CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON REFUGEE AND MIGRANT INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION

Grassroots Narratives from Multiregional Settings

EDITED BY **MARCUS OTTO** AND **TANIA SAEED**

Bloomsbury

Critical Perspectives on Refugee and Migrant Integration in Education

Peace and Human Rights Education
edited by Monisha Bajaj and Maria Hantzopoulos

This book series brings together cutting-edge scholarship on peace and human rights education from leading scholars and practitioners in the field. It will provide a cross-section of scholarly research as well as conceptual perspectives on the challenges and possibilities of implementing both peace and human rights education in diverse global sites. The series will bring forth the voices of scholars of peace education and human rights education to address key questions for undergraduate- and Masters-level students seeking to deepen their understanding of the field.

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In grateful memory
Anthony Arnhold
March 4, 1945–August 10, 2023

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Peace and Human Rights Education
Series Foreword

By Monisha Bajaj and Maria Hantzopoulos

Over the past six decades, both peace education and human rights education have emerged from the margins to become legitimate academic fields with a burgeoning and rich body of scholarship. We have seen both fields over time be influenced and framed by critical feminist thought, demilitarization and peace studies, movements for climate justice, decolonial and postcolonial engagement, and indigeneity, raising critical issues and reflection for future directions of the field. While there have been both a proliferation of books related to these fields and an exponential increase in journals dedicated to the topics (such as the *International Journal of Human Rights Education*, the *Human Rights Education Review*, the *Journal of Peace Education*, *In Factis Pax*, among others), this book series on peace and human rights education is the first of its kind. Encompassing two related fields that are in dialogue with each other—peace education and human rights education—the contributions to the series need not cover both fields, but together advance our understandings of their role in educational development and transformation.

This series highlights the central ideas, issues, debates, and questions surrounding peace and human rights education by bringing together cutting-edge scholarship on these fields, both separately and concurrently, from leading and emerging theorists, scholars, and practitioners in the field. The type of work in this series is robust—from the conceptual, to the reflective, to the empirical—as we aim to provide a cross-section of scholarly research that projects the dynamism of both fields as they have evolved over time. As a result, there are several overarching goals of the series, including: (1) to highlight ground-breaking and rich studies and research on human rights and peace education around the globe; (2) to analyze limits and possibilities in the localization of peace education and human rights education in diverse contexts; (3) to analyze historical contexts that have shaped the directions of the fields; (4) to amplify

marginalized voices and scholarship; and (5) to serve as the nexus for key debates, questions, and issues in the field.

We launched the series with our own book, *Educating for Peace and Human Rights: An Introduction* (2021), to lay the groundwork and the foundations of each field and explore the fertile terrain that lies at their intersection, conceptualized through the heuristic of a banyan tree nourished by the shared soil of core concepts such as dignity and transformative agency. One of the unique features of banyan trees is their capacity to drop-down new roots (which, over time, conjoin with the primary trunk). We argue that these new drop-down roots are the renewals of the field, some of which branch out in new directions, while others coalesce with the trunk and become central components of the tree. We envision each subsequent book in this series as a branch or drop-down root that offers new insights in distinct contexts and deepens our understanding of how liberatory education—namely efforts toward peace, human rights, and social justice education—is enacted, contested, and advanced in different local, transnational, and global settings.

Our series advisory board, who are leaders in the fields, provide sound guidance, expertise, and perspective on frameworks developed and future directions of the fields. While some advisory board members are rooted more centrally in peace education, and others more firmly in human rights education, we have many members whose work also rests at the intersections of those fields. We hope that collectively, this series provides space for scholars, students, and practitioners to pursue new pathways for the fields, recognizing that multiple realities and worlds (human, natural, and spiritual) coexist (Mignolo 2018), as this series maps the multiple and possible trajectories. We aim to allow room for learning from and across other fields, and for meaningful engagement with feminist, decolonial, and other critical approaches that interrogate otherwise taken-for-granted or normative assumptions that undergird the fields. This series encourages more robust conceptual considerations, innovative methodological approaches, and rigorous empirical work, yielding new insights as we continue to respond to the contemporary challenges we face.

In this edited book, *Critical Perspectives on Refugee and Migrant Integration in Education*, editors Marcus Otto and Tania Saeed have curated an exceptional group of scholars and practitioners to shed light on education as a contested site for the integration of immigrants, refugees, and internally displaced persons across a variety of national and regional contexts. The chapter contributions engage with grassroots narratives and interrogate assumptions and imposed knowledges that ignore actual lived realities. Through rich narratives, engaged

and collaborative research, and keen analyses, the chapters together offer the field of peace and human rights education new understandings of how education for inclusion and social cohesion is attempted, contested, and navigated by a variety of stakeholders in distinct contexts. The chapters together force a new consideration of the what, why, and how of integration, probing to uncover who is advancing discourses of integration and for what ends in settings as diverse as Nepal, Germany, Turkey, Colombia, and elsewhere. Emerging from a convening of the authors hosted by the Georg Arnhold Program on Education for Sustainable Peace in 2020, the contributing authors in dialogue have enriched one another's perspectives and sharpened each other's analyses in this robust edited collection. We are excited for others to grapple and engage with this dynamic and excellent text that we have also found so instructive for our own practice and scholarship in peace and human rights education.

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Foreword

This book began life at the 2020 annual conference run by the Georg Arnhold Program on Education for Sustainable Peace. This program, based at the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media | Georg Eckert Institute in Brunswick, Germany, comprises three principal elements. With its annual conference, the program brings together peace education experts from both academia—from early-career scholars to established professors—and practice, aiming to foster the exchange of on-the-ground experience and theoretical analysis in order to bridge the much-bemoaned research-practice gap in peace education. Second, the Georg Arnhold Program facilitates scholarships for selected conference participants in projects of the International Rescue Committee (IRC), where the insights they have gained can be implemented in real-life contexts of development programs or education in emergencies (EiE). Third, the program provides fellowships for experts—scholars and practitioners alike—in the field of peace education who wish to spend time conducting research at the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media | Georg Eckert Institute away from their usual duties and time constraints. This unique combination seeks to place financial and intellectual resources where they can do the most good, not only building bridges between research and practice but also working to decolonize academic procedures of conference-convening, knowledge practices, and publishing cultures.

Since our planning began for the conference "The Potential of Education for Integration" in 2019, the world has seen a number of crises, including a global pandemic, open warfare in Europe, and the resurgence of unspeakable violence in the Middle East. But the plight of refugees, migrants, and displaced persons had long before been an issue closely linked to education. The more recent crises have only served to exacerbate—in some cases rendering more visible—the already existent but often long-ignored inequalities and injustices inherent in education systems across the globe. The conference took place online due to the Covid-19 pandemic; while this brought the disadvantage of having to negotiate time zones around the globe in the program planning, it also removed the usual obstacle of visa refusal for many participants from the Global South. The opportunity to hear twenty contributors with diverse expertise as academics and practitioners in a range of contexts from around the world was extremely

valuable. The participants examined interactions between education and the social integration of migrants, refugees, and displaced persons, (national) minorities, and Indigenous societies, considering regional differences in education systems, resources, and social conditions.

In doing so, theoretical definitions and the practical implications of the terminology of integration played a significant role, and these complexities form an important part of the editors' introduction to this book. What is meant by "integration"? Who is "integrating" whom, and under what conditions? When does "integration" become cultural assimilation and under whose terms? And, while education may have potential for integration, what about the potential of integration for education? Refugee and migrant education is frequently viewed as a one-way street, while several examples demonstrate the potential that can be unlocked when it is recognized as a process of bilateral exchange in a spirit of equity and equality. The participants also examined historical migratory events and their effect on current debates, teaching methods and materials, the significance of colonial history in this context, and the impacts of education policy, curricula and educational materials for refugees and marginalized groups, the role of language and writing, communication norms, and conformity with the host or majority society.

The experience of displacement, migration, and refugee status is one that the Arnhold family—the founders and benefactors of our program—know all too well. The brothers Georg and Max Arnhold, owners of Dresden's largest private bank at the end of the nineteenth century, were dedicated patrons of the arts, sciences, education, and philanthropic work in Saxony, Germany, until, as a Jewish family, they were forced to leave the country in the mid-1930s. The Nazis had "Aryanized" their bank, and it was becoming increasingly difficult for the Arnholds to participate safely in public life. Georg Arnhold's grandson, Henry Arnhold, at the time a teenager, went to boarding school in Switzerland; the rest of the family, after the death of Henry's father, migrated to the United States. During a visit to Norway in 1940, however, Henry was captured by the Nazis and incarcerated in a concentration camp there. Fortunately, he was released in 1941 and defied instructions to remain in Norway by escaping over the border to Sweden, eventually migrating to the United States where he was reunited with his family. As refugees there, the Arnholds re-established themselves in the banking sector and continued their philanthropic work, funding the arts and sciences, financing rebuilding projects in Dresden, and supporting scholars, artists, and visionaries, including the establishment of the Georg Arnhold Program on Education for Sustainable Peace by Henry Arnhold in memory

of his grandfather at our institute in 2013. To a certain extent, therefore, the publication of this book on refugee and migrant integration in education brings our program full-circle, and we thank the editors, Marcus Otto and Tania Saeed, for guiding it so expertly into its final form.

Henry Arnhold's nephew, Anthony Arnhold, represented the Arnhold family on the program's Academic Advisory Board from 2017 until his sudden passing in summer 2023. Anthony—as did his uncle—supported our work with shrewd foresight and an unfailing instinct for the Arnhold family's philanthropic tradition, for which we remain grateful. It is to his memory that this book is dedicated.

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Katharina Baier
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Brunswick, Germany, November 2023

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Acknowledgments

Introduction

"Education for Integration"—Beyond Deconstruction? Potentials, Challenges, and Problems around "Integration" in Educational Discourses and Practices

Marcus Otto and Tania Saeed

This volume addresses concepts and practices of "education for integration" from a global and praxeological perspective. It aims to move beyond any methodological nationalism and, at the same time, to deconstruct approaches often referred to as inclusive or universalist, which tend to be somewhat abstract. The contributions in this volume therefore address global and transnational educational discourses around education for integration with a focus on local, inclusive educational practices within the framework of migration and displacement, situating it within the wider field of critical peace education. With this framework, we aim to problematize the relationship between education as a governmentalized (policy) institution on the one hand and education as a lived and embedded social praxis within a local public sphere on the other. The book thus seeks to contribute to the current discourse on education for integration and inclusive education.

Education for integration and concepts of inclusive education have become relevant to and are addressed in various fields of educational research. From the perspective adopted by this volume, a number of research areas gain significance within this framework. Global citizenship education (GCE), for instance, approaches and frames the concept of integration from the perspective of political and societal participation. Here, the concept of integration is mediated by reference to the participating subject and its contribution to an imagined (local, [trans]national, or even global) community. Although the concept of "integration" itself is not the focus of GCE research, it is nevertheless a constitutive underlying assumption informed by the emphatically Western tradition of republicanism.

