizens are non-religious, 23% are religious liberals, 10% orthodox, and 8% are ultraorthodox. Such variation leads to a situation in which two legal systems – religious and secular – are in place. There are likewise different school systems – secular, religious and ultra-orthodox. Compulsory education was introduced in Israel in 1949 by the Compulsory Education Law and a few years later, in 1953, the State Educational Law was announced.¹⁰ From the very beginning, the division according to the religiousness/secularism of schools existed, and there were also separate schools for Arab and Druze pupils, taught in Arabic but with the same curriculum. However, the differences among the systems increased with time.¹¹

⁶ see: <http://afryka.org/afryka/afrykanscy-uchodzczy-i-imigranci-w-izraelu-po-2005-roku,news/>, Access date: November 5, 2017.

⁷ http://www.pewforum.org/2016/03/08/israels-religiously-divided-society/pf_2016-03-08_israel-01-01/, Access date: November 5, 2017.

⁸ <http://www.pewforum.org/2016/03/08/israels-religiously-divided-society/>, Access date: 05.11.2017.

⁹ <http://www.pewresearch.org/>, Access date: November 5, 2017.

¹⁰ <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/sites/default/files/Israel.pdf>, Access date: November 5, 2017.

¹¹ <http://www.israel.org/MFA/AboutIsrael/IsraelAt50/Pages/Fifty%20Years%20of%20Education%20in%20the%20State%20of%20Israel.aspx>, Access date: November 5, 2017.

In the literature, various typologies of Israeli schools, such as religious/secular and state/private, can be found. For the purpose of this article the typology presented by the Israeli Ministry of Education will be used. In its typology, there are four types of schools in the Israeli education system: state Jewish schools, Arab and Druze state schools, state secular schools, and private schools.¹² The level of religiousness in turn affects the way in which school life is organised, for example in the religious schools pupils learn in single-sex classes while secular schools have coeducational classes at all levels of education. Religious schools accept pupils of a particular religion, while secular schools enrol students of different denominations together, implementing the same secular curriculum for all students. Such diversity (despite the segregation in some areas) in the public sphere – in the street, in the stores or in the offices – gives children from a very early age the knowledge that not everyone is the same and enables them to experience living in a society in which, in order to function properly, they must find ways to not only live with this diversity but also use its potential for further development.

The situation in Poland is very different. As a result of its history, particularly as a result of Nazi German activities (including the Holocaust) during World War II, occupation, the changes of state borders as a result of the decisions of the US, UK and USSR during the Yalta Conference (1945) and Potsdam Conference (1945) and the post-war unification policy of the communist regime, it is a rather monocultural country.¹³ There are many cases in which people of other faiths have decided to officially change their religion or completely renounce it for family security and the possibility of a normal life. It is noteworthy that in the interwar period (1918–1938) Poland was still a multicultural country, with ethnic Poles, as indicated by the censuses (1921, 1928, 1938)¹⁴ representing between 64–69% of the population, and a long history of tolerance and democracy.¹⁵

¹² <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/aboutisrael/education/pages/education-%20primary%20and%20secondary.aspx>, Access date: November 5, 2017.

¹³ Monoculturality understood as a very low percentage of national, ethnic and minority groups, defined according to the Polish law.

¹⁴ <http://stat.gov.pl/spisy-powszechnie/narodowe-spisy-powszechnie/historia-spisow/>, Access date: November 5, 2017.

¹⁵ Which is, however, put under discussion by some historians.

The contrast with the present figures is remarkable. In the National Census of 2011¹⁶, 97.09% of respondents declared Polish nationality. This shows that minorities represent less than 3% of the country's population. The majority of Poles declare affiliation to the Catholic Church,¹⁷ although a smaller number report regular church attendance,¹⁸ engagement in religious groups¹⁹ or celebration of religious holidays.²⁰ It could be argued whether these declarations are entirely consistent with the actual beliefs of the respondents, bearing in mind the ever-increasing voices, especially of young people, that they participate in Catholic traditions primarily for the sake of maintaining good relations with the older generation (parents or grandparents) and avoiding social ostracism rather than because of their own needs.²¹ However, the Catholic tradition is still actively present in the public space not only within the celebration of religious holidays but also influencing the school curriculum, social attitudes towards family, and health care issues or politics.

The effects of this situation can be seen, inter alia, in the organisation of the school environment, where Catholic symbols and religious practices play a significant role despite the declaration of religious neutrality of state schools. Examples include hanging crucifixes in most or all school premises, initiating school assemblies and, in extreme cases, some classes with prayer, teaching the

¹⁶ http://stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/LUD_ludnosc_stan_str_dem_spo_NSP2011.pdf, Access date: November 5, 2017.

¹⁷ According The National Census 2011 published in 2015, 87,6% of general population declare affiliation to the Catholic church; http://stat.gov.pl/files/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5670/22/1/1/struktura_narodowo-etniczna.pdf, s. 92, Access date: November 5, 2017..

¹⁸ According to the Institute for Catholic Church Statistics (www.iskk.pl), the percentage of Catholics participating in the Holy Mass on Sundays is on average 39% [Sadłoń, W. (2016) Differentiation, polarization and religious change in Poland at the turn of 20th and 21st century. *Przegląd Religioznawczy – The Religious Studies Review* no. 4 (262), p. 34 [25–42], Access date: November 5, 2017.

¹⁹ In 2013, 8% of Polish Catholics were actively involved in parish organisations [source]: Sadłoń, W. (2016) Differentiation, polarization and religious change in Poland at the turn of 20th and 21st century. *Przegląd Religioznawczy – The Religious Studies Review* no. 4 (262), p. 37 [25–42], Access date: November 5, 2017.

²⁰ According to the Polish Central Statistical Office, the percentage of Poles declaring religious practices in 2013 amounted to 16,2% [source]: Sadłoń, W. (2016). Differentiation, polarization and religious change in Poland at the turn of 20th and 21st century. *Przegląd Religioznawczy – The Religious Studies Review* no. 4 (262), p. 38 [25–42], Access date: November 5, 2017.

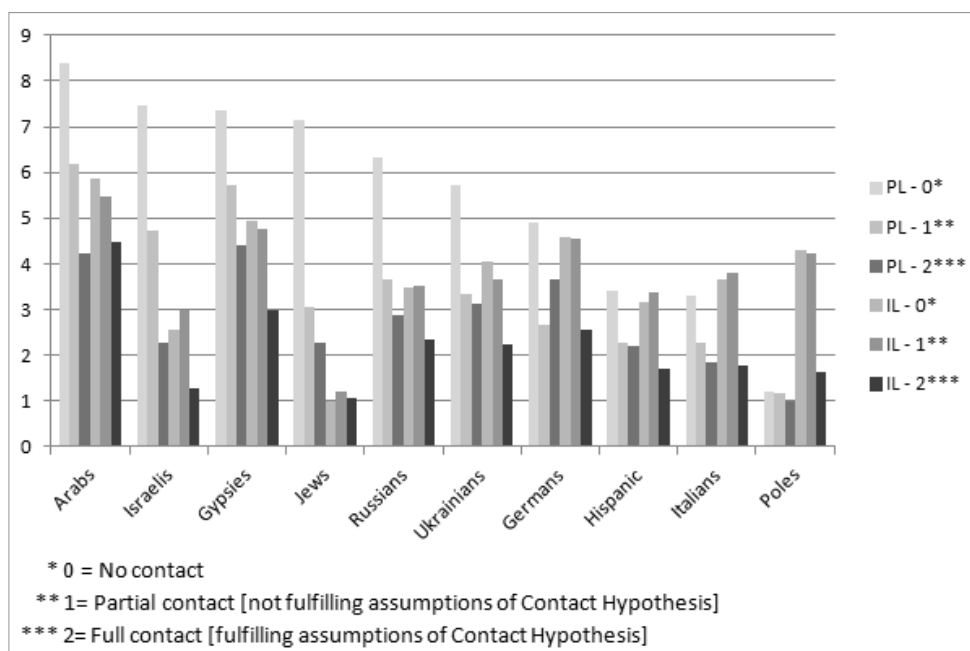
²¹ Own observations.

Catholic religion at school,²² including grades from Catholic religion classes (as opposed to all other religions) in the average grade on the end-of-year school certificate or arranging the class schedule to allow time off for religious retreats. In some cases, the latter even involves having teachers bring the students to the retreat in the church instead of school activities. Any otherness in such an environment is immediately noticed and often stigmatised by both peers and didactic staff.²³

What is the impact of a homo- or heterogeneous society (in terms of the presence of national, ethnic and religious minorities) on the process of educating young people and shaping their openness to otherness and, consequently, attitudes toward those who differ in some way from the majority? I will try to answer this question in the next part of the article based on the research on postulated social distance towards other national, religious and ethnic groups among young adults, students aged 18–28, from Poland and Israel.

²² On the basis of the Concordat concluded in 1993 between the Polish State and the Vatican, Catholic education lessons were introduced, and occupy two hours per week at all stages of pre-school and school education. Participation is voluntary and pupils of other faiths are to be given the opportunity to participate in ethics classes. However, in practice Catholic religion classes are organised in the middle of the day and most ethics classes after school, which discourages students from attending them. In addition, although grades in religion classes are not supposed to affect promotion to the next grade, they are included in the students' grade point average, and affect decisions on granting scholarships. What is more, Catholic religion classes are much easier to obtain a high grade in than ethics. As a consequence, this creates an additional inequality among students, and in a certain way leads to punishment, justified by the system, for those not attending Catholic religion classes; <https://kuratorium.krakow.pl/organizowanie-nauki-religii-w-publicznych-przedzkolach-i-szkolach-zmiana-rozporzadzenia/>, Access date: 05.11.2017; <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20170001147/O/D20171147.pdf>, Access date: November, 5, 2017; <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19980510318/O/D19980318.pdf>, Access date: November 5, 2017.

²³ Own observations.



Postulated social distance among young adults from Poland and Israel towards selected national and ethnic groups

The aim of the research was to assess the level of postulated social distance towards other groups among humanities and social science students from Poland and Israel. The contact variable defined according to the Allport Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954) was also included. On the basis of observational and experimental research, Allport concluded that prejudice is caused by the existence of two factors: lack of knowledge and fear. Lack of knowledge about a particular group or fragmentary knowledge leaves too much space for imagination and understatements, which can lead to a rising fear of the unknown and exaggerated or completely unjustified potential threats to the well-being of the prejudiced person. Following a series of experiments, he concluded that the elimination of these factors, though of great importance, still does not lead to complete prevention of stereotypes and prejudices.

In order for contact to achieve its potential as an effective way to reduce prejudice, a number of additional conditions must be met. These include elements such as equal social status of the contact parties, having a mutually acceptable

goal that can be achieved only through cooperation (Amir, 1969; Pettigrew, in: Aronson, Wilson & Akert, 2014), approval by the authorities of both groups (Allport, 1954), an informal and friendly atmosphere during joint activities (Ibidem), and recognition of the rights to equality between people by both groups (Amir, 1969; Wilder, in: Aronson, Wilson & Akert, 2014). Last but not least, there must be regular relations and not one-time meeting, with a number of representatives of a given community that will provide the opportunity to get to know them in different situations (Wilner et al., in: Nelson, 2003). It is also underlined that (Dąbrowa & Markowska-Manista, 2014) the contact must be both personal and direct. Only after meeting these conditions can contact lead to a significant reduction or elimination of mutual prejudices and stereotypes.

This effect has been observed in a number of studies conducted in various countries. One of the first and the most widely known was carried out by Muzafer Sheriff on a group of boys taking part in a camp at Robbers Cave (Sherif, Harvey, Hood, Sherif & White, 1988). This experiment found that while competition produced antagonism between two groups of boys, their interdependence in achieving a common important and valuable goal reduced it. There have also been several research projects carried out in Poland and Israel that examined whether contact reduced mutual prejudice and stereotypes among Poles and Israelis. Last year's study of evaluations by high school and university exchange students supports the validity of this thesis (Kuleta-Hulboj, in: Dąbrowa & Markowska-Manista, 2009). As noted by some of the groups of students from Israel and Poland (Bilewicz, 2006), the narrative of the authorities and the content discussed at the meetings was the factor that mattered the most. Did the discussions during meetings refer to the past or present, and if so to what extent did they allow to identify with the experiences of the other person? When the subjects of meetings concentrated on the past, contact did not result in the elimination of prejudices and stereotypes, while the participants focusing on the future displayed significantly higher levels of sympathy and a sense of similarity to the representatives of the other group.

In the research process results of which will be described below, groups of students from Poland and Israel either had no contact (* 0 = no contact) with each other, met each other only once and for a short time (** 1 = contact did not meet the assumptions of contact hypothesis), or participated together in several days of educational and social activities, planned in a way that fulfilled as much

as possible the assumptions of the contact hypothesis (**2 = contact fulfilling the hypothesis of contact). The group with full contact (**2) consisted of students from Poland and Israel who were participating, as a part of their curriculum, in 1-2 weeks mutual training in leadership and education methods. The group of partial contact (*1) consisted of students from Poland and Israel who, as a part of their curriculum, participated in 2 hours mutual meeting and workshops. The last group (*0), with no contact, was randomly assigned from among students at the same universities and faculties who had not previously had a chance of contact with students from the second country.

The purpose of the project was to assess whether the representatives of groups with different degrees of access to contact with “others” would postulate the same or different social distance from the second group (in this case Polish or Israeli) and other selected religious, ethnic and national groups mentioned in questionnaires. The research was conducted among humanities and social sciences students in 2015/2016, in Poland and Israel. The Bogardus Social Distance Scale, a self-report questionnaire, was administered to Polish (N = 131) and Israeli (N = 123) students. The respondents answered questions in their mother tongue. Only complete questionnaires, filled in by the respondents representing the main religious group in the given country — Christians from Poland and Jews from Israel— were analysed. Questionnaires from the representatives of other religious groups and ones with significant data deficiencies or large numbers of deletions were rejected prior to statistical analysis.

Respondents from the Polish group with no contact postulated the highest social distance in relation to Arabs, Israelis, Roma and Jews, and the smallest (apart from other representatives of their own group) in relation to Italians and Spaniards. The Israelis in this condition postulated the highest social distance from Arabs and Roma, and then respectively Germans and Poles, while the smallest distance they wanted to keep was from Spaniards and Russians. Analogous patterns were observed in the group that only had one-off, short-term contact. It is worth noting, however, that in this group the differences in attitudes were much more visible among Poles. In the third group, having the possibility of full, long-term contact, the observed postures were most open with one exception. Polish respondents in this group had a more negative perception of Germans than those who had partial contact. However, it can be assumed that the presented attitude could be a result of learning about the role of Germans

as aggressors responsible for numerous harms experienced both by Jews and Poles at the time of World War II and the Holocaust. This is because the educational projects in which the surveyed students participated included issues related to historical experiences common to Poles and Jews, and the third group discussed the subject in the most detail. Another significant element observed in the results is that although the respondents met in the framework of educational projects with the representatives of only one of the groups included in the research (Poles with Israelis and Israelis with Poles), a significantly different, more open attitude appears in relation to virtually all groups mentioned in the questionnaire. This may suggest that the experience of positive contact with the representative of a group toward which the person is prejudiced may be generalised to other groups and make that person more cautious about formulating future judgments of others.

One limitation of this study is that there was no pre-test. One could suppose that in the course of recruitment auto-selection might have happened, which in this case would appear in the declaration to participate in activities only by persons who are by nature open to others. However, since most of the meetings in which the respondents participated were part of their obligatory courses to which the students were randomly assigned, the probability of such a large impact of the character of the person on the results seems rather negligible in this situation.

According to the results obtained in the research and based on the assumptions of the contact hypothesis as described above, it can be presumed that under certain conditions, appropriately facilitated contact is a valuable tool for breaking down prejudices and stereotypes between antagonistic groups. Therefore, it can and should be used in educational and social activities. Is it, however, possible to use contact with “others” as a method of education for multiculturalism in a monocultural society? In the next part of this article, I will try to answer this question by examining a project completed in the academic year 2016/17 by the UNESCO Janusz Korczak Chair in Interdisciplinary Studies on Child Development and Well-being at The Maria Grzegorzewska University in cooperation with local educational institutions.

Developing openness to multiculturalism in a monocultural society – using the potential of the local community in upbringing and educational activities carried out by school facilities

Unlike many multicultural countries including Israel, Polish society is much more monocultural – minorities constitute less than 3% of the population (Rykała, 2013). Outside large cities, meeting someone of a different cultural background is unlikely. Do children and young people growing up in a homogeneous society have a chance to truly know “others”? There is no doubt that it is more difficult than in countries with high social differentiation, where the challenge is not to seek out the “other” but to coexist effectively with representatives of various minorities every day at work, school and during leisure activities. However, it may be beneficial to adapt some of the educational solutions used in the area of multiculturalism to Polish conditions. One of them is the practical application of the concept of cultural opening.