In the research area of peace education and its various sub-fields such as education in emergencies (EiE), the concept of integration seems to serve as a regulatory idea for the transition of conflict societies into a process of reconciliation. While the history of peace education can be traced back to the post–Second World War period, in which different forms of violence were addressed through education (see Dey 2021 and Bajaj 2015), our contribution to this wider field is located within the more recent critical peace education. We agree with Ed Brantmeier's (2013) argument that a critical approach to peace studies emphasizes the importance of context and power. In his discussion on critical peace education for sustainability, Brantmeier calls for "critical peace education" as both "a diagnostic tool" and "an educational approach." As the former, critical peace education can provide insights into "the dynamics of violence in place" in relation to "the power constructs that perpetuate that violence." As the latter, it creates the possibility for "non-violent alternatives and transformative action" (Brantmeier 2013, 255). This transformative action within the policy discourse continues to emphasize "integration" in relation to inclusive education as an overarching goal. For example, the UNHCR's strategy for refugee inclusion seeks "to foster the conditions, partnerships, collaboration and approaches" necessary for "all refugee, asylum seeker, returnee and stateless children and youth and their hosting communities, including the internally displaced [. . .], to access inclusive and equitable quality education that enables them to learn, thrive and develop their potential, build individual and collective resilience, and contribute to peaceful coexistence and civil society" (UNHCR 2019, 9). From the perspective of critical and transformative education, the concepts of integration and inclusive education are reframed by normative notions of equity and equality which critically reflect and aim to transform power relations in educational practices.

Inclusive education is an all-encompassing agenda under UNICEF that includes all marginalized communities, especially persons with disabilities. However, the focus of this volume is not on inclusion in relation to disabilities, which we believe merits a dedicated book of its own, given the magnitude of social exclusion and ableism that cuts across communities. Instead, this volume focuses on inclusion and exclusion in relation to integration as linked with notions of nationalism, citizenship, and belonging. In general, integration has become a polyvalent concept within education, the latter understood as a multidimensional institution expected to contribute to societal integration in particular through the transmission of shared knowledge, norms, and values. Moreover, education is seen as a basic resource as well as a focal institution

for societal inclusion. This immediately affects self-understanding within education and its institutions in the sense that inclusion and a corresponding inclusive education have become a modern political as well as normative imperative. This ultimately leads to the question of which concepts of integration and inclusion are at stake in education, what their (inherent) limitations and problems are, and how and to what extent they can produce or generate exclusion.

This question is particularly important when the term "integration" can take on different meanings in different contexts, with the added danger of assimilation dominating education systems. As the chapters of this book illustrate, definitions of integration may not fully capture the experiences of marginalized communities, where a "sense of belonging" is absent in government discourses (see Hauber-Özer and Gräfe-Geusch/Okroi in this volume). A sense of belonging is more than a quantifiable concept, often linked to social, cultural, emotional, and psychological connections with communities (see also Allen et al. 2021). There are different concepts at stake. The concept of "integration *via* education" addresses education as a crucial norm-building institution within modern society and as a resource for societal inclusion. The concept of "integration *in* education" advocates inclusion and thus inclusive education as an educational imperative. And the concept "education *for* integration" articulates the emphatic intention to educate toward societal integration and participation. This volume addresses the ambitions and complexities of these concepts as well as their limitations and problems by focusing on local practices of education within a global discursive framework. In particular, it highlights the complexity of these concepts of integration in relation to the lived experiences of communities that have faced displacement as refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), or migrants.

The notoriously ambiguous concept of integration (and inclusion in the declamatory sense mentioned above) has become a prominent and also highly disputed one within modern society in general and subsequently within education in particular, generally located between a normative imperative and a somewhat phantasmatic abstraction. This renders the term problematic as an analytical or even descriptive concept, which becomes obvious when it is subjected to the analytical sociological distinction of "inclusion" and "exclusion." In the following, we will reconstruct and then deconstruct the genealogy of the sociological concept of integration, in particular with regard to modern discourse in which integration has evolved into a contested concept.

"Integration": From a Sociological Concept to a Political—and Educational—Imperative

The modern concept of integration essentially evolved from the end of the nineteenth century in the wake of sociological theories of the modern differentiated society. Sociology as a discipline was also emerging at this time, studying the division of work within an industrial semantics or stratification within the concepts of estates or classes. The differentiation of modern society was thus diagnosed as its fundamental and primary challenge, with the result that notions of cohesion and integration became imperatives. The question was how, and with what, a differentiated, perhaps even fragmented, society can be held together. This crucial puzzle led early sociological thinking to notions such as solidarity, cohesion, and integration; the latter then evolved into an abstract concept systematically addressing this inquiry, and ultimately it was this integration discourse that laid the foundations for modern sociology. This has successively been elaborated upon in the emerging discipline with the paradigm of (functional) differentiation.

It was within this theoretical framework, which in the first half of the twentieth century was informed by structural functionalism, that the basic distinction emerged between *system integration* on the one hand and *social integration* on the other. While system integration referred, rather abstractly, to the functional differentiation of modern society with its inherent interdependence of different social systems, the concept of social integration reflected its stratification as well as contemporary discourses of individualization and diversity. The latter paradigm became prominent and discursively contested, especially with regard to societal diversity and in corresponding debates on identity, migration, and religious plurality, for instance. This coincided with an ongoing culturalization of the social in general and the politicization of the concept of integration in particular.

Integration as *social integration* has thus become a key element of discourse around societal self-descriptions. Public discourse has tended to focus on this dimension, while *system integration*, in the narrower sense of institutional integration, has tended to remain a background assumption. Since the 1990s in particular, an emphatic process of culturalization has ensued, together with a governmentalization and politicization of (social) integration within discourse, paradigmatically reflected in (institutionalized) education and the corresponding debates within educational discourse as well as in education research. Added

to this process of culturalization is the increasing marketization of education and its role in producing human capital in the framework of the neoliberal economy (see Giroux 2005, Apple 2001, Apple 2006, and Monahan 2009). This is further complicated in the context of postcolonial countries that have inherited exclusionary colonial systems of governance and education, where a call for integration may exclude Indigenous knowledges and value systems (Ngũgĩ 1994), driven by neoliberal, globalized thinking (see Khoja-Moolji 2014).

The process of culturalization in more recent and contemporary discourses has gone hand in hand with a culturalization of the social in general and a "cultural turn" in the humanities and in educational discourse. A cultural turn has also taken place both within and by means of the discourse on integration. This corresponds to cultural identifications in terms of othering as well as self-identifications. Moreover, the integration discourse has in this context also become politicized and governmentalized in the sense that an effective focus has emerged, with migration, cultural diversity, and religious diversity as declared and identified challenges of cohesion and integration. Here, the imperatives of integration have given rise to cultures of suspicion or accusation. Bennett's (2018) analysis of integration and immigration discourse in the UK illustrates how such cultures of suspicion have increasingly become part of legislation related to "community cohesion" where newcomers (migrants, refugees) are as much under suspicion as British citizens from religious and ethnic minority backgrounds. The global discourse on integration as located within the framework of cultures of suspicion or accusation is evident in populist discourses as well as in governmental policies all over the world, in which concepts of integration result in even greater otherization. Integration through intercultural or multicultural education has simultaneously failed to achieve its objectives of creating an inclusive cultural context. Catarci (2014) in his assessment of intercultural education in the European context highlights how a "Eurocentric" approach to education continues to exclude the lived realities and knowledge systems of migrant communities, with a tendency toward assimilation. As the practice narratives in this volume illustrate, "integration" has become an obsessional phantasma in the sense of a governmental discursive norm, reiterated again and again, which is, however, inherently destined to fail in its current form as it in fact produces exclusion.

The problematizing discursive and performative focus on exclusion has addressed corresponding groups or populations which, by this very discourse on integration, are labeled "excluded." They thus become objects of governmental integration policies, of which education is but one prominent and formative

example or even paradigm. At the same time, this is manifest and—at least partially—also (critically) reflected in educational discourse and practices. This discourse performatively produces groups and populations which become the (discriminated against) objects and exposed subjects of (governmental) policies such as the postulated "Education for Integration." This bureaucratic categorization of communities, which by its very act of naming creates exclusive categories and identities, may be resolved through more innovative approaches to education. Scholars such as Catarci propose a more holistic form of "intercultural education" in relation to "sustainability education" where the focus is on creating "cultural foundations" on the basis of "open relationships" and "critical thinking" toward "these interactions" (Catarci 2021, 4–5). We would argue that with such categorizations, the analytical sociological distinction between inclusion and exclusion becomes highly relevant in order to somehow deconstruct the overall phantasmatic character of the concept of integration as described above. The analytical—and at the same time concrete—distinction between inclusion and exclusion enables us to analyze specific constellations in which someone is included or excluded in a way other than that suggested by the abstract concept of integration. The distinction thus focuses on performative acts of interpellation and situations of the social as well as on discursive (structural and institutional) prescriptions of social roles and opportunities.

"Integration" beyond Deconstruction

Beyond this tentative deconstruction of the concept and discourse around "integration," this volume explores the related potentials, challenges, and problems in and as a result of education. In order to do so, we have to consider the different elementary functions that are ascribed to education as a societal institution and a setting of lived embedded social practices within a local public sphere. As an elementary societal institution, three basic functions are ascribed to education: first, the transmission of knowledge; second, the selection of individual career opportunities (inclusion/exclusion) via certification; and third (social and cultural) integration via common understandings of norms and values. As an institution, the modern education system is expected to serve both social integration and system integration, as the dominant governmentalized political and educational discourse reflects. Yet from a critical peace education perspective, various forms of selection and discrimination take place within and via education as an institution, which performs and prefigures inclusion and

exclusion on different levels. Power disparities are evident in the selection of which and whose knowledge is transmitted, the distribution of cultural symbolic capital in the shape of both formalized certificates and informal procedures, and the specific norms and values that are practiced and transmitted.

In many cases, education thus becomes yet another ideological tool that defines who belongs—that is, who is included, on whose terms, and who is excluded. The (mis)use of education for integration and belonging is increasingly evident in reforms and regulations across countries, from the rewriting of Indian history textbooks that center the "true Hindu identity" for the nation of India under the BJP government to attacks on critical race theory in the name of "inclusiveness" in the United States. Integration, as decided by the majority or those in power, may result in erasure or culturecide through processes of selection, in which certain knowledge(s) are displaced or rendered invisible, certain cultural capital is devalued, and certain norms and values are rendered meaningless.

The role of education as an instrument of "integration" in its various forms thus becomes particularly complicated and, as a result, relevant for a wide range of groups, from citizens who find themselves outside the domain of inclusivity to migrants and refugees displaced by war, conflict, and the climate crisis. The chapters in this volume center on the lived experiences of refugees, IDPs, asylum seekers, and citizens, providing insights into how education can become a political tool for and against different communities while also fostering the potential for social change.