The concept of cultural opening was created in Germany for the purpose of describing and evaluating the social and medical care system experienced by migrants present in the country in the 1990s (Penka, Klug, Varda, Borde & Ingleby, 2012). It aimed at drawing on local resources for constructing the most effective response to the needs of migrants, understanding their attitudes, culture and values, and finding possibilities to solve problems in ways that benefit both sides of the interaction (Januszewska & Markowska-Manista, 2017). Later on, this approach was adopted by numerous governmental and non-governmental organisations as a complementary diagnostic and support system for this group of people. The introduction of such a system requires the fulfilment of particular elements. In the process of introducing the concept of cultural opening into practice, four stages were distinguished (Handschuck & Schröer, 2002).

The first one, at the management level, requires that the need for support be noticed and the concept of cultural opening chosen and recommended for implementation by the decision makers in the institution. It is followed by an organisational stage that includes the incorporation of a cultural opening policy in the principles of the organisation, initiation of cooperation with external groups, introduction of the representatives of a given group to the organisation’s employees and support for developing and acquiring new competences (Januszewska &

Markowska-Manista, 2017). The next stage is the structural level that comes with documenting the interventions involved, as well as activities such as the cultural preparation of interpreters and the observance of religious requirements in the area of holiday celebrations or food. The process closes with the results stage, which takes into account migration background criteria such as mother tongue or country of origin, and compares the results of migrants and local community representatives in evaluating the effectiveness of the support provided.

The project implemented in the 2016/2017 school year by the UNESCO Janusz Korczak Chair in Interdisciplinary Studies on Child Development and Well-being at The Maria Grzegorzewska University in cooperation with the local primary school in Warsaw is an example of the cultural opening at school to the use of local environmental resources for the purpose of enriching the educational impact on pupils, especially in the field of intercultural education. The activity constituted a part of the wider program *School Active in the Community*.²⁴ Its purpose is to develop cooperation between the school and organisations that are active in the local community, which can contribute to strengthening the educational impact of the school and shaping the students' civic attitudes. In this case, cooperation with the UNESCO Chair at The Maria Grzegorzewska University was established.

The project called "School volunteering as a space of the activities for the local community and shaping civic attitudes among students" assumed a series of workshops devoted to volunteering in different cultures and countries for students in grades 4–6 in a local primary school.²⁵ Its purpose was to familiarise

²⁴ http://fio.org.pl/images/dodatki/20121109_sas_informacja.pdf, Access date: November 5, 2017.

²⁵ The whole project involved several levels, including: (1) Meeting with teachers and school management, consulting ideas for joint activities, (2) Acquainting students with the idea of the program "School active in the community", (3) Conducting intercultural communication workshops for students, (4) Familiarisation of foreign students with the structure of the Polish education system and changes therein, (5) Joint implementation of the "dream cards" activity in which pupils with the support of students prepared Christmas cards for paediatric oncological patients, (6) Workshops conducted jointly by students from the Erasmus + international exchange and Polish MA students and doctoral students for classes 1-3 of primary education, based on intercultural fairy tales as a point of development of intercultural dialogue, (7) Workshops conducted jointly by students from the Erasmus + international exchange and Polish MA students and doctoral students for grades 4-6 in primary school, in which a discussion about voluntary activities undertaken during the workshop served as the foundation of acquiring knowledge of the culture and customs of other countries, (8) The receipt and analysis of feedback from students and teachers, and information about the desire to continue cooperation in the next school year.

students with the idea of volunteering and various aspects of intercultural communication by learning the culture and traditions of other countries and selected volunteering projects accomplished there. To make this experience more interesting and cognitively engaging for participants and to introduce a real element of the experience of intercultural interaction, both Polish and foreign students of pedagogical sciences were invited to conduct the workshop. Foreign students consisted of a group that participated in an international student exchange program, Erasmus +. Scenarios of the classes were adjusted to the age of the audience and consulted beforehand with the director and staff of the institution and lecturers. Both local teachers and Polish students served as translators whenever needed, which was an additional didactic aspect of developing language skills among the students.

The project contributed to arousing interest among pupils in volunteering as a form of activity in the local community, also thanks to the introduction of an element of curiosity and the presentation of this idea by visitors from other countries. The opportunity to get to know the culture and customs as well as the language of a particular country was an additional attraction. It was observed that this kind of meeting gave students motivation to work on learning foreign languages and to become aware of their role in learning about the world. For students, to collaborate in international and intercultural teams as well as to gain their first experience of working with an audience with which they did not have any common language was an important value. Furthermore, the need to prepare several different lesson plans tailored to different age groups was an additional challenge. It was also of great importance to know the realities of Polish schools- how they function, what their strengths and best practices are, as well as their systemic constraints and logistical challenges. It was an excellent example of the use of mutual resources for reciprocal benefits, since in the local school environment, as the students in the class noted, “all children were the same”; no distinction was made because of visible features such as appearance or language. Thus, the visit of foreign educators was a rare occasion to meet the “other” in this environment and to find out that he or she may be a positive person from whom one can learn a lot.

The workshops were arranged in a way that allowed the fulfilment of as many requirements of successful intergroup interactions according to the Contact Hypothesis (as defined earlier for this article based on Allport’s theory)

as possible. Many of the conditions were met. First of all, there were direct meetings, allowing the participants to get to know the representatives of another country. Also, mutual cooperation was necessary for the realisation of the project. Teachers, directors and lecturers from the university, who were the authority for the participants, were the initiators of the activities carried out, hence they actively supported them and actively participated in the project. Both groups had social equality standards, and a friendly atmosphere was quickly developed thanks to active and interesting working methods. In view of the natural differences between leaders and children, the condition of comparable social status occurred only between Polish and foreign students and to some extent between students and teachers at school.

The contact was limited to an exact, small number of meetings and the participation of a selected group of people. The failure to meet this aspect of the requirements of the contact hypothesis can, however, be eliminated by carrying out long-term actions and continuing further impacts in subsequent years with succeeding groups of students.

Conclusions

As shown by the analysis of the presented research data, the heterogeneity of a society plays a crucial role in shaping the education process that can potentially build openness to others and willingness to engage in mutual cooperation in order to successfully create a common space of co-existence. Students raised in a more diverse environment (Israel) presented lower social distance towards other religious, ethnic and national groups than students living in a homogeneous country (Poland). However, as indicated, contact opportunities and becoming familiar with the representatives of minority groups allowed for the reduction of prejudice even among individuals who had not had previous experience of meeting “others”. This confirms the validity of the Contact Hypothesis (Allport) and constitutes a solution for education for multiculturalism in a monocultural context.

Taking into account the results of the evaluation obtained both from the students participating in the implemented activities as well as didactic and management staff of the school in which the classes were held, it can be concluded that the project fulfilled its objectives, contributing to the openness of the attitudes of

the participants and confirming the validity of this kind of activity. To ensure the effectiveness of the impact it is worth remembering about the proper arrangements and coordination both on the part of the school and the University.

From the perspective of the inclusion of foreign students, the key elements in their preparation were to familiarise themselves with the structure and realities of the Polish education system, to increase their competence in intercultural communication, and to cooperate with Polish students and teachers not only as co-workers but also to some extent as guides and interpreters. For the school environment, in turn, it was extremely valuable to consult about the proposed activities with the didactic staff and to involve the teachers in planning so that they felt like co-authors of the classes and therefore were highly motivated to work for the project's success. It was also necessary, in some cases, to provide translation during the course.

Over and above that, the feedback that allowed the students to improve their skills and receive useful and precious guidance from people with many years of practice was a profitable element. To the teachers, the project gave a sense of influence, being needed and the opportunity to share their experience and thus appreciate their competence. In light of the above, it can be concluded that the actions realised have been mutually enriching and therefore worth carrying out in a similar or modified form in the future.

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PART III

PRAXIS

MIRELA TASE*

*Social Integration of Emigrants
in their Society. Recommendations
for Practice in Albania*

ABSTRACT : Migration is a multidimensional phenomenon because through the push and pull factors it affects the population dynamics of the economic, social and political region it occurs in. The Iron Curtain collapse gave the initial spark for substantial changes in Eastern European countries, among which waves of migration from the East to the West became part of the new history of international migration. Because of its characteristics and distinctive features differentiating it from other countries of Eastern Europe, Albanian migration after the 1990s has drawn the attention of many researchers and academics.

Many Albanian emigrants have migrated to different Western countries, primarily Italy and Greece but only a small number have preferred to emigrate to Eastern countries. Few Albanian migrants have opted to return. The number of returning Albanians increased significantly between 2009 and 2014 in 2011, this number reached the highest level in that period. This is a direct reflection of the economic crisis and the fact that individuals were no longer able to continue their migration pathway in Italy and especially in Greece (Morikis & Gemi, 2013). Qualitative studies suggest that at the beginning of the economic crisis, Albanians in Greece made efforts to stay, but were increasingly unable to do so. Many have returned to Albania, but plan to re-emigrate as soon as possible. This study focuses on the situation of Albanian emigrants returning to Albania with their families. The study will also focus on the analysis of social integration and social capital (identity, social-cultural issues, integration of re-emigrants to Albanian society, and especially young people born abroad).

KEY WORDS : emigration, social integration, dynamics of population, re-socialisation

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Introduction

In the late 1980s, former communist countries were experiencing protests and anti-government movements. Albania was isolated for more than 45 years and still experienced these movements. In the early 1990s, the protests were accompanied by mass emigration of Albanians to EU countries in search of a better life. The protesters were demanding essential changes in the political and economic system. The greatest exodus of Albanians began in July 1990, when many Albanians could no longer tolerate the regime of that time. The phenomenon of emigration emerged in a unique form, and has had an influence on the structural dynamics of Albanian society. As the data collected in the course of this study shows, the majority of Albanians emigrated during the first years after the collapse of the communist system, especially in 1990, 1991, 1992 and then again in 1997, when the country's political situation worsened. Emigration was one of the main reasons for the decline of the population in Albania during the period between the two censuses in 2001 and 2011. Since Albanian emigrants were not systematically registered upon leaving the country, there were only a few reasons to register their departure with local authorities, by using "indirect methods". This was the only possibility in case of individuals who migrated between 2001 and 2011.

Among the main reasons for the emigration of this population were uncertainty, economic difficulties, a search for better education opportunities and other family reasons. Because of the many factors and major changes that Albanian society experienced, the phenomenon of emigration in the first years of the 21st century changed shape. Perhaps the main factor in this change was the visa liberalisation of 2010 as part of the integration process with the EU.

After 1990 Albanians conducted three migratory cycles, which can be considered intensive, irregular and evolving: a) winter-spring 1990–1991, when mass migration to Italy and Greece took place; b) August 1991, when mass migration to Italy occurred; c) the spring of 1997, with mass emigration to EU countries due to the high level of domestic uncertainty.¹

These three cycles were caused by a combination of economic activities and politically driven factors. In the first and second cycles Albanians emigrated to

¹ Data from International Organization for Migration. *Return and Readmission: The Case of Albania*. IOM, Tirana: Albania, 2006.

escape the collapsing totalitarian regime. In the third cycle, emigrants escaped the chaos and civil war that threatened the country. When the doors of European countries opened to refugees from Kosovo in 1999, a tactical change took place resulting in Albanians emigrating with Kosovan identity. However, this form of migration was reduced by many host countries, along with the following cycles, which caused a continuous flow of migrants to neighboring countries (Greece, Italy), as well as to other remote countries (the US and Canada).

After 2000, there was a decline in irregular migratory flows from Albania because of the improving economic climate in the country, the process of reunification of families and the promotion of formal migration channels (such as employment opportunities through bilateral agreements with some EU countries etc.), as well as stricter measures against irregular migration from Albanian border authorities and those of EU countries. However, other forms of irregular migration from Albania to other countries, mainly those of the EU continued, which is confirmed by the number of forced returns every year. During 2014, about 46,000 people left Albania.

The main reasons for returning include the loss of employment in the country of immigration, the well-being of the family and the good of the country, as well as problems encountered by the family left behind in Albania. Other reasons for returning include better job opportunities in Albania, investment plans or health problems. The majority of migrants (60.3%) have returned to their habitual residence.

However, the survey reveals that return migration is also linked to internal migration of the population. The returnees' tendency is to settle in highly developed socio-economic circles where they can realise their life plans. Tirana is the favourite region, followed by Vlora, Elbasan, Fier and Korca (in the case of returnees from Greece) and Shkodra, Lezha, Durrës and Dibra (for the returnees from Italy).²

The specific objectives of the survey are:

- To profile return migration to Albania, push and pull factors, the characteristics of returning migrants;

² Migration to Albania, Population and Housing Census, INSTAT, 2011.

- To gather information on migrant experiences and perceptions of reintegration into Albanian society;
- To formulate some recommendations for different stakeholders regarding further studies on return migration and the provision of services that facilitate the reintegration of returnees.

We are focused on three important terms that must be defined :

a. Definition of return migration:

The return of a person to their country of origin or habitual residence after spending at least one year in another country. This return may or may not be voluntary. Return migration includes voluntary repatriation. The return may be permanent or temporary.

b. Definition of returnees:

Each person who returns to his / her country of origin, having been an international migrant (minimum one year) in another country. It can be decided independently by the migrant or forced by unexpected circumstances.

c. Definition of reintegration:

Re-inclusion or re-grouping of a person in a group or process, for example a migrant into the society of their country of origin or habitual residence.³

Findings from Literature Review

A number of questions arose during the literature review conducted for the purpose of this research. The most important of these are as follows :

- a) Why do migrants return and what motivates and influences the return process?
- b) What are the challenges of reintegration and factors affecting successful reintegration?
- c) What reaction of the authorities (or government/or society?) in the country of origin can facilitate the reintegration of returnees?

³ Migration of Returns and Reintegration in Albania, INSTAT 2013.

The study of migrants returning to their countries of origin and their re-integration was initiated in the 1960s. Some researchers and practitioners define the return based on time and space and differentiating between temporary and permanent return (Agenais, 2006). However in the last two decades the EU has devised instruments to address irregular migration in an effort to protect the integrity of immigration and asylum systems in most member states (European Council, 2002; European Commission, 2005).

Migrants' reasons for returning vary but Russell King (2000) portrays return migration as a process initiated by different causal factors and leading to a variety of consequences. He also states that among the causal factors there may be: a) economic determinants (unemployment / termination of contract, more jobs/better jobs, the desire to invest savings); b) social determinants (racial animosity / difficulties in integration, the well-being of the family, desire for higher status); c) family / life cycle (retirement, parental relationships, marriage, education of children); or political factors (the end of government policy).

Depending on the contexts, some factors may be more appropriate explanations than others. However, in the case of Albanian migrants, their return was more frequently motivated by economic factors. This was particularly so after 2009 when the first signs of the economic crisis began to emerge, and a large number of Albanians returned from Greece and Italy as the two countries with the largest Albanian population.

Researchers and practitioners in the field of return migration agree that successful reintegration has two interrelated dimensions. The first dimension is related to personal success, which includes the social and economic security of the migrant as an individual (including the individual's family members) in the local community of the country of origin. The second dimension relates to the contribution of the return to economic and social development of the community (IOM, 2011).

Return migration can be a real stimulus for the development of local communities where returnees settle. Migrants may invest their savings in productive activities, and use the skills and expertise gained abroad. These activities can generate employment for families and their community. Migrants can give a new impetus to the development of labour in their areas of return. However, according to King (2000), there may also be negative effects. The number of

returnees, the duration of absence from the country, the return destination, the social class, the nature of the training gained abroad and the way the return is organised can all negatively affect reintegration. Often, upon the return to their parents, country of origin, children born to immigrants while abroad face the pressure of not knowing the language nor the environment, which poses difficulty in their integration into the community of their new country, the country of their parents.

The definition of reintegration calls for assessing the social, economic and cultural impact of reintegration by examining the conditions in the country of origin. Cultural reintegration is seen as the reintegration of returnees in values, lifestyles, language, moral principles and traditions of the society in the country of origin. Economic reintegration is understood as reinsertion in the economic system of the country of origin, with intended use of expertise gained during migration to promote economic and social development of the home country.

Social reintegration involves developing a personal network and on the other hand the development of civil society organisations such as associations (IOM, 2011).

Intensified return of Albanian emigrants in the period between 2012-2014

The beginning of the crisis in 2008 was the first signal of a threat to immigrants, that their future would not be so safe in the “promised land”. The decisions to return home at this time was frequent. Albanian emigrants returned mainly from Greece and Italy, where the impact of the economic crisis was stronger than the other countries. The intensification of Albanian emigrants’ return after 2009 is linked to both the economic crisis in the host countries and the occasional increase in irregular residence in the EU from Albania. According to EUROSTAT, between 2012–2014 there was a growing number of Albanian citizens with irregular residence in the EU. According to INSTAT and IOM, 14133,544 Albanian migrants over the age of 18 returned to Albania in the period between 2009-2013, of which 98,414 were males and 35,130 were females.