Contributions: Observations from Case Studies and Analyses

Because integration takes on different meanings from a sociological perspective, often aligned with bureaucratic categorizations and context-specific nationalisms, these varying semantics may limit the possibilities for inclusiveness and belonging. The first part of the volume, therefore, focuses on field pieces and reflections from researchers and practitioners to ensure a grounded, grassroots understanding of integration and education in different contexts. These illustrate how "integration" in its various forms exists in different contexts and where local, national, regional, and global power dynamics can influence the interaction of different communities and individuals. The analytical chapters of Part II bring these narratives into conversation with different concepts related to integration, demonstrating the complexity of "integration" in and by education while also emphasizing the simplicity of the human connection when a sense of belonging

becomes part of the integration experience. The contributions analyze and contextualize the grassroots narratives, drawing new insights for both scholars and practitioners in the field. The volume thus deconstructs approaches often referred to as inclusive or universalist in relation to integration by centering the lived experiences of refugees, IDPs, asylum seekers, and communities seeking integration, who are often isolated in the process.

Thus, contributing a bottom-up perspective to the field of critical peace studies with a broad range of data, descriptions, events, participants, and voices from multiple regions, the chapters in this volume examine the potentials, challenges, and problems of "integration" in education, with a particular focus on the related concepts of inclusion and exclusion. The practice narratives, as well as the analytical essays, look critically at the extent to which "integration"—in and by education—can in fact be empirically studied or evaluated, and which understanding(s) of integration are at the root of the observations described. Grave discrepancies are noted between top-down and bottom-up approaches to integration in education, with power relations playing a major role. We also asked the authors of both Part I and Part II to reflect self-critically on the virtues—or failures—of such a bottom-up approach that starts from on-the-ground experience rather than by checking policy or theory against practice. What can peace and human rights education scholars learn from what is really happening "on the ground" and vice versa?

To respond to these questions from a grassroots as well as critical perspective, the following practice narratives in this volume were conceptualized in a similar way to pieces serving as ethnographic vignettes. This meant a firm decision on the part of the editors to abstain from prescribing a strict structure or format to follow to provide space for a true bottom-up reflection free from the restraints of traditional academic publishing structures. As most of the authors have an academic background, most of the practice narratives nevertheless follow a relatively uniform structure, differing only occasionally in terms of length and format according to their respective local and grassroots approaches. We consciously avoided tailoring them further to avoid inadvertently shifting their focus or distorting areas of emphasis.

The first two chapters provide two different examples of students' experiences where the role of the teacher is central in creating the possibility of an inclusive or alienating classroom. We start with Noé Abraham González-Nieto's piece on transformative pedagogies in Colombia and Mexico. This piece focuses on the transformative role of committed teachers who are invested in creating future possibilities for migrants through innovative pedagogies, where the lived

experiences of students and their communities are key in informing the way teachers teach. Andrea Cortés Saavedra's piece on the experiences of migrant children in a school in Northern Chile then gives a different perspective, where integration is aligned with assimilation, a perspective that dictates teachers' views of migrant students.

In the next four practice narratives, Jessica Gregson, Teshome Mengesha Marra, Sally Wesley Bonet, and Melissa B. Hauber-Özer provide insights into refugee students. Jessica Gregson focuses on temporary learning centers in and around IDP camps for Rohingya in Myanmar, highlighting how dominant hate and prejudices can not only limit access to the most basic educational services but also how the kind of education provided in such a socio-political context can be a tool of further exclusion. Teshome Mengesha Marra focuses on refugee schools in Ethiopia, showing the limitation of refugee schools compared to local schools for refugee children. And Sally Wesley Bonet's insights on Sudanese students in a refugee school in Egypt provide a different perspective of a school exclusively run by Sudanese refugees, where in a socio-political context of racism and discrimination, the school becomes a safe haven, creating possibilities and opportunities.

Melissa B. Hauber-Özer's piece on Syrian refugees in Turkish universities shows a different perspective. She focuses on the story of one refugee, Nasir, and how he navigates a social and educational system that otherizes him, with the aim of "participating" on his own terms, rather than integrating on the terms of the host society.

The next narrative takes us to Greece. Lucy Hunt focuses on the experience of a sixteen-year-old Afghan refugee, Rasoul, and the obstacles he encounters in gaining an education in Greece. The narrative highlights the gap between the right to education and the nature of access and educational experiences, where for Hunt a "sense of belonging" is crucial for refugees like Rasoul to succeed.

Bhasker Kafle's piece takes us to the question of social cohesion in relation to integration in the context of Nepal. His piece is a reflection of different instances: his experience as a practitioner in the peacebuilding sector where he describes interactions with different community members; interviews with other professionals in the field of peacebuilding, governance, and conflict; and finally, his solution toward social cohesion through reflections on the importance of the teacher and the classroom.

Brian Van Wyck's piece on the West Berlin Turkish textbook project provides another perspective on education and integration. He reflects on the meaning of integration as understood by different actors during the anti-Semitism

controversy related to a tenth-grade textbook used in Turkish language classes for Turkish citizens in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in 1987. Dilek Latif's chapter on Cyprus focuses on integration in relation to internal ethnic divisions that are reinforced through school curriculum and textbooks. Integration in this piece is more aligned with inclusion across different groups. And Denise R. Muro's piece directly engages with examining "day-to-day integration" through the interaction between "newcomers" and "locals" in Berlin. Muro particularly highlights the importance of experiences beyond the classroom as well as the significance of different community settings.

The practice narratives in Part I (Chapters 1–11), *Narratives from Practice*, provide insights into understanding the different meanings of integration and education, as analyzed in Part II (Chapters 12–16), *Analytical Commentaries on the Narratives*. The authors of Part II were asked to treat the collection of narratives as a "data set" with which to critically reflect on assumptions around integration currently shaping national and international policies, identifying misalignments, misunderstandings, and new insights for the debate in academia as well as in practice.

Reflecting on the practice narratives in Part II, Mneesha Gellman illustrates the importance of "pluralism" and "peaceful coexistence" in conceptualizing integration and education. Annett Gräfe-Geusch and Johanna Okroi focus on the importance of a sense of belonging in relation to social integration and education. Tania Saeed questions the role of the host state and formal education for integration and belonging, focusing on the significance of community spaces and regional and local politics dictating whether integration is an actual goal or a political strategy. Imke Rath proposes a fundamental shift in terminology from integration to inclusion based on the practice narratives. Giovanna Modé Magalhães then explores the challenges of inclusivity in education, critiquing the historical homogeneity-focused model that has tended to exclude marginalized groups. She emphasizes the need to recognize multiple perspectives and knowledge systems beyond traditional curricula, extending beyond school boundaries and addressing social inequalities. Ultimately, she advocates for a transformative education that actively engages with diverse experiences. Finally, in their conclusion, the editors reflect on the various perspectives and insights that have come together in the volume, drawing together the diverse strands of discourse that have permeated both Part I and Part II, and what these mean for research and practice moving forward.

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Part I

Narratives from Practice

The Power of Educational Actors

Transformative Pedagogies in Contexts of Forced Displacement in Latin America

Noé Abraham González-Nieto

Introduction: Social Context and the Necessity to Analyze the Nexus of Education and Forced Displacement in Latin America

The issue of forced displacement is high on the contemporary international agenda. According to the United Nations Refugee Agency, there are 79.5 million people displaced worldwide due to violence, conflict, or persecution (UNHCR 2020a). Evaluating cases of displacement in Colombia and Mexico can provide a useful reference with which to analyze the situation in Latin America more broadly. Colombia has been experiencing armed conflict for several decades, with more than 7 million people internally displaced (UNHCR 2020b). In Mexico, forced migration occurs due to religious, political, and drug trade-related violence. Currently, there are more than 300,000 internally displaced people in the country (Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights 2020). In these contexts, education has supported displaced communities in their social development and in the construction of alternative futures and life aspirations.

Drawing on data from a two-year research project across 2018 and 2019 in Cundinamarca, Colombia, and Chiapas, Mexico, this chapter presents practice narratives of key educational actors (teachers and community leaders) from these geographical regions, explaining how they have provided transformative learning experiences to children and youth who have experienced forced displacement. The scenes presented in this text are organized according to the actors involved: two teachers from a formal educational setting (elementary

school) in Cundinamarca, Colombia (Jireh and Teresa); one community leader from a non-formal educational setting in Cundinamarca, Colombia (Luisa); and one teacher and community leader from a formal educational setting (Indigenous elementary school) in Chiapas, Mexico (Paulo).

The objective of taking a narrative perspective is to provide a platform from which these voices can be heard and considered for future discussions on the nexus of education and forced displacement while looking for meaningful and durable solutions in the sphere of education. Additionally, this chapter aims to strengthen the conversation between practitioners and researchers, and to reduce the gap between scientific and applied knowledge. Finally, these narratives constitute evidence for the ethical importance of considering actors and practitioners who themselves work and innovate in the field, as they hold key perspectives from their own experiences and represent both their own community and a wider grassroots movement.

The narratives' structures are based on the analysis and interpretation of field diaries (participant observation), semi-structured interviews, and focus groups (Clandinin and Connelly 2004; Creswell and Poth 2016). These qualitative tools are relevant when responding to the general research question of this project: How do pedagogical practices interact with the formation of notions of the future and life aspirations of communities who have experienced forced displacement in Colombia and Mexico? This text recognizes the power that educational actors have in the creation of transformative pedagogies in contexts where forced displacement is present.

Transformative Practice Narratives: Teachers and Community Leaders Who Make a Difference

Colombia and Mexico are two countries that, despite their many differences, equally face a number of shared social issues. Both societies' experiences of colonialism, social and economic divisions, and clashes between political parties have greatly influenced their historic trajectories. The populations of both the countries also struggle with multiple intersections of inequalities and realities of injustice. In this context, many experience forced displacement, as they are compelled to abandon their places of origin to survive and/or maintain their social and economic security. In this process, children and young people experience educational breakdowns that need to be considered when planning teaching and learning activities. Hence, this text seeks to answer the following

specific research question: How does education respond to the challenge of integrating communities who have experienced forced displacement in Latin America? It presents the practice narratives of teachers and community leaders who have created transformative pedagogies in their educational contexts, as they aim to create alternative futures for the groups they work with.

This narrative is built upon experiences in two schools and one communitarian setting in Cundinamarca, Colombia, and Chiapas, Mexico, regions that have experienced high rates of forced displacement. The first setting, Fortaleza Bolívar, is a single-day[1] school in Cundinamarca that provides educational activities for children from preschool to fifth grade (elementary school) in a schedule that runs from 6:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. Teachers and students begin activities early in the morning, so single-day schools can both teach children the official curriculum and give extra classes and workshops related to relevant areas for community improvement. The children eat lunch[2] at noon and use this part of the day for recess and playing with their classmates. Teachers also interact with children in multiple spaces as they divide their activities into multiple groups. According to each teacher's area of expertise, the schedule includes additional classes on the following topics: religion, physical education, mathematics, language (Spanish), and IT.

The second educational setting in Cundinamarca, Peace Builders, is a community-driven initiative for school-age girls from eight to fifteen years old. They participate in a pedagogical program composed of learning activities to promote peace, improve their community's conditions, and develop positive skills and habits. This group uses a common classroom that has been improved by *Niñas Sin Miedo* (Fearless Girls), an NGO that seeks to promote gender equality and help break the intergenerational cycle of poverty and violence. Their objective is to improve living conditions and build an alternative and possible future that recovers the community's strengths. Thus, they seek to empower each child, adolescent, and youth to transform the place they inhabit.