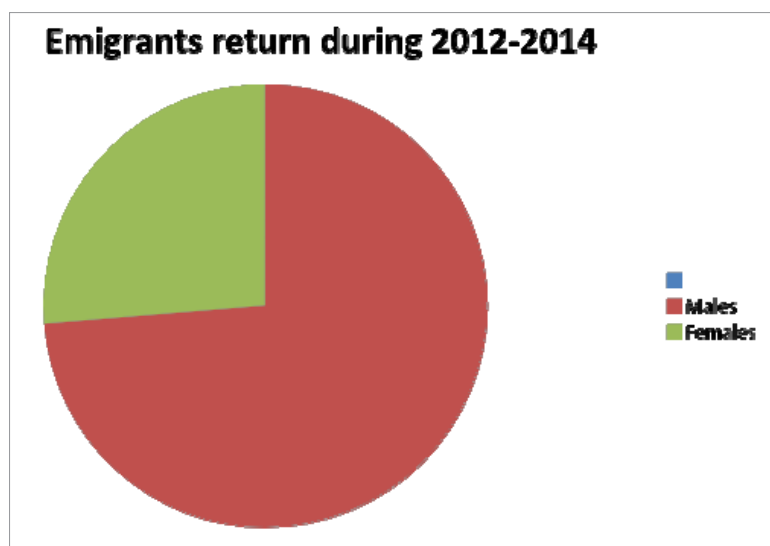


Figure 1. The proportion of male/female migrants returnees during 2012–2014

Return flow increased especially after 2009, while the majority of returns happened in 2012 and 2013 (53.4%). Voluntary returns dominated (94% of all returns) especially from Greece (70.8%) and Italy (23.7%) as well as countries such as the UK, Germany etc. Albanian migrants' returns are largely a consequence of the 2008 global financial crisis that hit the labour market in the main destination countries of Albanian migrants.

There were three categories of return migration to Albania in 2014: i) voluntary return of economic emigrants; ii) return of economic migrants due to the crisis in main host countries, like Greece and Italy; iii) return of children accompanied / unaccompanied by parents. The largest contingent of returnees, in all three categories above, was from Greece and Italy. In 2010, the Albanian government drew up a reintegration strategy for immigrants returning to their homeland.⁴

The strategy also aimed to provide specific services for certain vulnerable returnee categories, in line with other existing policy provisions (such as an Anti-Trafficking Strategy), legal provisions (such as those for victims of

⁴ Academy of Sciences, Centre for Geographic Studies (Centre for Studies), No.15, pp. 156–70. Berxholi, A. (2005):

trafficking, unaccompanied children, Roma people, economic migrants etc) or specific projects / programs designed and implemented with the support of various donors (Albanian Government, 2010). This strategy did not function as a specific service mechanism, but as a support mechanism for the reintegration of returnees. Emphasis is placed on improving the migrant returnees' access to information on existing services, that are available to all Albanian citizens.

Of course, returnees possess important potential for the development of the country's economy, with their work experience, vocational training and entrepreneurial habits gained in their host countries. Return migration is not simply 'an individual's problem' but is an opportunity for society to augment its human, financial, social and developmental resources.

The demographic, educational and economic data of returned migrants interviewed during the study

Based on the processing of the survey data the demographic, educational and economic variables of the interviewed migrants are as follows:

- 1) The total number of migrant returnees interviewed: 200.
- 2) Sample structure according to gender : 24% female and 76% male.
- 3) Employment situation: 22% unemployed, 26% self-employed and 45% employed by private businesses owners.
- 4) The level of education: 24% with elementary education, 1% with 2 years technical education, 19% with technical secondary education, 35% with general secondary education, and 18% with university education.
- 5) Sample structure according to age: 7% between the age of 18–24, 45% aged 25–34, 34% aged 35–44, 13% aged 45–54, and 1% over the age of 54.
- 6) The structure of the migrants interviewed by residence: 86% urban and 14% rural.

Methods

Quantitative research was used to accomplish the research, which helped me to create a clear profile of Albanian emigrants and the social capital they represent. The quantitative research method was chosen to test the research hypothesis by measuring key concepts of the study such as social reintegration and social equity in our society. This method enabled data collection through a questionnaire to minimise subjective elements that could be included in the interpretation process. The selection of a large number of defined or random samples is an important element of using this method.

The data collected through the use of this method enabled an analysis of the main reasons why migrants return to their country. I measured the contemporary social integration situation, difficulties and challenges faced by migrants in their new life within Albanian society, as well as changes in their social capital during the reintegration process.

The survey was conducted through a structured questionnaire which addressed the following issues:

- a) Socio-economic and socio-demographic conditions of the returnees before leaving Albania during migration and after return;
- b) Reasons for leaving the country and returning to Albania;
- c) Integration experience in the last destination country and its impact on the decision to return to Albania;
- d) The return process to Albania;
- e) Support for reintegration and returnees' reintegration experience in Albania.

Some questions were multiple choice questions, while yes/no questions were the most common structure. This configuration was selected to facilitate data processing. Also, it made it possible to properly record certain complex issues such as family composition, employment sectors and types of investments.

In some cases, the respondents were asked to order the answers according to their relevance, especially those relating to the reasons for returning. Question filtering was used in the questionnaire to highlight the diversity of migratory experiences and multiple models of reintegration.

Table 1. The questionnaire was structured into three phases of migration

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
The situation before leaving the country of origin	The experience of migration in the main country of immigration	Return to the country of origin – conditions after return
Demographic and social characteristics; Reasons for leaving Albania; Social and financial conditions before leaving Albania; Family composition before departure (if any); Education and skills before leaving, Employment situation	Migration experience; Reasons to live in the country/ /countries of immigration; Duration of experience living abroad; Social and financial conditions in the country/countries of immigration; Family composition (if any); Education and skills gained abroad Financial and employment situation; Relationship with local institutions abroad and host society; Connections/contacts with Albania.	Return trip; The reasons and factors prompting the return; The expected duration of the return; Social and economic conditions upon return; Family composition upon return; Education and skills acquired after return; Employment and financial status after return; Relations with local institutions and society in Albania after return; Relation with previous country/countries of immigration;

The data collection took place from October to August 2014 and the sample was about 200 individuals in the country's main cities. The sample size for a particular survey was determined by the accuracy required for survey estimates for each area, as well as from source and operational constraints. The accuracy of the survey results depends on the sampling error, which can be measured by the variation estimation and non-sampling error that comes from all other sources, such as response errors and other measurements, coding errors, and data rejection

Figure 2 shows that the largest number of migrants returned from Greece where the effects of the financial crisis were strongest resulting in a loss of jobs not only for Albanian immigrants but also for the local population. The return of migrants began in 2009, peaking in 2013–2014 when the number of returnees was the highest.

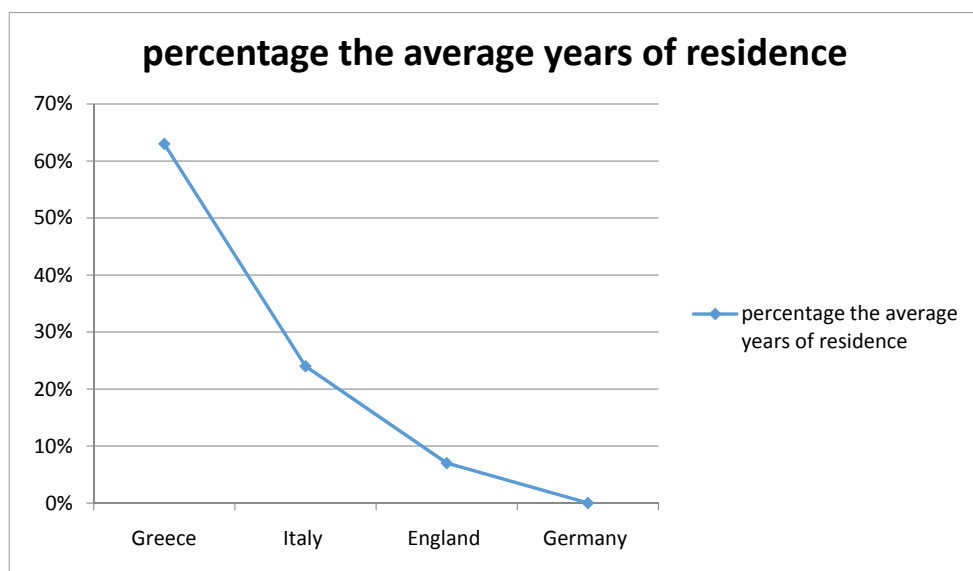


Figure 2. Returnees by country

There is a correlation between employment during emigration and upon return. According to some Albanian researchers, Albanians return and invest in the same career area they were in during the period of emigration abroad. However, it should be noted that actually only a fraction of migrant returnees carried on in the same area of employment as abroad, e.g. by opening the same kind of business after returning to Albania. This is a result of the high level of mobility Albanians enjoyed after returning. While 63.0% of the returnees said that the experience of migration allowed them to find a good job after returning to Albania, the rest found it difficult to adapt to the labour market and were unprepared in terms of required skills and professional training.

The largest number of returnees are located in Tirana, however, not all regions are affected equally by return migration. Tirana, Dures and Vlora have experienced an increase in terms of the percentage of returnees located in these regions.

Generally, returnees perceive their experience abroad as an advantage. However, men perceive this more so (78.5%) than women (only 69.7%). Younger returnees find it to be more an advantage than a disadvantage. This trend is not universal, there are also those who consider their migration experience as a disadvantage. The majority of unhappy returnees are either between in 18-29 or 40-49 years- old.

Returnees report identity problems, admit to not knowing where they really belong and often feeling stuck at the crossroads between staying and leaving.

It should be mentioned that there are some success stories, for example returnees starting transnational business. However there are still problems faced by migrant returnees in Albania, such as unemployment, low salaries, poor infrastructure, corruption, and investment failure. To gain a different perspective, the surveys also asked the respondents whether they had considered emigrating again. The responses showed a more balanced approach: 45% of the respondents saw this option as possible but were not sure, 25% saw it as a definitive option while 30% considered their return to be permanent.⁵

Difficulties encountered by returnees

Among the problems that Albanian emigrants encountered when they returned to their country of origin were:

- lower wages or poorer economic conditions in the host country;
- tension between returnees and members of the local communities who had not spent time abroad;
- lack of proper services;
- concern about corruption or “different ways of doing things” in the country of origin;
- Insufficient health care system;
- Returnees also come back with different accents, changed diets and new habits.

Conclusions

Both the surveys and the literature review show that:

- The number of returnees to Albania has increased since 2009 with most of the returns made from Greece and Italy. In the period between 2009 and 2014

⁵ International Organisation for Migration, “Identification of Affected Migration and Migration Areas in Albania: Profile of Returned Migrants”. IOM, Tirana: Albania, 2008.

a total number of 133 544 Albanian migrants, returned to the country. This calls for further research in the coming years regarding the trend of returning to Albania and the impact of this phenomenon on the institutional capacity for aiding reintegration.

- The dynamics of return and reintegration in Albania in comparison to the mobility of labour migrants from Albania to neighbouring countries, also deserves further research.
- Returnees are of active working age and show that they are willing to invest the knowledge and skills acquired as well as financial capital accumulated abroad in activities that generate income but also have an impact in the community where they decide to re-integrate.
- However, some of the returnees want to re-emigrate again because of the difficulties they face in securing sufficient income to support their families. The existence of services is also an important factor that influences the decision to stay in Albania or re-migrate. According to the survey, very few returnees have received assistance after their return to Albania and when they did it was mostly from private service providers.
- Lack of proper services and an inadequate health care system are two key factors in the decision to migrate again. Returned migrants who fail to reintegrate into the labour market are likely to migrate again. Reasons for repeat migration correspond to educational level, level of savings during the first migration and the level of preparation to acclimate to conditions in the home country. Therefore, the causes of repeated emigration are inability to find a job or the type of work being unsatisfactory, lack of improvement in living standards and lack of more advanced professional training in accordance with the demands of the market.

Recommendations

1. It is imperative that the Albanian government not only pay more attention to return migration programs in the homeland, but also that they create the conditions for the return and reintegration of citizens into the country's economic system.

2. Policies should be developed to maximise use of the returnees' savings to create more productive areas of activity and employment opportunities.
3. Possible return of migrants can be encouraged by providing support to shareholders in investment projects, guaranteeing participation in government concessions on preferential terms and developing special housing assistance funds, as most migrants have sold homes and after return housing remains the main problem.
4. Returned migrants should be provided general assistance. A more organised reintegration of returned migrants is necessary by making them aware of vocational training centers and to collect detailed information on the number of migrant returnees.
5. This will serve to design specific programs, organise training, but especially to ensure future employment.
6. It is necessary to recognise diplomas and certificates attesting to the professional skills of returning migrants.
7. It is vital to improve the computerised information system of employment services, creating more opportunities to match the right candidate to vacancies and for job seekers to have opportunities to seek suitable positions for each profession.
8. The state should work harder to find opportunities for the socio-economic integration of migrants and create conditions discouraging them from re-emigrating.

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*Educational strategies
for migrant children*

ABSTRACT : Educational institutions possess great potential to positively influence the sociocultural integration of migrant children. The teacher, their professional skills and their personal qualities, play an important role in the course of a child's adaptation. Due to the increase in cultural diversity in society and educational institutions, multicultural competences of the teacher have become more relevant. One of the aspects of teachers' multicultural competences is the implementation of methods and practices used to instruct in a multicultural class, i.e. educational strategies. The objective of the present research is to reveal the educational strategies applied by teachers in Russian preschools and elementary schools to educate migrant children. We used a questionnaire with open-ended questions to collect the research data. The teachers' answers were subjected to content analysis. A randomly selected sample of sixty three elementary school teachers and fifty teachers from preschool institutions participated in the research. Russian preschool and elementary school teachers consider the following educational strategies the most acceptable and useful for work with migrant children: ethnocultural approach, group work, interactive method, game technology, individualisation of learning, information and communicative strategies as well as special programs for children with migration backgrounds. 21% of the interviewed elementary school teachers give additional Russian language classes, while 79% of preschool teachers carry out additional activities to provide language immersion for migrant children. Techniques for teaching Russian as a non-native language are not applied during these activities. A number of restrictions in the method used for posing questions came to light in the process of our research. These restrictions were connected with the lack of ability to specify, clarify or concretise the respondents' answers.

KEY WORDS : migrant children, elementary school teachers, preschool teachers, educational technology

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Introduction

When discussing the presence of migrant children in educational institutions, it should be noted that the Russian Federation holds the second highest number of migrants in the world (according to the UN, 2015). Labour migration from Central Asia and the Caucasus prevails. The majority of migrants move to Russia temporarily (70%) with the intention of saving money and returning home (Mukomel, 2013: 7).

Nevertheless, some migrants bring their families, including children who are educated in Russia. In terms of domestic legislation, the right to education is guaranteed to children of foreign citizens in the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the law on the rights of foreign citizens in the Russian Federation, the Federal Law On Refugees and the September 1, 2013 Law on education. A number of international documents apply as well – the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the World Declaration on Education for All, etc. The educational sphere in general is one of the safest from the point of view of equal opportunities for both Russian and migrant children, especially regarding availability of education in general. Nevertheless, there are a number of factors preventing the situation from being assessed as completely trouble-free.

The following education levels are fixed in the Russian Federation: preschool, school and professional-level education. In order to enroll a child in kindergarten, it is necessary to address a few factors. Upon registration, the child is put on a waiting list of applicants for preschool educational institutions. Requirements for the admission of migrant children to Russian preschool institutions are the same as for the children of Russian citizens. Children may only be placed on waiting lists to kindergartens in their own neighborhood or town and after their place in school (“a permit”) has been granted, they must undergo a full medical examination in a clinic. The parents or guardians are also required to submit a full package of the child’s documents (including birth certificate, passport of one of the parents and a medical record). The list of documents is identical in all kindergartens. In light of the law, whether the child has temporary or permanent registration is of no relevance. Some migrant parents follow the enrollment procedure successfully.

Nevertheless, according to various polls, only 15–25% of preschool age migrant children in Russia go to kindergarten, while the number of Russian preschool children in attendance varies from 50% and 80% depending on the region (Perevedentsev, 2007: 8). The reason for this situation is connected to a lack of available places in kindergartens which affects Russian and migrant preschool children equally.

As for subsequent levels of school education, in Russia there is no “assignment” of pupils to school based on zonal residency. Therefore parents and pupils have the option to choose the school. Most educational institutions accept children of all nationalities, regardless of the status of registration or availability of documents certifying the right to live and work in the country. Migrant children, in particular non-citizens of the Russian Federation, are distributed through schools irregularly. The proportion of migrant children is higher in small schools. There are also a considerable number of schools where no migrant children are enrolled. Admission of migrant children to schools is carried out in accordance with general practice. Parents are free to choose a school for their children. However, the school has the right to refuse admission of the pupil under lack of available space unless the pupil lives and is registered in close proximity to the school. When comparing the number of migrants across schools, it turns out that in gymnasiums and other educational institutions providing education at a level higher than district primary schools, the number of migrant children is minimal. Experts connect this with the fact that studying in such institutions “demands, at least, excellent knowledge of Russian” (Alexandrov, Baranova & Ivaniushina, 2012). Children with a language barrier do not attend such schools. The lack of documents also serves as an obstacle. Additionally, parents express concern that their children will not be able to master the difficult program because of problems with the language (Ibidem).

Educational institutions take the leading place in the psychological, pedagogical, sociocultural and linguistic adaptation of migrant children. At the same time, for any educational organisation – kindergarten, elementary school, secondary vocational education institutions – certain problems are found at meetings with non-bilingual children and children who have grown up in other social and cultural conditions. Language issues cause their own specific problems depending on the level of education. These are reflected in the student’s ability to acquire knowledge, the need to evaluate their level of study and the

certification of the educational institution. In this regard, kindergarten provides good conditions to facilitate adaptation among Russian peers and is an invaluable experience in communicating in Russian. This early practice with Russian language allows the pupils to avoid problems with communicating in Russian at subsequent stages of education.

Migrant children have special educational needs. They require timely help, support and maintenance. Modern ideas regarding support and protection of migrant children's identities are reflected in the works of many psychologists and teachers. Comprehension of migrant children's adaptation in education is facilitated by multicultural education (Berry, 1997; Banks, 2004), dialogue of cultures (Bibler, 1989), migration pedagogy (Bondarevskaya, 2000), education for international communication culture (Gasanov, 1996), polycultural education (Gukalenko, 2003), cultural and responsive pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995) as well as cultural and responsible pedagogy (Gay, 2002).

The success of the education and support of migrant children in educational institutions primarily depends on the teacher, whether the teacher is willing or able to work with migrant children. In other words, it depends on the teacher's multicultural competences. An important part of the teacher's multicultural competence is the use of specific forms of schoolwork, as well as teaching methods and techniques in a multicultural class, i.e. educational technology (Dzhalalova, 2009; Alismail, 2016; Agirdag, 2016).

In Russian pedagogical and psychological science, the concept of "technology" is traditionally used to designate educational strategies. In his definition of the technology of education, Makhmutov explained that it could be presented as a more or less rigidly programmed (algorithmic) process of interaction between teacher and pupils. This algorithm was meant to guarantee the achievement of a predefined goal (Makhmutov, 2007). Educational technology is the system of functioning of all components of the pedagogical process constructed on a scientific basis, programmed in time and space and producing a planned outcome (Selevko, 2005). Among the structural components of education technology as a system are teaching aims, forms, methods, ways and techniques specific to educational needs (Bespalko, 1989). The technology for supporting migrant children includes a set of forms, methods, ways, techniques and means as well as stage-by-stage work process for their successful education and development (Surovtseva, 2014; Mokhovaa, 2014). In foreign academic literature, the terms

“educational strategies”, “teaching strategies”, “practices” and “techniques” are more often used to define the “ways and methods of teaching” (Levine, 2013; Garmon, 2014; Gay, 2005).

Scientific literature review showed that in relation to migrant children, specific technologies as well as general educational technology (applied to all pupils) should be used. First of all, these are the technology of learning the language of the host country as a non-native (foreign) language (Zheleznyakova, 2011; Volkova & Kudryavtseva, 2013; Herrell & Jordan, 2016; Levine & Lukens & Smallwood, 2013). The second group of technologies takes into account the cultural experience of the child and the development of cultural competences not only of migrant children but also of their peers from host educational institutions (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Villegas and Lucas, 2002; Gukalenko, 2003).

Despite the importance of the question of what methods are used in the education of migrant children, there is a dearth of research on this subject. There is a need to explore the strategies, techniques and technologies of education and support which teachers use in their work (Alismail, 2016).

This research aims to identify strategies used by teachers working with migrant children.

Research Questions

1. What types of strategies do preschool and elementary school teachers consider necessary?
2. Are there differences between the categories considered necessary and those specified as already applied in practice?

Research Methods

To study educational technology as well as strategies for the psychological and pedagogical support of migrant children in teaching practice, we developed a questionnaire with open-ended questions. At the beginning of the questionnaire, the teachers specified whether or not migrant children attended the educational institution where they work as well as their experience of working with migrant children. We asked the teachers about what technology (ways, techniques, methods) can be used for successful work with migrant children.

Table 1. Quoted matrix

Categories	Respondent 1 (+/-)
Educational strategies (or technologies) for teaching Russian as a non-native language	
Ethnocultural technologies	
Individualisation of learning	
Group technologies (cooperative)	
Interactive technologies (communicative)	
Differentiated learning	
Game technologies	
Information and communicative technologies	
Other	

What is more, we asked the respondents separately about what technology they considered expedient and which they actually applied in practice.

The answers were then subjected to content analysis. The data obtained in the course of the research was analysed through a deductive and inductive method (Strauss & Corbin, 1994: 273, Busygina, 2001: 193). The deductive analysis was employed to investigate the main categories revealed on the basis of theoretical analysis. The main educational technologies, strategies, forms and methods of the education of migrants described in scientific literature served as categories. They were added to a quoted matrix (see table 2). The expert encoder noted the presence or absence of this category for each respondent. If other categories were encountered, they were assigned to the category “other”. Not only the name of the technology, but also the name of the constituent of the technology (that is content, techniques, methods and forms of work) formed the basis for the reference of the respondent’s answer to a particular “technology”. For example, even if the respondent did not use the term ethnocultural technology, but his or her answer implied the practice of “celebrating national holidays or “studying the traditions of the country from which the child originated”, the answer was categorised as “ethnocultural technology”.

Findings

We interviewed 63 elementary school teachers and 50 teachers of preschool institutions. The selection was random. In general, the teachers were selected from among the participants of advanced training courses. We examined them in the city of Kazan, Bugulma and Moscow. The selection encompassed teachers working both in urban and rural schools and kindergartens.

Among the respondents, 14 teachers had no experience of working with migrant children. Nevertheless, they wanted to complete the survey. There were also four questionnaires which did not contain any data on the applied technologies. We did not subject these questionnaires to analysis.

Thus, answers of ninety-five teachers with the experience of working with migrant children were selected for content analysis. The teacher of “Pedagogical technologies” acted as an expert encoder.

At the beginning, we compared the frequency of the occurrence of categories the respondents considered necessary and those they already used. To identify statistical distinctions, we used Fischer’s multipurpose criteria analysis (Ostapenko, 2010). It allowed us to calculate the statistical reliability of differences in the data submitted in percentage shares. The use of Fischer’s criteria did not reveal statistically reliable differences. This means that the teachers identified the same technology as both one already applied and one perceived as necessary.

Content analysis results of elementary school teachers’ answers are presented in the second table, while the third table presents the results of data collected among the teachers of preschool educational institutions. The categories are presented in decreasing order: as a percentage ratio from the most- to the least-often-found. The second part of the table includes those categories that came to light through an inductive approach after the analysis of the teachers’ questionnaires.

As seen in table 2, the category “ethnocultural technologies” is the most frequent. In the respondents’ answers, the use of this technology/strategy is implied through such statements as “studying the traditions of the child’s country”, “events outside class”, e.g. “Friendship between the people”, “celebrating national holidays”, “the child tells other pupils about his/her country”, “tolerance lessons”, etc.

Table 2. The frequency of categories identified by elementary school teachers (%)

Categories revealed through deductive approach	Frequency of occurrence
Ethnocultural technologies	45
Individualisation of learning	29
Group technologies (cooperative)	24
Interactive technologies (communicative)	24
Game technologies	18
Differentiated learning (in separate classes)	6
Information and communicative technologies	2
Technologies of learning Russian as a non-native language	-
Categories revealed through inductive approach	
Additional Russian language classes	21
Strategies applied while teaching both migrant and non-immigrant children	10
Tests, questionnaires	8
Work with the psychologist and/or speech therapist	8
Drawing	4
Technical means	4
Work with parents	2
Problem-based Teaching	2
Programs for children with limited health capacities	2

The category “individualisation of learning” is second in terms of frequency. The teachers spoke about the necessity for individual lessons, to use step-by-step instructions for tasks and also easier tasks for children. Some teachers mentioned only “cards assistants”, without explaining what they meant. The following answers were also found: “further explanation”, “individual tasks”, which show the use of “individualisation of learning”.

Group and interactive (communicative) technologies occur with identical frequency (24%). In the process of identifying “interactive technologies, we came

across such terms as “training”, “conversations with the pupil”, “conversations on topics interesting to the child”, “discussions” and “e-mail correspondence with the teacher”. Group technology was described by respondents through the concepts of “group work”, “pair work”, “cooperative learning”.

21% of the teachers report “additional Russian language classes”. Sometimes this category is formulated as “individual Russian language classes”. “Game technology” is the next category in terms of frequency of use. The respondents mention “game methods”, “joint games” and “outdoor games”.

Some teachers (10%) suggest not distinguishing migrant children, i.e. working with them like with other pupils. 8% of the teachers imply that migrant children need the support of psychologists and speech therapists. At the same time, 6% of the respondents noted that the creation of separate classes is necessary for migrant children.

4% of the teachers mention categories such as “drawing” or “technical means”. “Work with parents”, “problem-based Teaching”, “information and communicative technology” and “programs for children with limited health capacities” were the least frequent answers, with only 2% of the respondents providing these.

Below, the research results of preschool teachers are presented.

As seen in Table 3, the category “development of speech” has the highest frequency. The following can also be found among the teachers’ answers: “learning verses and songs”, “listening to fairy tales”, “reading” and “speech therapy exercises”, which were also referred to in this category.

The category “game technologies” is second in terms of frequency. Within this category, the teachers mention “didactic games”, “joint games”, “outdoor games” and “adaptation games”.

The category “ethnocultural technologies” is on the third place. Its application is implied through the following answers of respondents: “days of languages”, “studying ethnic cultures”, “celebrating the holidays of different nations”, “familiar events originating from the pupil’s homeland”, “fairy tales of different nations”, etc.

The next category is “manual activities” (47%). It includes drawing, moulding, designing and applique.

“Individual approach” is a category with a rather frequent occurrence. In their answers, the teachers implied the need for individual work, individual

Table 3. The frequency of categories identified by preschool teachers (%)

Categories revealed through deductive approach	Frequency of occurrence
Game technologies	68
Ethnocultural technologies	57
Individual approach	21
Group technologies (cooperative)	18
Interactive technologies (communicative)	18
Information and communicative technologies	18
Differentiated learning (in separate classes)	-
Technologies of learning Russian as a non-native language	-
Categories revealed through inductive approach	
Development of speech	79
Manual activities	47
Work with parents	18
Strategies applied while teaching both migrant and non-immigrant children	5

correctional programs for overcoming aggressive behaviour and relieving post-traumatic stress for refugee children who had arrived from combat zones.

Such categories as “work with parents”, “group work”, “interactive (communicative) approach” and “information and communicative technologies” appear with identical frequency (18%). A small percentage of teachers (5%) suggest not differentiating migrant children, that is working with them like with non-migrant pupils.

Discussion

The majority of categories reported by preschool and elementary school teachers coincide: “ethnocultural”, “communicative”, “game”, “information and communicative technologies”, as well as “group work”, “work with parents” and “strategies applied while teaching both migrant and non-immigrant

children” appear in the answers of teachers from both types of institutions. However, there are also distinctions in the frequency of occurrence of some categories. For example, the “manual activities” category is only mentioned by preschool teachers. Only elementary school teachers list categories such as “technical means”, “problem-based training”, “tests” and “programs for children with limited health capacities”. Preschool teachers report the category “game technologies” considerably more often than elementary school teachers. These distinctions are connected with age features of using particular pedagogical technologies.

Language training plays a paramount role in the integration of the migrant child into society. The majority of teachers in preschool educational institutions carry out activities developing children’s linguistic skills. Some teachers provide additional Russian language lessons to migrant children. In other words, teachers understand the need for lessons facilitating migrant children’s language adaptation. However, none of the teachers reported using strategies teaching Russian as a non-native language. This suggests that teachers lack knowledge of appropriate teaching techniques for migrant children despite the fact that the technique of teaching the language of the host country as a non-native language is described in foreign and domestic literature (Zheleznyakova, 2011; Volkova & Kudryavtseva, 2013; Herrell & Jordan, 2016; Levine, Lukens & Smallwood, 2013).

Both preschool and elementary school teachers reported that work with migrant children requires the use of ethnocultural technologies. At the initial stage of general education in Russian schools, ethnocultural content is featured in common textbooks such as ‘The world around’, literary texts. In preschools and schools, after-hours events, holidays and festivals devoted to the history and traditions of both Russian people and other ethnic groups are organised relatively frequently. This is due to the fact that the Russian Federation, especially the Republic of Tatarstan, has always been a multinational region. In multicultural educational literature, one can frequently find conclusions that teachers have a great influence on the formation of students’ attitudes towards other people, including respect for social unity (Banks, 2004; Karupiah & Berthelsen, 2011; Robles & Ostertag, 1997). In spite of the fact that some criticise teachers for using a “tourist approach” to other cultures (Derman-Sparks & Force, 1989: 57), children need to get acquainted with the culture of their own nation as well

as that of other countries and ethnic groups (Belyankova, 2014; Ilinskaya, 2008; Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2009; Richards, Brown & Forde, 2007).

Game technologies and manual activity, such as drawing, moulding and designing, are applicable for pupils of all age. Also, during games and creative work the language barrier is removed so it is possible to use it with migrant children (Tregubova, 2014; Bulotsky-Shearer, López & Mendez, 2016). If, at a younger age, game technologies are used in the context of educational activities, then for preschool children games and manual activities are primary activities. They are frequently used by teachers to facilitate the development of the child at this age (Elkonin, 2004).

As a rule, migrant children need additional psychological and pedagogical support because of their unfamiliarity with the language and the challenges connected with the process of adaptation to the new cultural environment. Therefore, some of the teachers report that it is necessary to work with children individually (Heckmann, 2008). Teachers in elementary schools should explain the material and teach the language of the host country (Balykhina, 2007.) Within kindergarten, individual work is necessary too. Some children need support in improving their emotional state, including aggression caused by stressful situations (Trickett & Birman, 1989).

From the point of view of pedagogical activity, the use of information and communicative technologies has potential in working with migrant children. However, there are not enough special pedagogical and methodological developments, especially in Russian (Omelchenko, 2015; Lai, 2015).

Cooperation with parents allows for a more successful adaptation of the child to the new culture and the requirements of educational institutions. A number of studies point out the effectiveness and necessity of work with migrant children's parents (Birman, 2007; Nusche, 2009; García, 2016; Andrianova, 2014; Bayarmagnay, 2008). The creation of special classes for migrant children, i.e. differentiated learning, allows educators to resolve the issue of language support. In the practice of some countries, there are special preparatory classes where migrant children study the language of the host country before starting education in standard classes. But there are also opponents of such practices as it reduces the quality of the language environment (Sinkkonen & Kytälä, 2014).

The use of special learning programs also occurs in the answers of elementary school teachers. This approach is expedient at the initial stages of entry of

migrant children's education into educational institutions (Sinkkonen & Kytälä, 2014). Because of the unfamiliarity with the language of the host country, the level of the children's requirements should be reduced and school tasks should be easier. At the same time, there are critical voices of this approach who say that it leads to lower educational quality (Kivirauma, & Klemelä & Rinne, 2006).

Some preschool and elementary school teachers suggest working with migrant children as with other students, without distinguishing them. Some authors believe that such an approach allows teachers to provide true equality in a class (Plaut, Thomas & Goren, 2009; Hachfeld, Hahn, Schroeder, Anders & Kunter, 2015).

Due to the use of a question method in this research, there are problems with the interpretation of some of the data. This especially concerns those categories with no references in academic literature, and such categories as "problem-based training", "technical means", "tests" and "help of psychologists and speech therapists". The nature of the help is not specified either. It is not immediately clear what problem these kinds of experts would help solve. The purpose of the application of questionnaires and tests is not clear either. It is impossible to specify how exactly the teachers suggest using technical means to do this. The possibility of using problem-based training in the education of migrant children also raises doubts, especially in relation to those children who do not know the language of instruction. To understand the learning material and carry out the task of independent research would be rather difficult for them.

Conclusion

Preschool and elementary school teachers report the same technologies in both categories: those already applied and those deemed necessary. They consider the following strategies to be the most acceptable for work with migrant children: ethnocultural approach, group work, interactive method, games, individualisation of learning and differentiated learning.

Some elementary school teachers (21%) give additional Russian language classes to migrant children. The majority (79%) of teachers at preschool educational institutions provide language support. Our findings suggest that teachers

recognise the importance of language in the process of the adaptation for immigrant children because many provide extracurricular one on one language sessions to immigrant children. However, none of the teachers mentioned using specific strategies of teaching Russian as a foreign language. It is not clear if teachers are unaware of these techniques or are aware but lack competency in using them, or whether they cannot provide such instruction for whatever reason. As mentioned, this study has some limitations. The small sample size prevents us from drawing generalisations about teachers in Russia in general. Interpretation of the findings was often difficult because teachers did not elaborate in their responses to the questionnaire. It was particularly difficult to interpret responses that did not correspond to those mentioned in the literature.