Finally, Florencio Villarreal is a multi-grade Indigenous school in Chiapas, Mexico, with one teacher who attends to students from the six grades of primary school. From 9:00 a.m. to noon, students study their official subjects. Paulo, the teacher, promotes an active and collaborative didactic technique when designing the learning activities. He gives preference to interaction between grades, whereby more experienced students support novice students in their development of learning processes. In curricular terms, priority is given to mathematics and Spanish, as these are the two subjects examined in state assessments. During the morning period, the teacher enables collaborative

processes in which students strengthen their bonds as a community and help others achieve their academic goals. At noon, the teacher and students have recess. Children return to their homes to eat lunch, which consists mostly of *pozol*[3] and *tortillas*. During this important family time, children spend time with their parents and share what they learned at school. Some of them, particularly girls, also use this recess to embroider traditional blouses, which are then sold in the local market as souvenirs.

These three scenarios outline the active role and political agency of key educational actors (teachers and community leaders) promoting a vision of social transformation. They develop activities to support children and youth who have experienced forced displacement, helping them believe in a different future, one with more possibilities, as well as making sure the school or communitarian setting helps achieve this objective. This piece considers the transformative educational work of four actors: Jireh and Teresa (who work in an elementary school in Cundinamarca, Colombia), Luisa (who works in a communitarian setting in Cundinamarca, Colombia), and Paulo (who works in an elementary school in Chiapas, Mexico), with each telling their stories in their own words.

Jireh and Teresa are both teachers at the Fortaleza Bolívar school. Both declare they "love" their students. Jireh has applied the "pedagogy of love" with her students, which has helped children continue their schooling and allowed her to handle varying educational needs. Similarly, Teresa says she feels like she is the "mother" of all her students. She takes care of them as if they were her own. In their life histories, Jireh and Teresa have both demonstrated "passion" and "vocation" for teaching, developed from different life experiences. Even though Teresa did not begin her professional career as a teacher (she started out working for a tourism agency), she said that entering the teaching profession has been one of the best things she could ever have done. During her years as a teacher at the Fortaleza Bolívar school, she has developed a sense of "love" toward her students and the general community. This is evidenced by some of her testimonies:

> What is it? Love. I feel it, suddenly it is the first time I can say it because few people believe it. . . . I feel, I think I am more *soachuna* than a *soachuno*.[4] I love Soacha very much. I have found many values that are not found in the city.[5]

Likewise, Jireh has felt a vocational passion for education for "more than thirty years" (field note), ever since she arrived at the school. She describes the emotional bond with her school and the community and, drawing from her "pedagogy of love," concludes that the teaching profession focuses on the future and relies on the heart. She says, "if I do my job well, thinking not only of myself,

but of that child with a future perspective, things would be different. I think this profession is more from the heart. This is for sensitive people."[6] In both cases, their students also highlight the care and love they feel when coming to Jireh and Teresa. The teachers' behavior has influenced the way children react to schooling and the futures they envision for themselves and their families.

Luisa is the community leader in Peace Builders, a community initiative in Cundinamarca, Colombia. She remembers feeling a calling toward social vocational work since childhood. Luisa can still recall when she observed how her parents helped other members of the community she lived in. In her own words: "I like working with the community . . . I already have it in my blood because my parents, when they were in the country, my dad really liked helping the neighbors. So, I think I also have that role."[7] This formative experience developed a sense of commitment to people from her neighborhood, as evidenced by her current work. She is a volunteer at several foundations and civil society organizations that work to improve Colombia's living conditions.

Difficult situations have not stopped Luisa from working to provide high-quality education and better social circumstances for those around her. On the contrary, these circumstances have motivated her to find possibilities and develop different life aspirations grounded in the needs of her community. Since the launch of Peace Builders, she has looked for help and resources from friends and family to promote the project's survival. She describes these actions in her own words:

> I had a group, for example, of sixty [children]. They gave us fifteen or twenty chairs, two or three tables. Then I had to defend myself with that. Blankets, a blackboard, they gave us, they gave us some materials. And I asked my family and my friends: Do you have old notebooks with few sheets to give them to me? Color pencils, perhaps? I was asking for all they had, they gave it to me, and I have it there.[8]

Luisa did not see these challenges as limitations. She has run Peace Builders for several years, in diverse regional settings, expanding its influence and social impact. Nowadays, she is recognized as a key community actor, both in mass media and by local neighbors, as she has helped improve the living conditions of the people around her.

Finally, Paulo has been the only teacher of Florencio Villarreal school since the community was founded in 1996. When Paulo heard about this community in Chiapas, Mexico, he was told that there were only eighteen children and that there was "nothing": people had neither houses nor a school because

they had recently experienced forced displacement and were in the process of resettlement. When he received the proposal to establish a school, his answer was "that's what I like . . . if everything is done, it has no reason to be . . . . That school interests me."⁹ And so his story began.

Paulo's functions go beyond the teaching sphere; he is also the school manager, a community leader, and a political activist. His commitment and passion have helped him achieve goals within the community. He arrived in Chiapas (Mexico) looking for something "different," a society in which people wanted to change and improve their current situation. He says that he found these characteristics in Sendero de la Luz, where he began working twenty-three years ago:

> I said "I came here to work . . . I come from a community where they do not want change. They are alcoholics, Catholics, alcoholics. When I see you and you are evangelicals, I see you want change. I saw a good opportunity for us to make history together. I am here to help you manage what you want, and I hope you can contribute with me to improve what I want for the school and for the community." The community members responded "Yes, teacher, welcome, all we want is to change."¹⁰

This excerpt shows the pivotal moment leading him to one of the biggest and most adventurous projects in his life: establishing a multi-grade school for a displaced group in Chiapas, Mexico. It was not an easy task. Reflecting upon the school's foundation, Paulo recalls: "everything I had to go through, my loneliness, my problems, conflicts alone. When I found so much doubt, I had to look out to find how to better manage our school."¹¹ Nevertheless, twenty-three years after the establishment of this educational setting, he has developed various projects and transformed the community with innovative pedagogical practices that have redefined the identity of the school. One of his former students describes him as a "brave man."¹² The student also notes that the teacher fought together with the community to improve its living conditions.

These key actors do not want to be known as the best teachers or best advocates for their area of development. They usually maintain an active role in their immediate communities but do not seek to be publicly recognized. Instead, they aim to motivate others to reach their own goals and future objectives, hoping to broaden the aspirations of the younger generations they work with. This has transformed their profile as teachers and mentors, as their approach considers both the pedagogical domain inside school and also the possibilities of working beyond this. Their sensitivity toward the social domain makes them aware of the needs children and youth have outside the educational setting and allows them to

connect pedagogical practices with the relevant needs of displaced communities. Even though they work in contexts where forced displacement and other influences on vulnerability exist, these actors create spaces in which each child is heard, valued, and treated individually. They enhance their pedagogical practice by taking into account the knowledge that each student brings from home. This knowledge can be formed by personal experiences, what has been learned in other contexts, or even the life history that has shaped the student's life.

Conclusions: Renewed Pedagogies for Renewed Practices in Contexts of Forced Displacement

Transforming practices in education also transform education itself: "(e)ducation and schooling will not be equal to the new historical challenges of the twenty-first century, that is, if we cannot discover, develop and sustain changed and new practices of education" (Kemmis et al., 2013, 3). These changes do not begin with the application of public policies or outside innovations, but from initiatives that are grounded, socially sensitive, and capable of guiding students and communities toward a comprehension of their own role in transformation. Teachers have a mediational, active, and leading role in making this a reality and ensuring the renovation of education through the transformation of its everyday practices (Duncan-Andrade 2009).

Jireh, Teresa, Luisa, and Paulo are real examples of practitioners who are committed to their task of renewing educational opportunities for children and youth who have experienced forced displacement in Colombia and Mexico. They provide a transformative pedagogy that considers contextualized issues, with an inclusive vision of future transformation (Morrow and Torres 2002). These cases are also good examples because the actors have used their own life history and experiences to develop new pedagogical practices that transform students' notions of the future and their life aspirations (Dryden-Peterson 2017; Miller 2018). In all cases, the actors had experiences during which they defined their educational vocation and values. In the case of Jireh, it was a childhood experience with her mother; for Teresa it was a dream in which God talked to her; for Luisa, it was observing her parents helping others; and for Paulo it was the decision to build a school from nothing.

These narratives outline the commitment of educational actors who are devoted to the application of transformative pedagogies to enhance communities'

lives and explore possibilities for a different and positive future. The comparative nature of this study strengthens its findings, helping clarify common issues that can be tackled from multiple perspectives and in different regional contexts. It is essential to continue this line of qualitative inquiry to improve the connection between applied and scientific knowledge. Future discussions on the matter of education and forced displacement must consider the perspectives of practitioners such as Jireh, Teresa, Luisa, and Paulo in order to create grounded solutions that are relevant for local communities.

Notes

1 In Colombian educational legislation, the *jornada única* (single day) is a strategy implemented by some educational establishments that seeks to promote students staying longer in the educational establishment every day in order to improve educational results and promote better futures for the next generation. Students receive additional classes and workshops developed according to the needs of the community (Ministerio de Educación 2022).

2 In Colombia, lunch is known as *almuerzo*. It is one of the most important meals of the day. Thus, the Colombian government has established the "*Programa de Alimentación Escolar*" (School Feeding Program) to ensure that students obtain the necessary nutrients for their daily activities (Ministerio de Educación 2023).