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LIDIA ZABŁOCKA-ŻYTKA*

*Psychological support as a determinant of
Ukrainian immigrant families' adaptation.
Theoretical and practical perspective*

ABSTRACT : In its development cycle, the family goes through some natural processes that relate not only to the development of the family as a whole but also its individual members. Immigration can be a risk factor for the functioning of the family. Adaptation to new cultural and socio-economic conditions may prove to be a difficult task and affect the natural development of the family. An unsuccessful process of adaptation can be a cause of stress and psychological crisis. Psychological help, directed at families, children and parents in the form of psychological consultation, counselling or crisis intervention can be an important factor in these families' successful adaptation to their new conditions. This article uses the example of immigrants from Ukraine to analyse the potential adaptive difficulties of such children and their families. It also describes some forms of the psychological support provided to labour-migrant families from Ukraine to facilitate their adaptation to life in Poland. The article was based on a review of existing literature on the subject as well as the author's own clinical work with Ukrainian immigrant families.

KEY WORDS : Ukrainian immigrant families, labour immigrants' adaptation, psychological support, mental health

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Introduction

The family is a structure which, by its nature, changes and evolves. Researchers are divided on how to characterise the stages of family development. Basically, however, the family always goes through several stages that are related to new and natural challenges such as the stage without children; the stage with young children; the stage with adolescent children; the stage at which children leave home (Armaur, 2008; Jelonkiewicz, 2015). Although changes experienced by the family and its individual members (e.g. after the birth of a baby) are a natural (normative) phenomenon, they still can cause crises. This is especially true when changes occur unexpectedly, or in the event several stressors take place at once, with a family having no way of preparing for these difficulties. They also can be problematic when the current ways of coping with such situations are insufficient, for example diagnosing a family member with a chronic disease or the loss of a job by the sole breadwinner. Socio-cultural, political and economic transformations affect the structure and functioning of families. Immigration, including that by choice, can be a source of stress leading to a crisis situation and thus to difficulties in, for example, adapting to life in another country. The consequences of the crisis may be changes to the family as a whole. Its individual members may also be deeply affected, which adversely influences the functioning of the family as a unit. Therefore, it seems worthwhile to examine the situation of immigrant families and the difficulties they face. Psychological support may be an important form of helping these people deal with crises related to living in another country. The number of Ukrainian economic immigrants in Poland is on the rise, with single, young women constituting the majority. The number of complete, nuclear families is also decreasing (Cianciara, Dudzik, Lewczuk & Pinkas, 2012; Gmaj, 2012; Walczak & Patzer, 2012). Therefore, it seems sensible to examine the psychological aspects of Ukrainian families' ability to adapt to life in Poland and, if the need arises, provide any psychological support necessary for promoting immigrants' mental health and their families' natural development.

Immigration as a stressful situation for the family and its members

Immigration is by definition closely related to the concepts of migration and emigration (Cianciara, Dudzik, Lewczuk & Pinkas, 2012; Gmaj, 2012; Kawczyńska-Butry, 2008a; Markowski, 2008; Zięba, 2008). Migration is a broader concept. It involves the transfer of people from one country or region to another. Emigration means leaving one's home country, while immigration results, as it were, from emigration and means coming to a foreign country for a protracted period, sometimes permanently (Markowski, 2008). Migration/Immigration (immigration and migration are used interchangeably in this article) can be examined from sociological, economic and psychological perspectives (Ibidem). At this point, what seems to be the most interesting is the psychological aspect of immigration and its impact on the life of the family as a whole as well as its individual members.

Being an immigrant can be considered highly stressful. There are many stress factors enumerated in the Holmes and Rahe's Stress Scale (1967) that immigrants cope with (Holmes & Rahe, 1967; in: Rożnowski & Bryk, 2008). Immigration-related stressors include the change of living conditions and the place of residence, the change of the immigrant's environment (social contacts), in many cases the need to change personal habits and -last but not least- separation from their family and friends (complete or partial).

The stress to which immigrants are exposed is referred to as acculturative stress. It is associated with experiencing strong emotions – both positive and negative (e.g. frustration, anxiety), and is part of a longer adaptive process (Cieślukowska, 2012). This phenomenon (acculturation) is described by John Berry (1997) as a process in which adaptation to a new culture takes place. Acculturation involves both affective aspects (experienced emotions), cognitive aspects (changes in perception and the way of thinking; interpreting situations in the context of values and cultural norms other than the immigrant's own) and a behavioural component which is related to behaviour and, among other things, to enriching the person's behavioural repertoire with new activities, which are the result of learning a new culture and are useful in a given environment (Berry, 1977; Cieślukowska, 2012). Acculturative stress develops in stages. These stages include:

- 1) Honeymoon phase, characterised by curiosity about place, culture and change, a kind of excitement;

- 2) Confrontation phase, which involves a sense of confusion;
- 3) Separation phase – “culture shock”, when immigrants mainly experience anger and frustration;
- 4) Adaptation phase, characterised by calm;
- 5) Biculturalism phase, which is the stage of creative and fruitful activity in a new culture.

These stages can occur in a different order. **Culture shock** is the strongest and most difficult phase (Cieślukowska, 2012). A large number of stimuli, new places and situations can result in both adults and children becoming mentally, emotionally and physically overloaded. The effects of these experiences depend on many factors: cultural differences, a person's motivation for immigrating, their expectations associated with it, biological factors, an immigrant's psychological competence and the specificity of the host culture (Perreira & Ornelas, 2011; Piegat-Kaczmarzyk & Rejmer, 2010). Stress affects health and so manifests in immigrants, who – in some cases – start feeling ill and experience psychosomatic disorders, which makes their stay in another country even more difficult (Różnowski & Bryk, 2008).

Immigrants' adaptation to a new place of residence is a process that implies their 'fitting in' and functioning successfully in a new environment. Researchers report that there are two different aspects of adaptation, namely sociocultural adaptation (related to becoming familiar with a new culture and finding fulfilment in it) as well as psychological adjustment. The latter is associated with an individual's wellbeing and quality of life (Maydell-Stevens, Masgoret & Ward, 2007). Immigration can be particularly difficult at the beginning. At a later stage, the costs an immigrant bears depend on the strategies they adopt to cope with immigration – either integration into the new environment or isolation. Interviews conducted among Russian-speaking immigrants in New Zealand indicate that the integration strategy is better. However, the situations immigrants find themselves in depend, among other things, on their motivation for immigrating, the losses they suffer in connection with immigration and their cultural identity (Ibidem).

Family reunion is essential for integration, which is increasingly taken into consideration by host countries (Bojar, 2011). Although occasionally only one family member leaves home, immigration affects the whole family, in the sense of both gains and losses. Immigration's negative effects on the family include

its breakdown, loneliness experienced by family members or behavioural problems in children. The impact of immigration on the functioning of the family depends, among other things, on which family member leaves home, how far they move and for how long, as well as on the ability to communicate regularly including the frequency of visits. The term “migratory family” has been coined and means that one or both parents immigrate for economic purposes. The positive effect of immigration is associated with an improvement in the family’s financial situation and the development of new skills by individual family members (Becker-Pestka, 2012, Kawczyńska-Butry, 2008a, Rożnowski & Bryk, 2008).

Labour immigration from Ukraine has some peculiar characteristics. Legal regulations force Ukrainians to make their immigration stays short. They have to punctuate their time in Poland with regular returns to Ukraine in order to renew their visas. Ukrainians can find themselves subject to these immigration conditions for several years before attaining more permanent status. The immigrants’ main goal is to find a job and earn money, and this is what they are preoccupied with in everyday life in Poland (Bojar, 2011; Walczak & Patzer, 2012). This situation may aggravate or create anxiety, a feeling of uncertainty, a sense of distance from new people and an aversion to building close, deep bonds in the new environment. The difficulty in legalising their stay and right to work may be an additional problem (Bojar, 2011).

A review of existing literature as well as the author’s own therapy practice point to several frequent problems faced by Ukrainian immigrant families. These problems will be discussed below and illustrated with statements made by Ukrainian immigrants who took the opportunity to receive counselling and decided to share their concerns. All of these people have families, though they are at different stages of their family life and life in general. The problems they reported are very strongly related to the fact that they are immigrants. These problems make it difficult for them to feel comfortable in their new situation, to realise their potential or to satisfy their needs in their new place and country.

Selected immigration-related difficulties on the example of immigrants from Ukraine

Separation from family. This is a situation that often results in a sense of loneliness and / or emptiness. It is especially difficult for children to bear because they are unable to fully understand the sense of separation from their parents. For example, they may suffer from anxiety. Their feeling of security is shaken. Adults may also experience a strong sense of loneliness. If this is the case, lack of support may result in infidelity or even family breakdown (Becker-Pestka, 2012). An adult immigrant may be confronted with yet another problem: on the one hand they have a sense of being exploited – their family's expectations are increased. They want more and more money and other things as well. Since they live in Ukraine, they are unable to understand the immigrant's situation because they do not know Polish reality. On the other hand, the immigrant becomes aware that their family in Ukraine, can get along without them and somehow manage to handle their daily problems by themselves. Therefore, more and more frequently, family members may have feelings not only of physical but emotional distance. Daily life does not bind them but separates, precisely because it is lived separately (Kawczynska-Butry, 2008b; Becker-Pestka, 2012). The following statement is an illustration of the difficulties experienced by immigrants living alone in Poland:

I'm tired of work – I work 10 hours a day. I have no desire or strength to get up in the morning, I wake up at night and I find it hard to fall back asleep. I'm afraid of what will happen in the future. I am worried about the situation in Ukraine. I have nowhere to go, and here it is also very difficult. I've got no one to talk to. Everyone has their own business. Everybody expects that I will take care of everything ...
(Woman, 52).

This immigrant's statement indicates severe physical and mental fatigue, and most of all, a sense of loneliness, lack of understanding and lack of support. If this state continues, it can be harmful to the immigrant's health (physical and mental) and damage their relationship with their family.

The migration model is changing. The latest change lies, among other things, in the fact that families travel together (Becker-Pestka, 2012). Thus, children and parents are together; yet, life in an alien culture, in a foreign country carries distinct new risks. Complete immigrant families may be faced with all manner of problems. The presence of the family causes the circle of social relations to widen so as to include educational and cultural institutions, medical centers and so on (Bojar, 2011).

Parenting problems. In the literature on the subject a new term was coined: “Euro-orphans” or “orphans with living parents” (Koshulko, 2015). This term is applied to children whose parents – either one or both – have left the country seeking income, leaving their children at home. Admittedly, children who are brought up without the presence of one or both parents learn responsibility and new skills, necessary for keeping house and performing all kinds of daily activities. On the other hand, additional duties, lack of parental care and oversight may result in learning difficulties, aggressive behaviour, addiction, or difficulty in building and maintaining interpersonal relationships (Becker-Pestka, 2012). The long-term absence of one or both parents may be a risk factor for the child’s proper development.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the specificity of Ukrainian immigration in Poland lies in its temporality and in having to make periodic return trips to Ukraine every few months because of the temporary visa status. This situation allows us to define their way of living – between their native country and Poland – as “lasting temporality” (Bojar, 2011), that is, remaining between two systems – their family in Ukraine and the labour system in Poland. Such a situation may give the appearance of closeness and a sense of security, but in actual fact it often causes difficulties in family relationships, including those between parents and children. One of the Ukrainian immigrants interviewed describes her relationship with her daughter:

I have been working in Poland for ten years. Just now my husband and our thirteen-year-old daughter have joined me. Before they lived in Ukraine. I find it impossible to communicate with them, it's as if they were strangers. And they are my closest family. What should I do? (Woman, 32)

The nature of long-term immigration might have affected the woman's relationship with her husband and daughter. We can infer from her statements that she spent most of her daughter's childhood in another country. She did not participate – on a permanent basis – in the observation of her child's development. Nor was she present to support her daughter in the successive changes of adolescence. This is probably one of the reasons why the problem arose. Right now, at this particular moment, each of these three people – mother, father and daughter – are very different from the people they used to be before the mother's immigration. As a result, they hardly know each other. The current situation is difficult for each of them and they need some time to improve it. Each family member has to get to know the others anew. Identifying each other's needs and expectations will facilitate mutual understanding. What is essential is the time spent together, the openness to potential differences and the willingness and ability to talk about various topics. The daughter has reached adolescence. Young people at this age are usually capable of participating in discussions on many things. However, in the emotional context, this may prove to be difficult and require making a number of attempts. In addition, the girl is rapidly growing up in every aspect: physical, emotional, and social. Adolescence is the time when children form their own identity. Parental support, along with their physical presence, give children a sense of security and play a very important role throughout their development (Pawliczuk, 2015; Sokołowska & Zabłocka-Żytka, 2013).

Identity. One definition says that identity is what distinguishes an individual from others (Piegat-Kaczmarzyk & Rejmer, 2010). There are a number of classification systems for the concept of identity, among others into personal and collective identity, but despite this distinction they are both closely connected. Immigration can raise questions related to identity. When it comes to maintaining one's own culture and identity while simultaneously assimilating to Polish culture and identity, integration is the best option. It involves combining the features and values of both cultures and accepting them both. Integration differs from assimilation, separation, or marginalisation (Gmaj, 2012; Piegat-Kaczmarzyk & Rejmer, 2010). However, it is essential to remember that this is a process with the potential to raise doubts as illustrated by the following statement:

I'm afraid my grandson will forget the Ukrainian language. Will they not mess him up, if – at the age of three – at home they speak to him

in Ukrainian, and in kindergarten in Polish? Or maybe better not tell him where he comes from and only speak Polish? But I would not like that. (Woman, 55).

In the acculturation process, doubts may arise as to what methods should be used to bring up a child, how to educate them or how to shape their identity, including national and cultural identity. These are natural questions, and it is good when there is a climate for discussing dilemmas in an open way and considering different options, in accordance with one's own beliefs and values. In the above example, it is the grandmother who poses questions regarding her grandson's identity. It is worth remembering that in the beginning immigration is a new experience, which can naturally raise doubts about one's own actions and decisions. Support from other family members, as well as from specialists, may be an important factor in the subsequent upbringing process.

Cultural differences and discrimination. It seems that minor cultural differences are conducive to the adaptation process. However, it is sometimes the case that the unexpected differences encountered in a new country might be very difficult to accept. It is also useful to have some prior experience of exposure to other cultures (Cieślukowska, 2012) because more awareness of the existence of cultural differences seems to facilitate the adaptation process. Experiencing cultural prejudice and discrimination, at school for example, may lower a young person's self-esteem and motivation to learn making them adopt the strategy of separation rather than integration during the course of the adaptation process (Piegat-Kaczmarzyk & Rejmer, 2010). One of the families was faced with a problem related to prejudice, which is illustrated in the following statement:

The boys are laughing at my ten-year-old son. They call him names; they are aggressive and tell him to go back to Ukraine. My son does not want to talk about it, but also refuses to go to school! What should I do? I think we might change schools. (Man, 38)

Stereotypes and prejudices appear in every environment. They result from a simplified method of formulating thoughts. Prejudices can be very harmful – on the one hand, they prevent an individual from presenting themselves

in a favourable way, on the other hand they hinder their development. In the above example, the ten-year-old boy begins to withdraw from his peer group and to isolate himself. This limits his ability to present himself to his classmates as an attractive person, and thus makes it impossible for him to break down the existing prejudices. Moreover, it may have a negative impact on the boy's personal development. The problem is that in the developmental stage he is going through, the peer group starts to play an increasingly important role (Sokołowska & Zabłocka-Żytka, 2013). Experiencing aggression coupled with a lack of acceptance by his peers may heighten the need for isolation and limit building an adequate self-esteem. Widely conducted education, directed to schools – students, teachers and students' parents – may be the chance to build a positive image of immigrants, for example those from Ukraine, and to promote an attitude of respect, which is owed to everyone in society. In addition, it is necessary to react to any display of aggression, regardless of its character or its victims.

It is worth stressing here that the problem of discrimination does not only apply to minors. Prejudice also affects adults, for whom they can be a major source of stress. Generally, immigrants from Ukraine are treated worse than Poles or other EU nationals – as those who come from the so-called “third world”, which implies an inferior status as a human being and also less productive workers. Jobs offered to them are often less prestigious and at the same time worse paid. It is often the case that the work done by Ukrainian immigrants is well below their qualifications and professional experience. However, because of their financial situation, they settle for it (Koshulko, 2015). This situation can significantly affect an immigrant's self-esteem, self-image, and mental health (Maydell-Stevens, Masgoret & Ward, 2007).

Mental disorders. This is a group of mental health problems described in the literature on immigrants in a number of ways. On the one hand, there is data according to which immigrants' mental health is at the same level as the general population's, and its deterioration only takes place in the second generation. These results are understood in the context of the immigrants' individual resources. Namely, in order to come to and cope well in a foreign country, the individual must be strong. And this is why immigrants do not often experience or report mental health problems. If they want to stay abroad, they try hard to handle their problems without the help of specialists (Kirmayer et al., 2011).

On the other hand, other reports indicate a higher rate of mental disorders among immigrants such as psychotic, mood and anxiety disorders, or PTSD (Giacco, Matanov & Priebe, 2014). The following statement illustrates a psychotic episode, which resulted, among other things, from work-related stress:

I have been working in Poland for five months. A lot, 14 hours a day. I worked in a restaurant, that is why I often worked at night and on top of that, I did a lot of overtime during the day. After some time, I began to have the impression that everyone wanted me to work even harder – more efficiently, better. I had the feeling that everybody – the waiters, the line cooks and the chef – was looking at me and saying so. I began to hear it in different languages – they urged me to work harder and harder. That evening I could not stand these whispers any more, and I ran out. I kept running for a long time. Suddenly, I fell down and lost consciousness. Next, I found myself in the hospital.
(Woman, 24)

The so-called “immigrant syndrome” is defined in the literature as a psychological disorder, which is characterised by, among other things, depressive states, anxiety about the future, weepiness, sleep problems, as well as nicotine and alcohol addiction. Immigrants also complain of irritation, nervousness and sleeplessness as well as somatic symptoms such as backache, headache, or fatigue (Kawczyńska-Butrym, 2008b; Rożnowski & Bryk, 2008).

The prevalence of such disorders among immigrants may be higher than among natives of the host country, inter alia, due to experiencing difficult situations (stress, violence) but also lack of proper health care (Cianciara, Dudzik, Lewczuk & Pinkas, 2012; Kawczyńsk-Butry, 2008b; Longobardi, Veronesi & Prino, 2017). Mental health problems also arise when the process of adaptation to new cultural conditions and the new environment goes wrong. Immigrants often experience intense, difficult emotions such as apathy, anger, frustration, which are the result of acculturative stress, related to experiencing new places, work, climate and culture (Cieślukowska, 2012). Poor or low adaptation to the new conditions leads to an increase in the level of depressive and anxiety disorders, lowered self-esteem and the aforementioned psychological problems (Maydell-Stevens, Masgoret & Ward, 2007).

The aforesaid difficulties are not confined to adults. Children and adolescents can also suffer from anxiety and disorientation, confusion, or a sense of inadequacy, especially in the initial phase of immigration. This is related to entering a new, unfamiliar socio-cultural environment (Becker-Pestka, 2012; Piegat-Kaczmarzyk & Rejmer, 2010). It is worth stressing that mental health problems in children differ from those experienced by adults. For example, depressive disorders in children and young people are manifested through aggressive behaviour, substance abuse, irritability, or increased physical activity (Sęk, 2013). Lack of support or adequate psychological help may lead not only to further difficulties in children's emotional and mental functioning, but may also have a negative impact on the young person's development in all spheres of life.

In the context of difficulties associated with mental health, the help of specialists – psychiatrists, psychologists and psychotherapists – seems to be indispensable. Depending on specific problems, in order to cope with them it may be necessary to receive drug therapy or psychotherapy. Also, the importance of mental health promotion cannot be overestimated. This mainly concerns education regarding the factors that may affect mental health (Sokołowska et al., 2015). Unfortunately, due to the difficulty in receiving psychological support as well as numerous barriers, including linguistic and cultural ones, the reluctance to seek a specialist's help, the fear of stigma (Giacco, Matanov & Priebe, 2014), as well as the illegality of their stay (Bojar, 2011), much of the time immigrants do not receive professional assistance. It is a shame because if they did, their mental health problems might be alleviated. These people are left to themselves or find help from other sources which are available to them: faith/church, natural medicine (the author's own practice).

Psychological support in the adaptation process of Ukrainian immigrant families

Psychological support is provided by professionals. It takes different forms and characteristics, depending on the target, recipient and duration. Psychological help involves psychological counselling, crisis intervention, psychotherapy, and health promotion which includes mental health promotion (Czabała, 2015,

2016; Włodarczyk & Jakubowska-Winecka, 2007; Sęk, 2013). It seems worthwhile to demonstrate the suitability of different forms of psychological assistance offered to immigrants as a means of facilitating their process of adaptation to the new society and country.

Psychological counselling is one of the most common forms of assistance provided by psychologists. It is addressed to healthy people who struggle with developmental crises, or with situations in which the methods they previously used to cope are no longer sufficient. The aim of counselling is to reduce the emotional tension experienced by an individual, thus restoring their emotional balance and self-confidence (Czabała, 2015, 2016). In helping the patient solve the problem they report, counselling draws on their personal resources. There are different types of psychological counseling, for example for parents or couples (Czabała & Kluczyńska, 2015; Feltham & Horton, 2013). These two forms of psychological counseling may also be used when working with immigrants.

During individual meetings with parents, the psychologist can provide information on the child's developmental needs, devise a method of supporting the child with the parents cooperation, motivate them to change their behaviour, for example to spend more time with their children, or accompany them in the decision-making processes. Although it is parents who are responsible for their child's upbringing, a specialist's support sometimes proves to be very important. Counselling may also involve information on other forms of possible assistance and their potential benefits.

Couples and family counseling are offered to couples as well as whole families. The topics dealt with during counselling sessions pertain to the problems reported by the patient. Everybody is encouraged to express their opinion and to make an attempt to tackle the specific problem by themselves. Couples and family counseling provided by the psychologist cover communication problems, difficulty in expressing feelings and mutual understanding, roles taken on in life and finally the needs and expectations of both the patient and their family (Jelonkiewicz, 2015; Stefaniak, 2015). Being an immigrant is a highly stressful situation. Immigrant families experience a high level of stress in their daily lives, and sometimes their mutual expectations and needs are completely incongruent which causes additional tension, as mentioned in one of the aforesaid examples.

Crisis Intervention – is a form of assistance directed to people who are going through crises. There are different types of crises but this article focuses

on crises other than those of a developmental character. Situational crises can come as an illustration, for example loss of a job by an immigrant, a sudden sharp deterioration in health, or being a victim of violence. Crisis intervention is conducted by a team of various specialists such as psychologists, teachers, lawyers, and social workers. Their task is, *inter alia*, to ensure security, create space to abreact a situation, restore emotional balance, provide necessary information and thus help to solve the problem. Crisis intervention involves one or more meetings, during which the patient receives support in coping with a specific problem (Kluczyńska, 2016). Unfortunately, immigrants are often victims of, or witness to, various types of violence. Psychological assistance in the form of crisis intervention can provide effective support in dealing with a difficult situation and prevent pathological behavior from developing.

Psychotherapy is a kind of assistance aimed at people experiencing mental health problems. It is the patient's choice to receive this form of treatment. Psychotherapy is applied in neurotic, somatomorphic, personality and developmental disorders. It is combined with other forms of treatment, including pharmacological therapy, in order to cure for example psychotic disorders or addictions (Czabała, 2016). There are many types of psychotherapy – they are based on different psychological theories, with each giving different explanations as to the causes of mental disorders (Sęk, 2013). Psychotherapy can be divided into individual and group psychotherapy (separately for children and young people, and for adults), family psychotherapy, and couples psychotherapy. It is important that immigrants also have the opportunity to benefit from this type of psychological assistance, and thus be able to maintain and improve their mental health.

Mental health promotion. This is also a very common form of support. It consists mainly of providing information on mental health, the factors which affect it, and the ways of looking after it so that a person can nurse and improve it throughout their life. Mental health promotion can take place during individual or group meetings, where the participants have an opportunity to receive useful information on mental health, as well as practise skills which are essential in the process of looking after mental health. Also, mental health promotion – as a form of providing information – can be done through bulletins, books or materials available on the internet. The drawback of this method is lack of opportunity to practise and discuss the knowledge gained from the information.

There are a number of mental health promotion programmes which can be used by professionals working with immigrants, either individually or in groups. Materials can be found free of charge on Enter Mental Health Network www.entermentalhealth.com. Camille training is an another example of such a programme package aimed at supporting children whose parents have suffered from mental illnesses and includes presentations, videos and Word files (Tabak et al., 2016). These materials can be useful not only for counsellors who work with immigrants, but also for other professionals working with immigrants on a daily basis. It is clearly important that immigrants' needs are not catered for merely by psychologists, but also by teachers, family doctors, social workers, nurses, and priests, etc. These are specialists whose knowledge and skills can be crucial in helping immigrants to adapt to and cope with various difficulties in a foreign country. On the other hand, this knowledge may be an important aid for the stress of specialists themselves. All of these professionals can be categorised as so-called aid workers, and as such, they are particularly vulnerable to burnout (Jakubowska-Winecka, 2007). The literature emphasises the bidirectionality of the acculturation process. This means that it is not only the immigrant's attitude, competence, emotions and ability to handle them that matters, but also the attitude towards the immigrant which prevails among individuals, groups and institutions in a host country (Cieślukowska, 2012). Therefore, it seems important to raise the specialists' awareness about immigrants' problems, improve their specialist skills and increase their support for this cause. This can be carried out by psychologists within the framework of mental health promotion.

Conclusions

Immigration is a potential source of stress, which can affect the functioning of the family as a whole as well as individual family members. Ukrainian immigrants in Poland face various difficulties according to which acculturative stage they are on. Psychological assistance in the form of psychological counselling, crisis intervention, psychotherapy, and mental health promotion can provide important support for Ukrainian immigrant families in their adaptation process and in coping with existing problems. The existing data indicate that Ukrainian immigrants take advantage of institutional support to a limited extent. The

reasons are, among other things, their ignorance to its availability and their illegal residency or employment status (Bojar, 2011). It is important to systematically document the immigrants' state of health where possible. Knowledge about the state of their mental health, and the factors affecting it, can be widely used in practice. It is also worth training employees of institutions dealing with immigrants (including psychologists) in terms of specific difficulties experienced by immigrants, for example the acculturation process or culture shock, its manifestations and potential consequences.

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GRIET M.A. DEKNOPPER*

*Art therapy in education focused on children
with traumatic experiences*

ABSTRACT : Traumatic experiences caused by war, disaster, abuse, violence or other events of great impact can have pervasive consequences on the development of affected children (Delfos, 2015). They influence the thoughts of the child about him/herself, harm brain development, limit social skills, complicate problem solving abilities, block coping with 'normal' stress-situations and adversely affect cognitive development and learning capacities. To counteract these problems, psychosocial care programmes are being developed to support teachers on a daily basis. This article focuses on the value of art therapy in the educational setting. It aims for the prevention and healing of trauma through drawing, painting and other forms of fine arts.

KEY WORDS : education and art therapy, education in emergencies, trauma and art therapy

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Introduction

Nowadays it is recognised that early help for children in how to cope with the stress of traumatic events can be beneficial and may prevent later problems in child development. Experiences of war, natural disaster, trafficking and other traumatic events force children off of their natural pathway for growing up. These violations of children's rights can have pervasive consequences in the development of affected children (Delfos, 2015).

Wide-scale exposure to violence, abuse and deprivation has resulted in pioneering efforts to provide psychosocial support methods to teachers dealing with these children. They aim to prevent the need for later treatment, to help the children cope with and overcome the traumatic experiences without specialist help, and identify the children who need specialist treatment.

The first chapter of this article provides the definition of great impact events and the target group. The second chapter explains what can be understood as 'traumatic experience and trauma' and illustrates how this can affect children and their development at different ages. The third chapter shows how art therapy can be an effective, and an accessible way of helping these children in educational environments. This is illustrated in the fourth and final chapter with some examples in different, international settings.

Approach

In the educational, art therapy-based approach presented in this article, all children in class are participating, thereby helping to "destigmatise" mental health interventions in and around schools. These mental care skills are "must haves" for all teachers nowadays.

A literature review was done regarding the impact of traumatic events on child development and the effect of art therapy on these children. Trial runs and observations were conducted in conflict zones in Palestine and Burma (Myanmar), and in Nepal after the earthquakes in 2015.

Children and events of great impact

Forcibly displaced children

Each year millions of people are forced to leave their homes and seek refuge from conflicts, violence, human rights violations, persecution and natural disasters. The number of forcibly displaced persons continued to rise throughout 2015 and 2016, and reached over 65.6 million worldwide in 2017. Forcibly displaced populations include refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and asylum seekers. More than 40.3 million members of the global refugee population are IDPs, who fled their place of origin but are still in their home country. Often they stay in temporary settlements and refugee camps, where circumstances vary drastically from one place to another (UNHCR, 2017).

More than 5.3 million of these people are Palestinian refugees registered by UNRWA and 2.8 million of the forcibly displaced are asylum seekers in Europe and other countries worldwide.

More statistics are available on the web through various research offices, but concerning the topic of this article, the most important is the high percentage of children under eighteen years old. With 51%, it is the highest proportion in a decade (UNHCR, 2017).

Man-made and natural disasters

War is considered as one of the most traumatic events with the highest impact, because of the life-threatening dangers involved. In the last five years, fifteen conflicts have broken out or have been reignited, and the number of protracted emergencies is also growing – conflicts that have lasted for over five years – are also growing. Today 1.5 billion people are living in a state of near permanent conflict or in zones of economic and social breakdown (UNICEF, 2017).

During conflicts and war, children, like adults, may be repeatedly exposed to many different sorts of horrific traumatic events. They may witness shelling and shooting, or see their homes or villages being destroyed. Children may experience bereavements, and sometimes witness family members, friends or strangers being injured, tortured or killed. Children themselves may be injured,

shot at, or wounded. In some wars, children may be forced to become soldiers and can witness horrific scenes, fighting or be forced to commit crimes themselves.

Several reports mention that the suffering associated with the loss of loved ones, traumatic experiences, destruction of one's home and property, and displacement from one's village or community is even worse than the physical wounds and hardships (Boothby & Melvin, 2007). Delfos (2015), a Dutch psychologist, researcher and author of 'trauma from a development perspective', underlines the traumatic impact of the loss of a parent during childhood as one of the most intrusive and destructive. Her innovative approach concerning trauma is taken as the main view in this article.

It is not only war that causes trauma and displacement. Millions of children are affected by natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, hurricanes, tornadoes and other events of great impact. There is also a growing concern that climate change will lead to more frequent natural disasters that may adversely affect short- and long-term (mental) health outcomes (Sauerborn & Ebi, 2012). Less in percentage than IDPs, but still a high number are the children and adolescents who flee persecution and resettle in high-income countries. They often endure great physical and mental challenges during displacement, and suffer continuing hardship after arrival.

For all groups of children, regardless of whether they fled from man-made or natural disasters, trauma does not simply finish upon arrival to a 'safer place'. They often continue to feel unsafe and vulnerable. In refugee camps, safety, hygiene and access to food, water and electricity is often lacking. Moreover, the welcome received in their new arrival countries might not be as warm as they had hoped for.

In all settings, access to education must be seen as a priority for children for different reasons. The US Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children highlighted in their report (2004) the psychosocial benefits of keeping schools open or restoring school attendance as quickly as possible during crisis:

Education is an essential stabilizing force in all phases of an emergency, reestablishing a sense of normalcy and structure after destruction and chaos. Education also provides the opportunity to build self-esteem and confidence and to regain a sense of hope about the future.

Children attend school in Temporary Learning Shelters in refugee camps or the school system of their host countries. More of these children than thought experience trauma and one child in four experiences several traumas, from which the effect is cumulative (Kenardy et al., 2011).

Trauma

This section addresses the consequences of a traumatic event, different from a stressful or upsetting event. A traumatic event contains a life-threatening feeling or threat of the physical integrity to oneself or to another important person. It causes an overwhelming feeling of anxiety, powerlessness, and helplessness. It has intense physical effects and can cause palpitations, accelerated breathing, trembling, dizziness or loss of bladder or intestinal control. Those physical reactions can be very frightening. Those affected do not understand what happens in their body, and this causes even more anxiety (Coppens & Van Kregten, 2012).

Simple and complex trauma

Chronic trauma is different from single acute trauma. Acute trauma concerns a singular event, whilst chronic trauma is the consequence of a sequence of events. When chronic traumatising occurs in early childhood, experts speak of early-childhood chronic traumatising or complex trauma. This happens because of the negative consequences on the development of the brain, which is discussed further in this chapter.

Pervasive Traumatic Experiences

Delfos (2007) defines Pervasive Traumatic Experiences (PTE) as the frequent violation of children's rights by traumatic events that may have long-lasting consequences in their lives. One quarter of traumatised children suffer from complex trauma. It makes them vulnerable to extreme reactions to stress (Kenardy et al., 2011).

Traumatic events not only leave psychological and physical marks and traces in children, but also affect their development and maturation (Delfos, 2015). During childhood and adolescence, there is a significant increase in white matter which facilitates connectivity in the brain. Research has shown that traumatic events can reduce this increase of white matter, reducing brain connectivity (Paul, 2011). When the development of the brain is not restored, it can cause life-long effects. Due to the plasticity of children's brains in contrast to the rigidity of an adult's, traumatic events can consolidate in the neural-network or change the neural-network and its organisation in a harmful way.

Developmental Perspective on Trauma

Delfos (2015) also defined the DPT-model: the Developmental Perspective on Trauma. This model considers the mental age and the developmental phase of children and adolescents as a decisive factor in the way the trauma is experienced and evaluated at that certain moment and how the trauma will be stored.