3 Traditional drink from the southern region of Mexico, consisting of a mixture of water and corn.

4 Demonym for the people who live in this area.

5 Teresa (teacher), in discussion with the author, September 2018. Original quote (Spanish): "*¿Qué ha pasado? Amor. Me siento, de pronto es la primera vez que lo puedo decir porque pocas personas lo creen, me siento, yo creo que más soachuna que un soachuno. Quiero a Soacha muchísimo. He encontrado muchísimos valores que no se encuentran en la ciudad.*"

6 Jireh (teacher), in discussion with the author, September 2018. Original quote (Spanish): "*Si yo hago mi trabajo bien, pensando no sólo en mí, sino en ese niño que usted sabe que es el futuro, las cosas serían distintas. Yo pienso que esta profesión es más de corazón. Esto es para personas sensibles.*"

7 Luisa (community leader), in discussion with the author, September 2018. Original quote (Spanish): "*Pues a mi me motivó porque a mi me gusta trabajar con la comunidad, siempre he trabajado con comunidad, ya lo llevo como en la sangre porque a mis padres cuando estaban en el campo, a mi papá como que le gustaba mucho ayudar a los vecinos entonces como que uno ya ese rol ya lo trae.*"

8　Luisa (community leader), in discussion with the author, October 2018. Original quote (Spanish): *"Yo tenía un grupo, por ejemplo, de sesenta (niños), nos daban quince-veinte sillas, dos o tres mesas. Entonces yo tenía que defenderme con eso. Cobijas, un tablero, nos daban, nos daban uno que otro material. Y yo con mi familia, con mis amigos decía, ustedes tienen por ahí cuadernitos viejos que les tengan hojitas que me los regalen, que el lápiz de colores . . . Todo yo iba pidiendo, me iban regalando."*

9　Paulo (teacher), in discussion with the author, February 2019. Original quote (Spanish): *"De ese es el que me gusta (. . .) si ya todo está hecho, no tiene razón de ser . . . Esa escuela me interesa."*

10　Paulo (teacher), in discussion with the author, February 2019. Original quote (Spanish): *"Yo vine a trabajar . . . Vengo de una comunidad donde no quieren el cambio, son alcohólicos, católicos, alcohólicos, y cuando veo y ustedes que son evangélicos, que quieren el cambio, vi una buena oportunidad para que hagamos historia juntos. Yo estoy para ayudarlos a gestionar lo que ustedes quieran, y espero que ustedes contribuyan conmigo para mejorar lo que quiero para la escuela y para la comunidad. La comunidad respondió: 'Sí, maestro, bienvenido, lo único que queremos es cambiar'."*

11　Paulo (teacher), in discussion with the author, February 2019. Original quote (Spanish): *"Todo lo que tuve que pasar, mi soledad, mis problemas, los conflictos solo. Cuando me encontré con tanta duda, ahí tuve que buscar salir a buscar cómo dirigir mejor nuestra escuelita."*

12　Adán (father and former student), in discussion with the author, March 2018. Original quote (Spanish): "Hombre valiente."

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Inclusive Ways of Educating and Interacting with Migrant Children in a School in Northern Chile

Questions and Contradictions

Andrea Cortés Saavedra

September is a month that people await with fervor and anticipation in Chile. From September 18 to 20 every year, a festive atmosphere takes over the country's cities. Family roasts, alcohol, and *empanadas* (patties) are central to the events, and the media focus their coverage on the so-called *ramadas* or *fondas,* where Chilean food is eaten, Chilean dances are danced, and *Chilenidad* (Chileanness) is fostered and enjoyed. These activities mark the celebration of *Las Fiestas Patrias* (the national holidays), a holiday steeped in patriotism and commonly understood as a celebration of Chile's independence from Spain. More precisely, however, it commemorates *La Primera Junta Nacional de Gobierno* (the First National Government Gathering), held on September 18, 1810. This assembly was the first autonomous form of government, established to administer and defend what was then *la Capitanía General de Chile* after King Fernando VII of Spain's capture by Napoleon Bonaparte.

Las Fiestas Patrias are celebrated in all national institutions, including schools. In September it is common to hear the question: What are your plans for the eighteenth? There are many options. Throughout Chile, municipal governments are in charge of organizing official *fondas* in municipal administration venues or giving *fonderos* (small entrepreneurs who organize sales stands for food, alcohol, and typical games within the *ramadas*) the necessary permits to organize public *fondas and ramadas*.[1] These *fondas* originated in the Chilean colonial period when people from rural areas gathered to socialize with music, dance, and alcohol. They then acquired a general civic significance, making them an

"official" manifestation of Chilean identity. In fact, the official *fonda* in Santiago, the capital of Chile, is inaugurated by the President of the Republic of Chile and other members of the governmental authorities.

The holidays of *Las Fiestas Patrias* are an institution, serving as a labor break for workers and giving them an opportunity to rest and celebrate. Knowing the importance of this national event, I was very enthusiastic to observe how it would be celebrated at the school where I was conducting ethnographic fieldwork. I asked the principal of the school under study in Iquique, a city in Northern Chile, about this celebration during our first meeting in July 2019. The principal already had the celebration included in her school calendar. Usually, schools in Chile use one school day—a weekday—in September to celebrate the *Fiestas Patrias.* On this day, students, teachers, parents, and school staff share in Chilean traditions instead of having a typical day of classes. During the year I was there, classes had been suspended because of the teachers' strike and were going to be made up over several Saturdays. Hence, the principal decided that the official day of celebration of the *Fiestas Patrias* at the school would be on a Saturday: September 14.

On this day, I arrived at school early in the morning, when the food stands were not yet fully installed. The parents of each class were in charge of preparing traditional food for sale at each stand, which they were decorating with flags and the national colors. Several mothers of the students and some teachers were dressed in the traditional Chilean *huaso* and *huasa*[2] costumes. The accompaniment to the Chilean national dance, the *Cueca*, was playing as background music.

José, one of the school's behavioral leaders,[3] hosted the event. Dressed as a *huaso*, José took the microphone and welcomed everyone. He thanked the students, parents, and teachers for participating and also dedicated special words to *extranjeros* (foreigners): "thank you very much to the *colonias extranjeras* (foreign colonies) residing in Chile for coming today and '*apoyar la chilenidad*' (supporting Chileanness)."

The phrase *apoyar la chilenidad* elicited many thoughts and reflections in me. It represented many of the daily practices that teachers used to interact with migrant students. It also illustrated how migrant identity is often constructed in contrast to an assumed homogeneous Chilean identity, or *chilenidad.* On various occasions, I was able to observe how the daily experiences of Latin American migrant children were seen as examples of social differences that had to be adjusted for the students to comply with the expectations of the Chilean school. According to teachers, this desired adaptation was a necessary step for

the integration of the students, both into the Chilean educational system and into Chilean culture. Therefore, those who were the target of integration tended to be migrant children, showing that their cultural capital was not adequate unless they were civilized. This way of educating migrant students, with adaptation as the central axis of integration, was seen in many of my observations at the school. However, as a method of socialization, it also reflected an attempt to delegitimize the associations that children not born in Chile, or whose parents were not born in Chile, had with their origins.

As part of my research[4] I went to the school daily to conduct observations and interviews, with most days spent in the classroom observing the classes and lessons being taught. I also had the opportunity to observe interactions during recess in the schoolyard, where there were fewer hierarchical encounters among students. Also, I took part in celebrations at school like the *Fiestas Patrias*, as described at the beginning of this piece. Carolina,[5] a history teacher, was one of the people with whom I had deeper and more frequent interactions during my fieldwork. I first met her on my eighth day of visiting the school. Since planning and organizing my ethnographic fieldwork, I had been very interested in meeting a history teacher in order to observe how a border area's social history was narrated, particularly in a city that had belonged to Peru in the past, and in a school that had a large number of students from Peru and other neighboring countries. I intended to observe how public, media, and individual accounts of history on the northern border of Chile would be understood and to what extent they would overlap in a diverse school. Building a relationship with somebody who taught history would prove fundamental to my six months of fieldwork.

During informal conversations, teachers expressed some concern, fear, and rejection of the foreigners residing in Iquique due to their so-called lack of integration. In other words, faced with the question of their experiences with diversity and migration, teachers used to link the presence of immigrants to the (im)possibility of their integration into Chilean society. For instance, Carolina was categorical in pointing out that the lack of integration of migrant adults was the result of not following Chilean habits and traditions. Perspectives on immigrants were strongly associated with notions of Chilean identity, tradition, and customs that should be inculcated in migrant children and their families. Likewise, the pursuit of integration through homogenization of ways of being was not only instrumental in approaching the curriculum and daily interactions at school but also incorporated cultural experiences associated with both festivities and symbolic rites commemorated in the Chilean school, such as the national holidays. During my days observing Carolina in her history classes

and spending time with her in informal conversations, I saw how the school curriculum and educational public policies could translate, or not translate, into inclusive educational practices.

Carolina usually began her classes by reviewing the content of the previous class and explaining some of the current lesson's objectives. It had previously been difficult for Carolina to get the engagement and attention of the students; the thirty-seven students per classroom challenged Iquique teachers' fortitude. However, she had since started using her voice as a strategy to maintain the students' discipline and silence while developing the content of the lessons. She knew that if she entered the classroom with a loud voice, on the verge of screaming, it would be synonymous with immediate respect. Carolina assured me that it was an infallible remedy against student chaos and inattention. She had a clear strategy to discourage the interruptions that students made with their laughs, murmurs, and parallel conversations. In comparison, her strategies for including students from diverse backgrounds were diffuse and sometimes contradictory.

Although Carolina had authorized me to observe all her lessons with three different classes, I used to wait for her at the door of the classroom before each class to ask for her consent and confirm that she was willing to be observed. She always said she did and showed no discomfort seeing me in one of her classes every day. I would wait for some students to come in before finding a free table to position myself at the back of the classroom in order to observe the class. As such, I could see the entire picture, including both the teacher and the students, without interrupting the normal course of the school day.

The fifty-one-day teachers' strike had delayed the teaching of some lessons in public schools throughout Chile, and Carolina was concerned because she was not keeping up with the school calendar. It was September, the so-called *mes de la patria* (national month), and Carolina had still not finished the contents of unit two of the four annual teaching units. The current unit was linked to the Chilean independence process and the construction of the nation, and she was teaching it at school level six, which generally corresponds to children between eleven and twelve years of age. One of the unit's objectives was to describe how Chile's territory was formed during the nineteenth century, considering European colonization, the incorporation of Easter Island, and the War of the Pacific against Peru and Bolivia that ended with the annexation of territories of those two countries to Chile.[6] Carolina found the last point difficult to address in her teaching. During one of our conversations, in which she confided in me about the exhaustion and pressure she felt in a year of strikes and internal

school conflicts, she referred to how conflict-inducing it was to talk about a war between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia in classes with students from those three countries.

She was aware of the difficulty of talking about a war between neighboring countries and its effects on the lives of the people from Peru, Chile, and Bolivia. Additionally, she problematized the possible discomfort that could be caused for Peruvian and Bolivian students when hearing the history of the War of the Pacific narrated from the side of the winner: Chile. Unlike her clear strategy to gain students' attention by using her voice, Carolina seemed to have no defined strategies to inclusively teach a complex lesson associated with intensified Chilean patriotism. This patriotism could also be observed during the celebration of the *Fiestas Patrias.* However, Carolina's process of questioning how to approach such a controversial subject may yet help create solutions to generate an inclusive education in this diverse school.

On Tuesday, September 10, 2019, Carolina arrived in the classroom in a hurry and began to write the contents and objectives of the session on the board. While she waited for the students to copy the day's key themes into their notebooks, Carolina took the students' attendance and called some of them to her table to remind them that they had work pending. As the students were slow to copy the few lines that Carolina had written on the board, she reprimanded them and permitted two extra minutes to complete the task. When the two minutes were over, Carolina got up from her chair and began the class: "today we will talk about the War of the Pacific. Does anyone know what happened in this war? Does anyone know why this war is important to our city?" Nobody answered. No student seemed interested in the teacher's words. Carolina asked again, but now with a more severe tone. A student was encouraged to answer that "Arturo Prat died in that war" (referring to Chile's greatest naval hero, who died in combat in Iquique during the War of the Pacific). Carolina nodded, and she waited for more input from the students.

As there was no further engagement, Carolina asked for a volunteer to read page 202 of the history textbook. A student volunteered, Carolina thanked him, and she waited for the other students to follow the reading. As many of them had forgotten to bring the book to school, Carolina gave them another telling-off, now for their irresponsibility. The class continued in that way, with readings and reprimands due to disorder and noise. Afterward, Carolina began to explain what the limits of Chilean territory were and where the borders that Chile shared with Peru and Bolivia were located. Carolina resumed her writing on the board and drew Chile's map with its limits before the War of the Pacific.

While Carolina turned her back, I heard one student ask another, laughing: "are you Peruvian or Chilean? Are you friend or foe?"

Carolina returned to her presentation and detailed the economic treaties of the time, the occupations of bordering areas, and how the existence of saltpeter in the area generated territorial disputes. The whole lesson was narrated from the Chilean perspective, giving an account of Chile's problems due to the disloyalty of Peru and Bolivia concerning failed territorial agreements. When close to the end of the class, Carolina dictated some questions that synthesized the key content that the students were supposed to have learned during the session. A student tried to answer the teacher's first question and a student from the back of the classroom shouted, "You don't know it, because you are Peruvian." Several students burst into laughter and Carolina continued to dictate questions for the class. After a few minutes, Carolina concluded as follows:

> Let's remember that no war is good. Although there are winners, the human and material losses are always greater. We must learn from the War of the Pacific so as not to make the same mistakes. If we analyze it well, we are in a classroom with Chilean, Peruvian and Bolivian children without making differences and living well, without resentment. We remember this war in order to not make mistakes and live in peace. It is you all, the children, the future generations, who are in charge of teaching your children and grandchildren that we can overcome these disputes and live in peace.

The bell's sound indicated that it was time for a fifteen-minute recess, and the students hurried out of the room.

Weeks later, in a conversation with Carolina, I mentioned this episode. I learned that she had wondered if the reflection she shared with the students made sense to them or if they were just silent because there were only a few minutes left before the end of class. She told me that as she did not have pedagogical tools from either the Ministry of Education or local governments to give a holistic view of the war, her strategy was to reflect on how painful and sad wars are and emphasize that conflicts should not separate Chileans, Peruvians, and Bolivians. At that moment, I thought to myself that it could be useful to have visiting teachers from different backgrounds present to provide new perspectives, allowing a multifaceted approach to the lessons. I did not mention it to Carolina because I knew it was an idealistic proposal, completely irrelevant to the reality of a diverse, poor, and vulnerable school situated far from Santiago, in a country where resources, power, and knowledge are centralized in the capital.

Two months later, in December, I conducted a semi-structured interview with Carolina where I asked her about her opinion on migration in the northern regions of Chile and the arrival of migrant students at school. Carolina indicated that for Iquique, it was not a novelty to receive migrant students: having migrant students was part of the northern identity in a border area where there has always been mobility between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. However, she did emphasize that "the arrival of foreigners is [currently] massive." Carolina also referred to the school's experience with migrants and said:

> We have a Peruvian teacher in this school. This caught my attention and, personally, I don't understand how a Peruvian teacher will teach Chilean history. It bothered me when the Peruvian teacher came here. And I didn't understand how she was going to teach the history of Chile, because two plus two in all parts of the world are going to be 4. But in Peru they don't teach you the history of Chile, at most they teach the War of the Pacific, but from their perspective.

The bell rang again, signaling the end of recess. My school day would continue with Carolina as she taught a new grade: a level eight course for thirteen-year-old students. Carolina entered the classroom and began to write the contents and aims of the lesson on the board. The subject of the lesson was cultural syncretism and the process of evangelization of Indigenous people by Spanish priests in the colonial period. As usual, I was located at the back of the room, taking notes in silence.

Carolina asked the class to copy out the information and questions that she had written down on the board, and for each student to individually read the content of the history book and answer the questions in their notebooks. Many students had not brought the book, but Carolina did not reprimand them for their irresponsibility. Many students decided not to comply with the assigned tasks in the class, and Carolina did not complain about the lack of obedience. She sat down and began reviewing tests and writing marks in the class book. Half an hour later, Carolina announced that she would go to check table by table if they had completed the task and added that she would give an extra credit mark on the next test to those who had completed the task. Most students were quick to answer the questions and shared their responses, except for Esther, a student of Haitian origin. Esther was lying on her table with her eyes open, not following Carolina's instructions. On many occasions, I saw Esther in class unable to complete her homework because she did not speak Spanish. I tried to communicate with her during school recesses, but she only shook her head in denial, indicating that she did not understand my words. I tried a few times to

speak to her using a translator, but Esther would smile, put headphones on, and walk away.

That day, September 10, Carolina began to review the assignments of each of the students in the class. However, when she got to Esther's seat, Carolina looked at Esther out of the corner of her eye and continued on, without giving her the opportunity to do anything, without even a gesture to communicate. Esther followed Carolina with her gaze, observed her for a few seconds, and laid her head back on the table, but now with her eyes closed.

The celebration of the *Fiestas Patrias* at school and José's recognition of foreigners supporting *Chilenidad*, deepened my reflections on the construction of Chilean identity and led me to question what it means to be Chilean in Chile today. The call to glorify *Chilenidad* and to respect typical traditions no longer seemed as comfortable to me as when I had been a student at a school in Copiapó, another northern city in Chile, and saw these celebrations as a patriotic duty. To me, Saturday, September 14, was an example of the problematic understandings of integration present in Chile and Chilean schools. The migrant participants, both parents and children, were valued for their support of being Chilean, but were positioned as guests, foreigners supporting an identity that did not involve them. This form of interaction used to integrate "others" can be understood as unidirectional. Migrants are integrated into an existing, deep-rooted tradition, which is unlikely to be questioned because it forms part of the identity common to a specific and exclusive group within the school community.

During the celebration, José invited children, parents, and teachers to participate in typical Chilean games in the schoolyard. Then the dancing began. A group of girls performed choreography based on *Cueca* steps that had been created and prepared by Ingrid, a physical education teacher. Then came the *Cuecas* in couples. Three pairs of children of different grades and ages danced the same song twice. It was a dance that I already knew. On previous days I had seen how these three couples rehearsed each dance step in the school playground and how their teacher guided the neatness of their movements. The *Cueca* is traditionally danced in couples and represents a conservative interpretation of flirting. The couple made up of a man and a woman look for each other, avoid each other, and get closer, repeating these phases with rounds and other rhythmic and specific movements. These marked phases of the dance had been practiced by the children dancing over and over again, reinforced by the teacher.

After the performances ended, the dance floor was opened for couples to participate. In the beginning, there was not much engagement. It seemed more attractive to go to the stands in search of what little food was left. When I saw

that the dance space had become more crowded, I went back to observe. A teacher approached me to introduce herself. She had been told about me and my project by the teacher in charge of the library and was interested in meeting me. She had not attended the meeting where I officially introduced myself in July. More than asking about my research, she told me about her life, her job, and her family. In a moment of silence, we both stopped to look at the dance floor and she commented that "Walter, the Peruvian boy, dances *Cueca* better than Chileans." Then she smiled with a knowing look.

Days later, I went to visit the official *fonda* of the city of Iquique. I took a taxi and told the driver where I was planning to go. When we were already on the way, the driver criticized my request with annoyance. He told me that I was not going to find a Chilean *fonda*, but that I was headed for an event for foreigners, "because Chileans are the minority in the fondas of Iquique" and that "they were not even selling Chilean food anymore, but it was all full of Colombian *arepas*." I looked at him for a few seconds in the rearview mirror, took out my cell phone, and remained silent for the rest of the journey. My interaction with the taxi driver evidenced the widespread idea that Chile has been filled with migrants and that even in a patriotic event like the *Fiestas Patrias* where Chilean identity is celebrated, Chileans would no longer be the majority living in the country. The arrival of new migrants to Chile, and in particular, Iquique, and their visibility in schools and public spaces interpellated Chileans, who receive these new subjectivities in differentiated ways. Although there has been a constant mobility of people in Iquique, given that this city is located near the border with Bolivia and before the War of the Pacific, it belonged to Peru, the belonging of migrants to Chile will be stratified according to their origins. Thereby, in spaces such as schools, where daily encounters occur, although discursively, the integration of students from diverse origins is sought, the social and symbolic boundaries that seek to maintain assumed key features of the (imagined) national community will continue to persist.

Notes

1   Fondas and ramadas are temporarily installed establishments that have spaces for dancing and where traditional Chilean food and beverages are sold.

2   Huaso and huasa are the traditional Chilean country persons. They wear traditional attire. During the national holidays, these clothes are worn by Chileans to dance the Cueca, a Chilean traditional dance.

3   A member of staff in charge of managing the order and discipline of the students.
4   This chapter is based on ethnographic material from my PhD thesis.
5   As part of my ethical commitment to respecting the participants' anonymity and
    privacy, all names used here are pseudonyms.
6   After the War of the Pacific (1879–83), Iquique, which belonged to Peru, was
    annexed to Chile.

Learning as Rohingya in Myanmar

IDP Camps and Educational Attainment in Temporary Learning Centers

Jessica Gregson

The lights of the Pauktaw IDP (internally displaced persons) camps are visible from Sittwe at night, but they are not easy to reach. The first challenge is to get travel authorization (TA) from the Rakhine State government, which is far from straightforward: permission has to be sought monthly, for specific people and specific activities, and the rules change often and without warning. Even when TA has been granted, Pauktaw is a riverine and coastal area made up of many islands and islets with few roads. The closest IDP camp, Ah Nauk Ywe, can only be reached by hiring a speedboat from Sittwe to travel across the Kaladan River, but the shallow mangrove coast means that speedboats cannot come all the way inland. Instead, the speedboat has to anchor in the shallows, while a wooden boat is sent out from the camp to collect any visitors. Even the wooden boats cannot go all the way to shore, and visitors to Ah Nauk Ywe are required to wade through shallow river water and mud for anywhere between twenty minutes and an hour—depending on tides—to access the camp.

The camp is home to nearly 5,000 people, Rohingya from Central Rakhine who have been displaced from their homes in the outbreaks of intercommunal violence in 2012 and 2017. They are just a few of the estimated 130,000 Rohingya living in IDP camps in Rakhine State, of which around 30,000 are children, in addition to around 470,000 living in villages, and 1 million who have crossed the border into Bangladesh as refugees. Despite international voices seeking durable solutions for displaced Rohingya and the Government of Myanmar launching a national camp closure strategy in December 2019, Rohingya inside Myanmar still lack freedom of movement and a path to citizenship, leaving them in a position of extreme vulnerability. While some Rohingya IDP children are able

to access government schools from the camps where they live, this is not the case for the majority. Most children cannot access governmental schooling due to numerous financial, administrative, sociocultural, and security-related barriers. As a result, temporary learning centers (TLCs), supported by international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), are the only form of schooling available to the significant majority of Rohingya children living in IDP camps. These TLCs provide education from kindergarten to fourth grade, following the government curriculum, carried out by volunteer teachers, most of whom have limited qualifications and have been trained by INGOs.