The way a child experiences a traumatic event is age-related. Until the age of two, implicit memory and encoding of experience takes place at a non-verbal level associated with the senses: colour, image, sound, smell and touch. At the age of seven – called the pivotal age – the brain reorganises and memories are stored in words.

A child between five and eight years old can make strong but false associations between elements of the traumatic event and other unrelated elements. The plasticity of the brain makes it possible for the associations to be made quickly, but can also cause them to change and disappear rapidly. It does not mean that these new associations are necessarily correct and the behaviour accurate. Often, the behaviour of the child cannot be understood by adults. In the absence of correction, false associations can be stored in the brain of the child and develop further in adulthood.

Delfos (2015) mentions that a traumatic event adds information to the 'social scheme'. This scheme is the conscious and unconscious knowledge of someone's Self, how they stand in the world in relation to others. A traumatic event can cause erroneous or deformed ideas in the social scheme, that feel 'normal' because they are part of the development of the Self.

During adolescence, the child tests their associations with this perceived reality. Some mistakes in the social scheme are innocent and easy to correct, others are more harmful and complex. To avoid later problems, these faulty connections must be challenged and corrected.

A traumatic event can be reactivated by a new traumatic event, by associated experiences or by hormonal and neurological maturation. By growing up and getting older, the white matter causes an increase of the brain connectivity and early traumatic, previously unconscious experiences can become conscious.

Faulty associations between situations and emotions can also be made by the amygdala. The amygdala is situated in the mid-brain; its main task is to connect information collected from different senses to positive and negative emotions. This emotional information is collected in the implicit memory. Nevertheless the amygdala seems to be specialised in saving patterns of potentially dangerous situations (Coppens, Schneijderberg & Van Kregten, 2016). These negative emotions will persist as non-threatening when the association is not challenged and broken.

As the main focus of this article (discussed further in a later chapter), creative expression is presented as a very effective and manageable healing method for children, without being therapeutic in the strict sense of the word. The drawing or artistic activity is an interaction with the outside world. In this way, one's own thoughts, beliefs and associations can be compared with the views of others. Faulty associations can be transformed into new, more correct ones.

The possible impact of trauma on daily functioning

As mentioned in the previous chapters, traumatic events can lead to various kinds of psychological problems for children. Some children cope very well and show incredible resilience. Exposure to warfare can also encourage the development of coping strategies (Belsky, 2008). Other children have more difficulties and face more problems.

Some are nervous, jumpy and fearful. They are scared of loud noises, things that remind them of the traumatic event and are sometimes too frightened to go outside. Some children are withdrawn and depressed, cry easily and get upset over minor things. They do not want to play and lose interest in the things they

used to do. Some children become very worried and anxious. Others become more irritable and are quick to anger, or have temper tantrums. They are restless and have problems concentrating at school.

Intrusive memories (unpleasant pictures, thoughts, smells and sounds that come to mind involuntarily), avoidance (trying to push memories away by avoiding them, as well as any reminders) and physiological arousal (being on edge all the time) have been recognised as three distinctive reactions to traumatic events.

More specifically, the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Organisation, 2013) and other categorisations give the following characteristics and topics. These are commonly accepted as general symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD):

Stress reactions

- Repeated, unwanted painful recollections of the traumatic experience
- Frequent worries and questions about the traumatic experience
- Nightmares
- Flashbacks – the child relives the situation like it was real. It has the same emotional and physical reactions
- Strong reactions when something reminds the child of the experience
- Physical reactions

Avoidance

- Avoidance of everything that can remind the child of the experience
- Extremely involved in a certain activity to forget the situation and trauma
- Avoiding certain places that remind the child of the situation

Negative emotions and cognitions

- Strong negative cognitions towards himself or others
- Wrong ideas and cognitions about what happened (making up something)

- No pleasure in activities because of negative cognitions
- No interest in anything
- Isolation / feelings of being different from everybody else
- Not capable of experiencing positive feelings

Obvious change in mood/behaviour

- Irritability – anger outbursts
- Automutilation/self-harming/reckless endangerment
- Focused on danger
- Strong / exaggerated frightened reactions
- Concentration problems
- Sleeping problems
- Dissociation – some thoughts, feelings or emotions are being put outside the person. For example: the child does not react any more to certain (physical or psychological) stimuli. There is ‘no reaction to physical pain’.

More specific age-related problems characterise children that experienced a shocking event:

- Children from 2 till 5 years old can be excessively affectionate, can have separation anxiety, regressive behaviour, loss of new skills and be afraid while sleeping or at night.
- Children from 6 till 12 years old can have concentration problems, can be restless, aggressive, depressed or anxious, can have learning problems, sleeping problems or physical pain, can imitate the trauma and can show regressive behaviour (e.g. enuresis).
- Teenagers of 12 years and older can show risk behaviour, drug abuse, withdrawal depression, physical pain, drop of school results, sleeping and eating disorders and auto mutilation (self-harm).

The DPT-model of Delfos (2015) underlines the importance to recognise symptoms, behaviour or thoughts in the general development of the child, as enuresis can re-appear at a later stage.

Even when a group of children experienced the same great impact event, each individual has a different reaction. The resilience of each child and the coping strategy of each individual differs.

Of those children and teens who have had a trauma, 3 to 15% of girls and 1 to 6% of boys develop PTSD. Rates of PTSD are higher for certain types of trauma survivors (National Center for PTSD, 2015).

Traumatic reactions and PTSD can lead to a false diagnosis of Attention-Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD): concentration, memory and alertness are influenced by one or more traumatic events (Delfos, 2015). All are skills and characteristics that children need at school.

Consequences at school level

All traumatised children, whether or not they suffer from PTSD to a certain degree, have difficulties in concentrating on school tasks and can exhibit behavioural problems. As mentioned previously, trauma can affect the brain development of young children. In this chapter some of the consequences that may be seen at school level are briefly explained.

Disturbed conditions for learning

At school level several problems can occur. Because some parts of the brain are underdeveloped, traumatised children can have problems with keeping an overview, setting goals, acting logically, completing a task step-by-step, keeping attention, separating relevant from non-relevant information and creative problem solving.

Traumatised children can have a smaller hippocampus, which is the part of the brain responsible for the connection of existing and new information. Because of this, there is a lack of memorisation and linking old to new information is difficult.

Research shows a slowdown of language development (Cook et al., 2005). When a child is stressed, the upper parts of the brain, responsible for language, are less active. A (temporary) regression of the language competence can be seen. This concerns the expression in the mother tongue and the ability to communicate, as well as the acquisition of a new language.

The cognitive problems will lead to more and different problems, such as lack of motivation, a negative self-esteem and emotional imbalance.

Faulty associations and behavioural problems

The implicit memory, the amygdala and the developing connectivity of the brain are some of the elements involved in this process.

As described earlier, traumatic events at an early age can cause the formation of incorrect associations. Traumatized children can suddenly think, feel and behave differently. Neutral stimuli can become triggers of fear and anxiety, the origin of which is unclear to outsiders as well as the child himself. Research shows traumatic memories are relived with the same intensity as originally stored when triggered by an association (Australian Childhood Foundation, 2010). Because of this, the child can become completely overwhelmed.

Early childhood traumatic experiences are kept in the implicit memory by elements related to the senses. Persistent false connections (related to the trauma) can cause problems. For example, when a child confuses the sound and non-verbal elements of a teacher's voice with the voice of a person that was an actual threat in the past. Consequently, the child can experience the same physical reactions, fear and helplessness as with the original event, not always knowing where it comes from. Older children can also store memories in the implicit memory, especially when the traumatic events were chronic and nobody was able to help the child to regulate the stress.

Toxic stress reactions and learning abilities

Each child learns to regulate stress situations with the help of adults. This normal stress is called 'positive stress'. We refer to 'toxic stress' when the stress reaction continues, even when the danger is gone. The amygdala plays a crucial role in this process. This may happen when there is nobody to help the child to deal with normal stressful situations. The child is not able to reassure himself. This causes damage to the development of the hippocampus in the brain (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2014).

This is why toxic stress has a negative impact on cognitive functions. In toxic stress, the physiological stress response is activated excessively and for a prolonged duration. This causes behavioural problems in school and other settings. Additionally, toxic stress results in a reduction of white matter and the

connectivity of the brain. It affects learning abilities and memory (Cozolino, 2013).

Apart from the impact on daily functioning, traumatised children are not at the school-competence-level they were before or that is expected for their age. Psychosocial support for these children at school, as can be provided through a basic form of art therapy, is not therefore an unnecessary luxury.

Art therapy in the educational setting

Educational setting

Children spend most of their time at school. Research shows that most children (64%) feel very safe at school (Fick et al., 1997).

In Nepal, for example, the major earthquake of April 25th in 2015 happened on a holiday. As a consequence, children were with their relatives who could give them the best support and relief at the time. As a result of that, ‘school attendance’ and the school building were not associated with the traumatic event. Despite the fact that a lot of school buildings were affected, after some weeks most children were attending classes once again in the non-affected buildings or Safe Learning Centers (SLCs).

The US Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children mentioned in an earlier report (2004), points to the psychosocial benefits of keeping schools open or restoring school attendance as quickly as possible during a crisis:

Education is an essential stabilizing force in all phases of an emergency, reestablishing a sense of normalcy and structure after destruction and chaos. Education also provides the opportunity to build self-esteem and confidence and to regain a sense of hope about the future.

Also, for children arriving to third countries, school is a place of stability. It is a place away from all the other stress factors present in their young lives.

Most children look up to their teachers. In most cultures, teachers are respected by parents and the community as a whole.

Teachers (and the entirety of school staff) can create the safe space that school must be, namely an environment of confidence and trust. Teachers can achieve this by being trustworthy, predictable and clear towards the children; by managing the class well; by using structured methods so children can concentrate more easily; by explaining rules and facilitating positive experiences. Further on in this chapter, the importance of this safe and trusting environment is illustrated through an art therapeutic approach.

Teachers can and should give emotional support. They show interest in what is going on with the child in a (non)verbal way. They support the feeling of self-reliance and put the fears, thoughts and reactions caused by traumatic experiences into the correct perspective by comforting the child and explaining that these are normal reactions to such events. They provide a space where children can feel safe and talk about what happens in their minds and share this with others (ARQ, 2017).

By using classical tasks and exercises, teachers can give children the opportunity to express feelings and to regain control over themselves at several levels. These tasks can have an art therapeutic influence.

Art therapy and expression in education

This article will not focus on art therapy in the strict therapeutic sense, but on a light version that primary teachers can easily integrate into their daily routine. In education settings, creativity and expression are used on a daily basis. However, with some extra attention these sessions can become moments of psychosocial care where little help from adults is needed.

Children want to communicate. They do this in different ways: by talking, imitating, sound, movement, dance, drama and music. Each manner has its own power of expression and its own possibilities. This communication and expression is an effective way to avoid alienation.

In play, nonverbal expressions, behaviour, drawings or sculptures the child provides him/herself and the outside world with an insight of what is going on inside.

From therapeutical to educational setting

A strong and pragmatic definition of art therapy can be found in the “Manual of Fine Art Therapy” of Celine Schweizer (2009):

Creative therapy is a way of treatment where the experience of people in relation to their development process are central. The art therapist uses the process of fine arts (drawing, painting, sculpture and other forms) and (s)he uses the visible and touchable products of it. ... Goal is to make an emotional, cognitive, social or physical desired change, development stabilization or acceptance within the client.

Art is used as a medium to facilitate experience, to find adequate forms of expression and to communicate in a way close to the experience, in order to stimulate, discuss or influence the experience, behaviour and development of people.

Fine arts have been used since the beginning of mankind to express and order thoughts and life. For centuries people have made specific use of fine art as an intuitive and non-verbal way to communicate with the implicit Self. However, proper research about the value and impact of fine art as a real therapy only started at the end of the 19th century (Schweizer, 2009).

Only for the last couple of years has attention been given to the use of art therapy as a treatment for trauma in children (Coppens, Schneijderberg & Van Kregten, 2016).

Truus Wertheim-Cahen is one of the pioneers of fine art therapy focused on trauma. She first worked with adult victims of war (1991). In 1995, together with Germa De Jong, she published the first article about ‘refugee children and creative art therapy’. In 1999, along with four other art therapists, she wrote the first report on the use of art therapy with refugees. It covers work both with children and adults. In these reports, she presents fine art therapy as a non-verbal way to analyse, order and understand what happened.

In the last few decades, some but still few art therapists have specialised in working with traumatised child refugees.

Children are mostly unaware of the effect that a traumatic experience has had on them. However, they struggle to cope with daily life continuously or when triggered by associations. Creative expression gives them an opportunity to deal

with the situation, the memories, the thoughts, feelings, emotions and physical output. However, it is a method that benefits all children in a classroom, including those who have not suffered a traumatic experience.

Creative expression can be preventive, can heal and can activate the child. Indeed, the observational and signalisation functions of creative expression cannot be forgotten. Although most children can get over a traumatic event by themselves, some of them are not able to. These children must be identified and provided with psychological support and specialised psychosocial care.

Nevertheless, for most children the psychosocial support that can be provided through the basics of art therapy with teachers will make a difference.

Basic conditions: safe and trusting environment for expression

Children who experience a traumatic event know and experience the feeling of fundamental unsafeness. Their sense of safety was suddenly undermined by a high impact event. Some had to leave all their belongings and/or to flee for their life.

Often this unsafe feeling remains because of unpredictable and dangerous conditions in refugee camps, centres for asylum-seekers or other circumstances they are living in. Unexpected events may happen, they may have to move out at any moment and dangerous and life threatening situations may occur. They lose confidence in themselves and in others.

These children experience life as unpredictable and extremely dangerous, where even their parents cannot protect them or control the situation. Everything changes suddenly. Not only the place and the conditions they live in, but also their relationship with family members, their social environment and sometimes even their role in the family.

A safe environment is essential to make progress happen. Providing enough time and a quiet, safe space to express oneself is a basic principle. A relationship with the educator, based on trust and empathy, is another essential condition. This can be established by contributing and co-operating and also by sending nonverbal, positive signals of approval to the child.

Children may need time to feel safe and to express themselves freely. They may be afraid of what will come out when they start to draw intuitively.

All kinds of colouring pages and books can be the first step to gain confidence; confidence in themselves and in others. Colouring mandalas can also create an inner and outer state of peace and trust.

Each form of expression must be taken seriously. It does not have to be beautiful nor does it have to be in accordance with any standards of art. No expression is ugly or childish. Any display of shock by the teacher must be avoided; even if a child includes horrific scenes in their work.

An invitation, no obligation to express

Creative expression provides an opportunity to let the inside come out.

The normal behaviour and cognitive functioning of the child can be strongly affected by trauma. Triggers, implicit or faulty associations can cause intense reactions even when the child does not understand what is happening.

An expression table, tent, room or corner with a variation of paper, creative materials, different tools and colour plates with figures and/or mandalas, can provide beneficial outcome. Mandala means circle in Sanskrit. People who colour mandalas often experience a deep sense of calm and well-being. It is a simple tool that does not require any expertise, but it can be remarkably soothing and nourishing. Mandalas also focus your attention. At the place of expression, children can find mental rest and express whatever they like. They can find their own means of spontaneous relief.

Tasks must be flexible enough and give opportunity to face the trauma or related feelings and thoughts. At the same time, they must give the freedom to avoid the traumatic theme if it is too early or painful. When a child is ready to express scenes or feelings related to the traumatic event, they will do so. All possible forms of compulsion are banned.

Particularly during free expression, without any specific task, children can show us how and where they are dealing with a traumatic event. They are not forced to answer a specific question or assignment.

Fine arts is a 'safe' medium, where experience and expression can be placed 'outside' the person. Nevertheless, children can be surprised or can be afraid of what they express. Drawings, paintings and sculptures can be torn apart, scenes can be erased, restarted or repeated. Through this process, the child is dealing

with and working through the traumatic experience. Situations, thoughts and feelings can be expressed in different ways and repetition can make things bearable.

After all, on paper everything is possible: dreams can come true, anger can be shown and utopian solutions can become reality. Unexpected perspectives may appear on paper and alternative solutions can be found. While drawing or writing, a lot of inner processes are at work.

Through expressing and dealing with the trauma with different creative approaches, the production of white matter responsible for connectivity in the brain can remain stable or increase again. Through this emotional relief, negative life-long effects can be avoided.

Way to relief

Expression not only gives emotional but also physical relief. Working with wax, paint, clay and using different sorts of techniques like throwing, kneading, scratching, cutting or ripping paper, physical relief can be reached and (more) inner peace can be found.

These activities can help the children experience pleasure again. They can give them the opportunity to allow themselves to experience feelings of joy and happiness again.

Possibility to communicate

Creative expression is an international and non-verbal language. When the language-area in the brain is temporarily affected by trauma, fine arts can be used as a way of communication with the Self and others.

It facilitates talking about the inner process, thoughts, conflicts and worries. The child can test his or her associations with the outside world. Faulty associations can be talked over with others and put in the right perspective. Problems caused by the amygdala, connecting neutral stimuli to trauma-related elements, can be corrected.