The TLCs are in poor condition. Construction is tightly controlled by the government, the camp authorities, and landowners, and space is at a premium: in the case of Ah Nauk Ywe, the camp is sandwiched between estuarine mangroves and a small mountain, with limited room to expand. During the dry season, fires in camps are sadly common, as people build flimsy informal structures to house growing families, so a single stray spark from a cooking fire can spread rapidly. The TLCs are essentially temporary in nature, with walls made of woven bamboo and roofs of corrugated iron. The coastal Rakhine State is highly subject to seasonal cyclones and flooding, and the TLCs need to be repaired every few years.

Inside the classrooms, the children are generally eager to learn, and the teachers make up for what they lack in training with enthusiasm and commitment. Many of the teachers are young, having grown up in IDP camps themselves, depending on TLCs and informal tuition classes for their own schooling. Many have no education beyond eighth grade, the end of middle school. When teaching, they face additional language challenges, as the formal curriculum is based on the Burmese language, with no materials available in Rohingya, or even Rakhine (Arakanese), the predominant language of the state. In other parts of Myanmar, ethnic armed groups have established systems of education carried out in the mother tongue of the region. However, this does not exist in Rakhine, either for the Rohingya or for the dominant Rakhine ethnic group, not to mention for other minority ethnic groups in the state.

Further issues exist with the content of the curriculum. Walking into a TLC classroom in late 2019, I found an extract from an English language lesson written on the blackboard. The excerpt included the words "last Sunday, I went to the pagoda. It is the Shwedagon Pagoda . . . I went there with my family by car. We worshipped [at] the pagoda. Then we offered flowers and candles at the pagoda. We stayed there for some time and came back home in the evening. We were very happy." Not only is this content unrelatable for children learning in an IDP

camp, with no access to cars, but the extract also offers a specific understanding of what Myanmar culture is, associated with Buddhism—Shwedagon Pagoda is the most famous Buddhist site in Myanmar, located in Yangon—and thus implicitly excluding the Muslim Rohingya, who have been displaced in large part due to their religious adherence, which marks them as "other" in the eyes of the state.

Enthusiasm for schooling is highest among the younger years, with enrollment in kindergarten being on average four times higher than in fourth grade, with dropouts being seen disproportionately among girls. These rates of dropouts may be linked to the lack of perceived opportunity: both for education and for employment. When asked, both children and parents express uncertainty about the role of education in their future. Parents voice concerns about the future employability of their children, stating that even educated Rohingya boys aren't able to get jobs, and can only earn money through small businesses, while girls have even less of a chance. Children often have high hopes for their future—one girl says that she wants to be a doctor—but without the opportunity to access education beyond tenth grade at the very highest, and extremely constrained opportunities after fourth grade, it is hard for most students to see how they can reach their goals from their current situation.

This situation is exacerbated by the Government of Myanmar's plans to close IDP camps across the country, which were set out in official strategy documents in late 2019. This policy is being implemented without durable solutions for displaced Rohingya, including freedom of movement and citizenship, with the assumption that displaced Rohingya will be "resettled" on or near their current sites of displacement, with services provided by the government rather than by INGOs. While there has been some indication that the government will build new schools to accommodate displaced Rohingya children, there have not yet been any moves toward this, nor any moves toward making the few schools that currently exist close to the site of IDP camps accessible to displaced Rohingya children, who face a number of bureaucratic, financial, and social challenges to integration. Nor are there clear plans in place for how these schools will be staffed; the Ministry of Education acknowledges a national lack of teachers, and this is particularly prevalent within the Rohingya community, as Rohingya—who have long been denied citizenship—lack access to tertiary education, including teacher training. Moreover, while some Rohingya villages have government schools in place, there is reportedly widespread and long-term absenteeism among the teachers, who are primarily from the Rakhine ethnic group.

One Rohingya village administrator reports that in his village, teachers have not attended since the outbreak of the ethnic violence in 2012, and no replacement teachers have been sent, despite assurances from the Rohingya in the village that they would guarantee the teachers' safety. Instead, the teachers have been unofficially replaced by people from the village, who lack any form of teacher training. It also now falls to the community to raise funds to cover a small salary for these teachers, despite the national policy of free primary education for all. Although the children from this village are not displaced, they are not less disadvantaged in terms of access to education than the IDP children in the camp next to the village. In some ways they are even more disadvantaged as the volunteer teachers in their school lack even the basic support and training that INGOs have provided for the camp-based teachers. The village children also face severe restrictions in access to education beyond fourth grade—although there is a post-primary school nearby, it is in a Rakhine village, and the local education administrator has forbidden Rohingya children to access the Rakhine school due to concerns about security, despite assurances from both Rakhine and Rohingya villages that they are eager for their children to learn together.

In the face of these overwhelming difficulties, it is hard to see how long-term improvements can take place for the Rohingya within Myanmar: both within the specific context of education and in terms of their broader situation. However, there are some glimmers of hope. There have been gradual increases in enrollment numbers in TLCs over the years, and demand for education among Rohingya communities appears to be increasing, with IDP camp management agencies receiving increasing numbers of complaints about the length of time schools have been closed during the Covid-19 pandemic. There has also been an increase in educational attainment, with IDP children receiving a number of the highest marks in the 2020 national fourth-grade examination. There is also some limited evidence of increasing use of student-centered approaches in TLC classrooms, as compared to government schools, possibly because IDP teachers have less to "unlearn" in terms of teacher-centered approaches. While the wider challenges faced by the Rohingya may seem insurmountable, these small-scale successes offer a reason for hope and show the potential for gradual change in educational opportunities for Rohingya communities.

The Role of Education in Integrating Refugees into National Systems

The Case of Ethiopia

Teshome Mengesha Marra

Introduction

This practice narrative draws on my research on refugee education, integration, and possible conflicts among refugees and host communities in various parts of Ethiopia. It aims to investigate the role education plays in integrating refugees into host communities with a particular focus on specific refugee camps. I seek to address two guiding questions as part of the investigation: What role does education play in integrating refugees into national systems? And further, what are the challenges that hinder the processes of integration of refugees into national systems through education? In order to explore these questions, I draw upon a variety of primary and secondary data sources. The former includes observations of selected refugee camps, informal interviews, and focus group discussions. Those who participated as part of the data collection were refugees, migrants, host community members, and a variety of educational experts. After collecting this data, the participants' responses were then analyzed qualitatively. Secondary data was gathered from reports and various documented sources and analyzed accordingly.

Refugee Education: Theoretical Concepts

Education is not only a fundamental human right but also a key catalyst for personal and societal development. This is particularly relevant when considering

the education of refugees, a vulnerable and marginalized population grappling with displacement and often residing in precarious conditions. Theoretical concepts surrounding refugee education provide us with valuable insights into the principles, challenges, and potential solutions that shape this critical domain (Rutter 1998: 121–5).

Refugee education, at its core, is a multifaceted endeavor (Pinson and Arnot 2007: 109–16) that intersects with various disciplines, including education, psychology, sociology, and international relations. It navigates complex terrain, balancing the rights and needs of forcibly displaced individuals with the capacities and responsibilities of host nations and international organizations. This chapter delves into the theoretical underpinnings of refugee education, seeking to unravel the conceptual frameworks that guide its practice and illuminate its broader social implications. I explore key theoretical concepts that shape our understanding of refugee education (Pécoud 2020; Osler 2015; Newman 2006; Equitas International Centre for Human Rights Education 2018), including human rights and access to education, psychosocial well-being, cultural sensitivity and inclusion, social cohesiveness and conflict transformation, transnational education, and global responsibility and solidarity. The right to education is enshrined in international human rights law, and this extends to refugees. Theoretical discussions emphasize the importance of upholding this right for displaced populations, highlighting the role of education in preserving human dignity, promoting empowerment, and fostering social inclusion. Displacement often results in trauma and psychological distress for refugees. Theoretical frameworks in refugee education address the psychosocial needs of learners, emphasizing the role of education in providing stability, structure, and emotional support. Theories of cultural relevance and inclusivity are pivotal in refugee education. Recognizing the diversity of displaced populations, these concepts guide educators in developing curricula that respect and incorporate refugees' cultural backgrounds, languages, and identities. In divided societies, education can either increase existing tensions or create social cohesiveness. Theoretical approaches to refugee education investigate how curricula and pedagogy can promote reconciliation and peacebuilding. Because refugees often maintain ties to their countries of origin, transnational education theories address how educational programs might bridge the gap between host and home countries, allowing refugees to eventually reintegrate into their home communities. Finally, the ethical and moral aspects of refugee education are also included in theoretical discussions. They look at who is responsible for ensuring that

displaced populations have fair access to education, including host countries, international organizations, and host nations themselves.

We obtain a thorough knowledge of the intricacies and difficulties that underlie refugee education by looking at these theoretical ideas. These ideas also serve as a framework for the creation of programs and actions intended to offer high-quality education to refugees, understanding that it is both a foundation for their future and a driver of peace, stability, and prosperity in the nations they will eventually call home.

Contextual Features of Refugee Education

Refugees in Ethiopia generally live close to their countries of origin, either in or near to one of the country's twenty-six refugee camps, found in five regions of Ethiopia: Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz, Gambella, Somali, and Tigray. With the exception of Tigray, these regions are considered the least developed in the country. They face a lack of basic service provision, not only for refugees but also for hosting communities, such that the arrival of refugees in these regions brings added complexities with respect to resource distribution.

Children of refugees in Ethiopia attend either refugee or host community schools. In various regions of the country, refugee students living in camps are obliged to attend refugee schools administered by the Agency for Refugee and Returnee Affairs. Children who live outside these camps must enroll in schools attended by the children of the local community, as there are no separate schools for refugee children outside the camps. At the secondary-school level, the situation is different. There are very few separate refugee-specific schools, but a greater number of schools follow a mixed approach. There are some secondary schools near refugee camps that serve both refugee and host community children, which are mainly run by religious organizations such as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. There are also schools administered by local governments where refugee children from both inside and outside the camps learn together with children from the host community.

Curriculum and Facilities

All schools follow the national curriculum, which is created with various levels of regional specificity depending on the stage of education. For instance, the primary-school curriculum is prepared by the relevant regional education bureau

and uses the regional language as the medium of instruction. This means that textbooks used for teaching refugees are based on the local languages of where the refugee camps are located, not necessarily the languages spoken by the refugees themselves. In contrast, the secondary-school curriculum is created at the federal level: it is prepared by the Ministry of Education and distributed to every region across the country. Hence, all refugee students follow the same curriculum, irrespective of their location. As English is the medium of instruction at the secondary level in Ethiopia, refugee students face comparatively fewer language barriers during their schooling. Tertiary education does not distinguish between refugees and students from host communities, providing no separate curriculum or medium of instruction for refugee students at university or in Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) programs. Even though only a very small number of refugee students are able to enter tertiary education, many of those who do enjoy better and safer educational environments than in primary or secondary school.