Memories of young children are stored in sense-related forms as colour, smell, touch, sound and image. They store their experiences in the implicit

memory, which can be unveiled as they get older. Older children can also make use of their implicit storage space, when the traumatic impact is too frequent and too strong.

Artistic expression shows feelings and thoughts in a way that cannot always be achieved with words. Feelings, thoughts and unconscious associations can find their way out in art. Art and expression can bring to light thoughts or feelings people did not realise before.

Care and restraint are necessary in the act of interpretation. Nobody can truly judge or interpret an expression another person has made. Only the creator knows and feels what it means. Each result is the unique product of an inner process.

Last but not least, the moment of expression itself can facilitate relationships between adults and children and among children themselves. Expression can be done together, can be shared and can be a third medium to talk about.

Reinforcing the self

Often children with trauma of high impact events have lost a lot. Personal relationships like those with loved ones, friends, pets and material possessions like their house, sleeping room, toys, books, etc. were suddenly ripped out of their lives.

They live in a new world that is not yet theirs. There is a fundamental sense of loss and being deprived of what they value. They have a feeling that the inner state of loss and deficit can never be filled again. They do not have confidence in themselves, feel lost, ashamed, or have other emotions associated with and caused by the traumatic event. They carry a metaphorical backpack full of feelings, emotions and thoughts about themselves and others. A bag full of memories, triggers and associations.

Creative expression makes use of the power of children. It makes change and growth possible.

Through well-chosen creative tasks, the Self can be reinforced. The person's own forces and talents, values, positive experiences and sources of strength and power are welcome topics.

International examples

Field exercises and observation were conducted by the author in different international settings, spread over several years. Art therapeutic workshops were done in Palestine, Burma and Nepal in varied educational settings. In several schools in Palestine and Nepal, art therapeutic workshops were followed by the introduction of expression books and training sessions.

In this last and shortest chapter, the projects carried out in these three different settings are described briefly.

PALESTINE – inside a conflict zone

For more than sixty years, Palestinians have lived in a state of chronic conflict with Israel. Today more than 5.3 million Palestinians are refugees because of this situation. They live in 59 refugee camps spread over the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. The situation in these camps varies strongly, with common violations and human rights abuses by Israeli and other army forces. Abuse is also common for Palestinians living in the West Bank.

In 2010, art therapeutic workshops took place in the cities of Ramallah, Jenin and Tulkarem in the occupied West Bank. More than one hundred children, aged between six and fourteen, were asked to paint ‘what they wanted to tell other children in the world’. All creative materials were provided by the researcher. The children were asked at random to explain their paintings and drawings.

Half of the children painted subjects unrelated to the conflict. Many others showed guns, tanks, air-attacks, wounded people, blood, etc.

One boy of fourteen years old painted himself behind bars, with tears in his eyes. Another girl of fourteen years old painted a woman with a baby threatened with a gun by soldiers. Another thirteen-year-old girl drew the partition wall and cars waiting in a queue at the checkpoint. Slogans like ‘Free Palestine’ were common. Beside scenes of horror and frustration, one positive image of hope was remarkable: an Israeli and a Palestinian shaking hands.

Younger children especially painted more non-conflict-related subjects and objects, for example a fruit basket and fish. Nevertheless, the fish were also related to the unreachable sea the boy of six years old wanted to see, and one

entire group of children had learned the previous week ‘how to draw a fruit basket’.

The appearance of conflict- and non-conflict-related subjects seemed to be place-related: the children of Tulkarem, a city at the border next to the border wall with Israel, drew more freedom slogans and wall- and conflict- related scenes. The children of Jenin, a city further away from the wall, made more non-conflict-related paintings. The children of Ramallah, a city next to the border wall and the strongly guarded border crossing Qalandia, painted only conflict-related scenes such as the abovementioned example of the boy in prison, the threatened mother with the baby, and the Qalandia-crossing itself.

Expression books, designed for children with trauma, will be introduced in Palestinian schools at Tulkarem in 2018. These books, translated into Arabic, contain 20 open tasks, through which children are invited to express themselves. Children can express feelings related to the conflict and the violence against them, but are not urged or forced to do so. A teacher training session and educator manual provide explanation about the purpose of the books and art therapy in general. For each task, more information related to trauma is added.

BURMA-THAILAND BORDER REFUGEE CAMP – at the edge of a conflict zone

The refugee camps at the Burma-Thailand border have been occupied since 1984 with mainly Karen and Karenni, two Burmese ethnic groups fleeing violence, persecution and/or horrendous human rights abuse by the Burmese military. Thousands of their villages were burned to the ground, including religious buildings, schools, personal belongings, and domestic animals. In 2011, more than fifty thousand refugees were spread over nine camps at the border with Thailand.

A workshop took place during a teacher training in the Mae La camp. Twelve adolescents of sixteen and seventeen years old expressed ‘their message to other youngsters in the world’.

All the students drew scenes related to the conflict and the violence inflicted on their people. Most of them drew scenes related to topics of nationalism

and heroism, praising generals and heroes of their own ethnic group. One girl depicted the violent expulsion of her village. She drew a scene of burning houses, soldiers, guns and whole families fleeing into the hills with backpacks. The drawing made it easier for the girl to talk about the event.

NEPAL – after the destruction of the earthquake

Two major earthquakes, followed by hundreds of aftershocks, landslides and floods caused the loss of more than 8000 lives in 2015. Thousands of children lost their lives, loved ones and homes.

In the districts of Dhading, Dang and the Kathmandu Valley, more than two thousand children of fifteen primary state schools depicted their ‘dream houses’ with paint on big rolls of paper. Most of them painted colourful houses, with extra emergency exits and stairs. Others painted one-level houses and tents or shelters made of bamboo.

But the most remarkable drawings were those made by the ‘little monks’ in the Kathmandu valley. Their biggest loss and trauma did not come with the earthquakes. Their high impact event was a personal one: homesickness. The children were left for months or years in the monastery under the care of adult monks. They longed for and missed their warm homes and caring families.

The little monks first painted beautiful houses with extra stairs and strong walls, as the other Nepalese children in regular settings had. Doing this, grief and homesickness came strongly to the surface: houses were covered with black paint, papers were ripped and previously painted Buddhist symbols were painted over by other things.

In the aftermath of the earthquake, an expression programme for Nepalese primary schools was developed. Seven schools started the programme after following instruction and training in 2016. A teacher manual guides the teachers through the tasks and gives background information. The expression workbook contains twenty fixed tasks and has room for another ten free expressive pieces.

More than 160 pupils were enrolled in the program in 2016–2017. One assistant teacher trains and accompanies the teachers. It differs from the Palestinian expression books by not focusing on the trauma, but by focusing on growth of self-esteem. Pupils are asked to express their feelings of happiness, to present

themselves with their talents, to draw their most valued possessions and to spread an important message to the world.

Further evaluation and observation of the expression programs will be needed in Nepal, as well as in Palestine. Future systematic research will obtain results about the effectiveness of these projects.

Conclusions

Thousands of children are experiencing traumatic events each day. They are forced to leave their homes and seek refuge from conflicts, violence, children rights violations, persecution and natural disasters.

Literature review shows that war is considered one of the most traumatic events with the highest impact, because of the life-threatening dangers. But regardless of whether children and their relatives have fled man-made or natural disasters, the trauma does not end upon arrival to a 'safer place'. Field reports show that education is an essential stabilizing force in all phases of an emergency, re-establishing a sense of normality and structure after destruction and chaos (US Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2004). Therefore, access to education must be seen as a priority. It can play an important role for psychosocial care and the prevention of PTSD.

In the educational, art therapy based approach presented in this article, all the children in each classroom are participating, thereby helping to "destigmatise" mental health interventions in and around schools. These mental care skills are "must haves" for all teachers in the world today.

Art therapy offers a pathway whereby the young minds of the traumatised can be helped to assimilate their difficult and damaging experiences at a time in their lives when their brains are still at a growing and formative stage. It can help to alleviate the harm and to mitigate the resultant consequences to their overall developmental with ongoing benefits for the individual and those around them. Young children store traumatic memories as sense-related elements in the implicit memory, and re-activation of the trauma can occur. It can also resurface later when they are older.

Creative expression can be preventive and healing. It can also activate important parts of the child. For most children the psychosocial support provided

through the basics of art therapy with teachers will be sufficient, and can make an immediate difference while preventing the development of PTSD.

By expressing and dealing with the trauma through different creative activities, the production of white matter responsible for the connectivity in the brain can remain stable or increase again. Because of this emotional relief, negative life-long effects can be avoided.

Artistic expression shows feelings and thoughts in a way that cannot always be achieved with words. Feelings, thoughts and unconscious matters can find their way to the surface through art. Expression can give emotional and also physical relief. It can even help the child to experience pleasure again.

Creative expression is an international and non-verbal language.

Some brief, international examples featured here show the power of art therapy in educational settings. Many fieldworkers are already convinced of the importance of art therapeutic intervention in the educational setting. Further research will be needed to analyse and prove the effectiveness of art therapy with children that have experienced traumatic events.

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Markowska-Manista Urszula, PhD, field researcher, Adjunct Professor, Acting Chairperson at the UNESCO/J. Korczak Chair in Interdisciplinary Studies on Child Development and Well-being at the Maria Grzegorzewska University, lecturer and program director of M.A. Childhood Studies and Children’s Rights, Department of Education and Psychology at the Free University of Berlin in Germany (2016) and the University of Applied Sciences Potsdam (2017-18). She conducts field research on the education of excluded and marginalised children in culturally diversified environments, among indigenous people (Central Africa), refugees (the Horn of Africa), national and ethnic minorities (the South Caucasus) as well as migrants and refugees in Poland. Author and co-author of numerous academic publications and educational publications for teachers.

Mutlu Yeşim, received her master’s degree in Sociology at Middle East Technical University in 2009 with her thesis “Turkey’s Experience of Forced Migration after 1980s and Social Integration: A Comparative Analysis of Diyarbakır and Istanbul”. For now, she is writing her PhD thesis on statelessness and arbitrary deprivation of citizenship in Turkey in the same department. Her research interests include the Kurdish issue in Turkey, conflict-induced internal

displacement, deprivation of citizenship, statelessness, gender and security and children's rights. Besides her academic studies, for more than ten years, she worked either as a consultant or a researcher in research projects, mostly focusing on disadvantaged groups, conducted by national and international organisations. In 2015, she was awarded a research grant by Raoul Wallenberg Institute, Turkey and conducted the research on Syrian children's risk of statelessness in Turkey. In 2016, she received a grant from The Center for Gender Studies at Koç University and worked on a research project focusing on women's and LGBTI's perception of safety and security as well as their coping strategies with the spiral of violence in Turkey. With the article based on this research findings, she won Dicle Koğacıoğlu Article Award by Sabancı University Gender and Women's Studies Center of Excellence. Up until its closure with a statutory decree in 2016, she was the secretary general of Agenda the Child Association, which worked for the protection of children's rights.

Odrowąż-Coates Anna, Professor at The Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw (Poland), currently employed in the Social Pedagogy Department, Faculty of Education. She is also a Doctor of Political Science and has an MA in Sociology. Her main scientific activities have included independent field research in Italy (2002-2004), UK (2004-2008) and Saudi Arabia (2010-2012). Her research work is focused on education, women and children's issues. Her main areas of expertise are an interdisciplinary approach to social inequality: gender, ethnicity, religion and the reproduction of social systems through the lens of social and critical pedagogy.

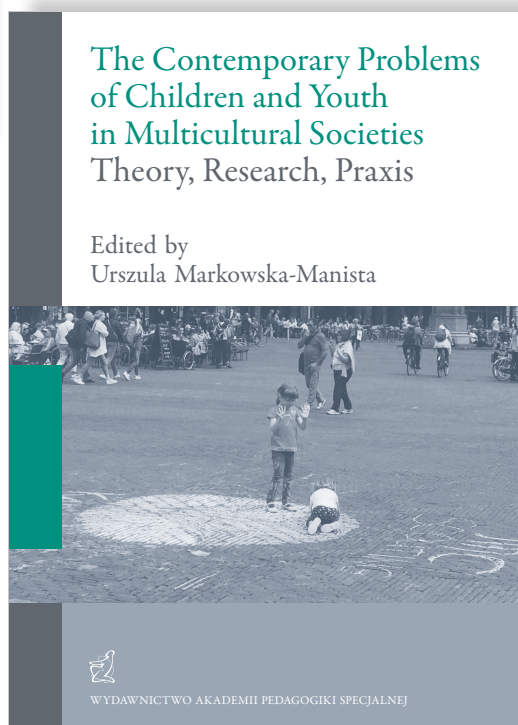
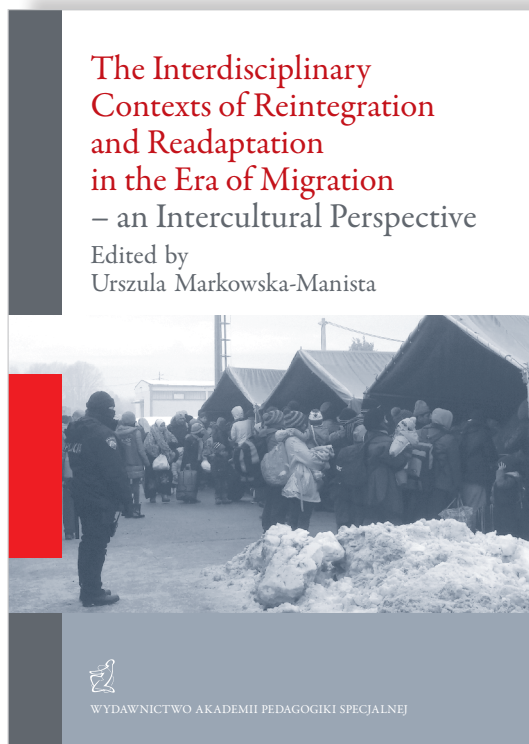
Tase Mirela, Professor, holds a BSc in Geography and History and completed a Master's Degree in Geography in Albania. In November 2014, she received a PhD in Human Geography. Since 2008, she has been working as a university lecturer, presently at the Tourism Department. Dr. Tase has co-authored a textbook and has published several articles in the field of tourism, migration issues and education.

Zabłocka-Żytka Lidia, PhD, Assistant Professor, Institute of Psychology, The Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw. Clinical psychologist, psychotherapist. She works in a scientist – practitioner model and combines clinical practice

(as a psychotherapist) with research and teaching students. As a researcher she is interested in mental health promotion and mental health of young adults. She has coordinated several local projects on mental health and mental health promotion and she has been working with Enter Mental Health Network on other international ones. As a psychotherapist she works with adults suffering from anxiety disorders, depression, eating disorders, obsessive compulsive disorder and personality disorders, as well as chronically somatic ill people and their families.

Zakrzewska-Olędzka Dominika, PhD, Student at the Faculty of Education at The Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw, Poland. Intern of The UNESCO/Janusz Korczak Chair in Interdisciplinary Studies on Child Development and Well-being, The Maria Grzegorzewska University. Completed master studies in Social Psychology and Social Rehabilitation, for the last few years has been a member of Research Group on Socialisation and Aggression. In her research work, she concentrates on finding correlates of prejudice and stereotypes and ways of their prevention. Professionally works as a coordinator of intercultural education.

Poleca:



The book is an excellent example of how to create a platform for an exchange of thoughts and experience as well as enable mutual learning between students, young academics and experienced scholars representing various fields of science. The publication not only shows how to analyse, research and solve particular problems related primarily to immigrant and refugee children and their families, but it addresses the need to problematize them and undertake new subjects of research. This aim is achieved through the combination of academically diverse approaches to the problems addressed. The texts collected in the book can certainly serve as an inspiration to improve praxis in the fields that are of interest to the authors of the articles, and they contribute to the promotion of a culturally sensitive language which takes into consideration every person's right to respect one's dignity, which is an exceptionally important task in the face of the migration crisis (...)

I believe that the monograph will be received with great interest by various Readers, particularly academics – scholars researching global transformations, social problems, cultural diversity, migration, refugeeism, integration practices, the development and adaptation of children and youth as well as adults who need support with regard to their difficult situation. The book will certainly be an important read for the students of teacher training studies, teachers as well as education policy makers who design educational reforms.

From the scientific review by Prof. Joanna Madalińska-Michalak

The three chapters that structure the unique contributions of scientists from different parts of Europe, Turkey and Russia qualify in its entirety for a methodically and practically deep concern for all children. The national and global specifics are represented in terms of pedagogical and psychological questions, concepts and historical background analysis. The researchers are especially comprehensive in giving valuable information about children's ways of experiencing social and political structures that are connected to their subjectivity and agency. (...) The sensitivity necessary to create a representation of hidden and unseen situations children are facing in different societies is impressive. The author's approaches are singular and specific according to the challenges they recognize as their part of the processes and dynamics – politically, culturally and especially inter-culturally – to include children's lives into the consciousness of our contemporary reality. (...) The publication offers suggestions to improve the quality of discourse and practice in the name of all children and their interests.

From the scientific review by Prof. Claudia Maier-Höfer

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