Refugee school facilities face multiple problems. Schools at all levels are supposed to follow national educational standards set for student-teacher ratio, student-class ratio, and student-textbook ratio. However, almost all refugee-centered schooling systems do not fulfill these minimum standards. For example, in my fieldwork, I observed an average school classroom size of 140 children per teacher. There were almost no textbooks used, other than a guide used by the teacher to deliver lessons. Due to the special circumstances of displaced populations, refugee school infrastructure frequently faces major difficulties. These obstacles may prevent refugee children and teens from receiving a high-quality education. Some of the typical problems faced in the implementation of refugee education in Ethiopia (FDRE 2016; Ministry of Women and Social Affairs of Ethiopia 2018) and potential solutions are summarized below:

1. Overcrowded classrooms: Refugee schools frequently lack appropriate space, resulting in congested classrooms that make it challenging for students to concentrate and for teachers to offer effective instruction. To alleviate overcrowding, constructing more classrooms or expanding already existing buildings would be a potential solution. In addition, in order to accommodate more students, temporary learning facilities like tents or prefabricated buildings might be used.

2. Inadequate facilities: Many refugee schools lack basic amenities such as good sanitation, safe drinking water, and safe spaces for children to play, which can have a negative influence on students' health and well-being.

A possible solution would be to invest in infrastructure improvements such as the construction of suitable bathrooms, the installation of clean water sources, and the development of safe playgrounds, working in conjunction with humanitarian organizations to obtain funds and support for these projects.

3. Limited access to technology: Access to technology and the internet is critical for education in the digital era. Many refugee schools, however, lack the necessary equipment and connectivity. Establishing computer laboratories or mobile computer stations in schools and providing internet connectivity where it is practical to do so can minimize the risks that arise from such problems. Furthermore, donations of discarded or reconditioned gadgets can assist in closing the technological gap.

4. Inadequate teacher training: Because refugee instructors may have little training and few resources, the quality of education delivered may suffer. Providing opportunities for professional development for teachers, such as training in pedagogical approaches, trauma-informed teaching, and intercultural education, is crucial in this regard. This can help teachers better fulfill the different requirements of refugee children.

5. Language barriers: Because refugee children frequently speak various languages, learning in a new language of instruction can be difficult. Where possible, providing language learning programs such as intensive language training and bilingual schooling and hiring qualified language assistance personnel in the school system can alleviate these challenges.

6. Concerns about safety: Conflict and insecurity can jeopardize the safety of both students and teachers in refugee schools. In order to create safe learning environments, affected institutions should work with local authorities and humanitarian organizations. Preparing for potential dangers by implementing emergency response plans and drills can also minimize these risks.

7. Lack of learning materials: Access to textbooks, school supplies, and educational materials is limited in refugee schools. Making textbooks and learning resources available to students, encouraging donations and collaboration with organizations that can supply these resources, and investigating digital resources that may be accessible (both online and offline) can help to ameliorate these issues.

8. Transportation challenges: Many refugee students experience transportation challenges, particularly in rural or overcrowded refugee camps. To reduce lengthy commuting distances, schools can provide

transportation services or create adjacent schools and, where possible, encourage cycling and other alternative local transportation.

9. Inconsistent funding: Refugee schooling frequently relies on funding from humanitarian organizations, which can be unpredictable and insufficient. Therefore, lobbying governments and international donors for consistent and predictable support for refugee education is undoubtedly an important factor in overturning this issue. Furthermore, creating long-term education programs that take refugee populations' needs into account should also be a priority.

10. Inclusion and diversity: Students at refugee schools may come from a variety of cultural and educational backgrounds, necessitating the use of inclusive teaching practices. Hence, encouraging inclusive education approaches that consider the needs of students with disabilities, children with special educational needs, and students from varied cultural backgrounds would improve the situation.

Generally, to address these infrastructure issues in refugee schools, governments, humanitarian groups, and the international community must work together on a multifaceted approach. Refugee education may become a more effective instrument for integrating refugees into national systems, empowering displaced populations, and helping them reconstruct their lives by investing in infrastructural upgrades, teacher training, and access to educational materials.

Factors Preventing Optimal Learning

Several factors work against achieving optimal learning results in refugee schooling. First and foremost, access to high-quality education remains a substantial barrier. Many refugees are displaced in resource-constrained areas where competent teachers, proper learning resources, and safe educational environments are scarce. Language limitations are also a significant issue, as migrants frequently must adapt to a new language of instruction, limiting their comprehension and involvement. For instance, in the Gambella Region, children from South Sudan are obliged to complete their primary and junior secondary-school education in Amharic, but it is difficult for them to understand Amharic at the beginning of their attendance. Such language barriers are also common in the Somali region, Benishangul-Gumuz, and

Tigray, as most refugees have a mother tongue quite different from the language of the host community.

Furthermore, the trauma and psychological anguish that many refugees endure as a result of conflict, displacement, and loss might impair their capacity to focus and engage in learning. Repeated migration and instability undermine the continuity of schooling for refugee children, making academic advancement difficult. Finally, host-country discrimination and social stigma can isolate refugee populations, limiting their access to education and perpetuating cycles of inequality. Addressing these multifaceted challenges is critical to ensuring that refugee education actually serves as a road to a better future for displaced people.

In addition, conflicts between refugees and host communities sometimes hinder refugee education. A complex interplay of circumstances can lead to conflicts between refugees and host communities. Competition for resources, such as housing, jobs, and public services, is a major cause of discontent and conflict between the two communities, placing further strain on the already scarce resources of the vulnerable host communities. Cultural differences and misunderstandings between the two groups may also play a role, causing tension in everyday relationships. Furthermore, the view of migrants as outsiders can promote prejudice and discrimination, exacerbating social tensions. In some circumstances, the host country's political or economic instability can exacerbate these disputes, as both refugees and host communities seek to protect their own well-being. Addressing these problems necessitates proactive efforts on the part of governments, humanitarian organizations, and local communities to create social cohesion, economic opportunities, and cultural understanding, hence encouraging more amicable coexistence between refugee and host populations. That being said, there are also positive interactions between the two communities, including the efforts made by the refugee population to participate in all aspects of the social activities of the community on an equal footing.

The Role of Education in Integrating Refugees into National Systems

National systems (Holmes 2014) refer to the comprehensive and interconnected networks of policies, institutions, and infrastructure that a country develops

to govern and manage various aspects of its society and economy. These systems encompass a wide range of sectors, including education, healthcare, transportation, governance, finance, and social welfare. National systems play a vital role in shaping a country's development, as they determine how resources are allocated, services are delivered, and regulations are enforced. The effectiveness and efficiency of these systems can have a significant impact on a country's general well-being, economic progress, and social stability. National systems are profoundly ingrained in a country's history, culture, and government institutions, and they are always evolving and reforming as societies develop and adapt to new challenges and possibilities.

Refugee integration into national systems is a multifaceted process aimed at facilitating the seamless inclusion of forcibly displaced individuals and families into the host country's social, economic, and cultural fabric. It involves the incorporation of refugees into various national systems, such as education, healthcare, employment, and legal frameworks, to ensure their equitable access to opportunities and services. Successful refugee integration contributes to social cohesion, diversity, and the overall strength of the host nation. This process often begins with legal recognition and protection of refugees' rights, including access to asylum, work permits, and education.

Language and cultural orientation programs can help bridge communication gaps and foster a sense of belonging. Employment initiatives and vocational training are pivotal for economic self-sufficiency and contributions to the host country's workforce. In the long term, refugee integration into national systems should aim to create an environment where refugees are not only recipients of aid but also active participants in the social, economic, and civic life of their new home, enriching the nation's cultural fabric and contributing to its resilience and growth. Effective policies and societal acceptance are essential components of successful refugee integration, reflecting the shared responsibility of both the refugees and the host country in building inclusive, diverse, and thriving communities.

The global refugee crisis (Demata 2021; Cuttitta 2017) has brought to the forefront the importance of effective integration policies and practices in host countries. While several factors contribute to the successful integration of refugees, education plays a pivotal role in facilitating their seamless inclusion into national systems. Education empowers refugees by providing them with essential skills, fostering social cohesion, and contributing to the economic development of host nations. In the following section, I explore the multifaceted

role of education in the integration process and highlight its significance for both refugees and their host communities.

Education as a Pathway to Empowerment

Education is a fundamental human right and a powerful tool for empowerment. For refugees, access to quality education offers a sense of normalcy and stability in times of upheaval. It provides a safe and structured environment for children to learn, grow, and heal from the trauma of displacement. Moreover, education equips refugees with the knowledge and skills needed to make informed decisions about their future, whether in the host country or upon return to their home country. For adult refugees, education can serve as a pathway to better employment opportunities, economic self-sufficiency, and increased autonomy.

Promoting Social Cohesion

Education plays a critical role in fostering social cohesion between refugees and the host community. By integrating refugee children into local schools, opportunities for cultural exchange and interaction among students of diverse backgrounds are created. This exposure to different perspectives helps break down stereotypes and prejudices, promoting tolerance and understanding. Inclusive educational environments teach children valuable life skills such as empathy, communication, and conflict resolution, which are essential for building harmonious societies. Teachers, too, can play a pivotal role in promoting social cohesion by instilling values of diversity and inclusion in their classrooms.

Facilitating Economic Integration

Economic integration (Cushman 2012) is a central aspect of refugee inclusion in national systems. Education is a key driver of economic self-sufficiency among refugees. When refugees acquire relevant skills and knowledge, they become better equipped to find meaningful employment and contribute to the host country's workforce. This not only benefits refugees themselves but also eases the burden on social welfare systems and fosters economic growth in the host

nation. In this way, education becomes an investment in the future prosperity of both refugees and their host communities.

In my field observations, I saw the many ways in which refugees and host communities interact. Learning at school opens doors and helps refugee children interact with their host communities. When refugee children first arrive at a host community village, they are obliged to take part in different social activities, understand the host culture, learn the local language, and follow various local norms and values. The process of school admission, though conducted at the individual school in question, also allows them to become part of the national school system as all data are passed on to the national administration.

As some of the respondents indicated to me, refugee children registered in local schools have an opportunity to learn the psychological norms of the host community. For instance, in the Benishangul-Gumuz region, refugee children from Sudan are admitted to primary and secondary schools and have to practice the social norms of the local community. The local community elders (clan leaders) organize events where individuals speak and share their own experiences and practices. Here, school administration officials at various levels arrange events that help refugee children adapt to the pattern of the national education system. In addition, multiple co-curricular activities take place in the school compound, enhancing refugee children's learning experience.

Conclusion

The role of education in integrating refugees into national systems is undeniably pivotal. Education empowers refugees by equipping them with essential skills, fostering social cohesion through cultural exchange, and contributing to the economic development of host nations. However, it is not without its challenges, including language barriers, access to quality education, trauma-related obstacles, legal and administrative hurdles, cultural adjustment, financial constraints, discrimination, and displacement-induced disruptions to their lives. Recognizing and actively addressing these challenges are essential steps in harnessing the full potential of education as a catalyst for refugee integration. By prioritizing inclusive policies, resource allocation, and creating welcoming educational environments, nations can provide refugees with the tools and opportunities they need to become productive and engaged members of their new communities. Ultimately, education serves as a bridge toward building more inclusive, diverse, and resilient societies, benefiting both refugees and their host nations.

Recommendations

Based on the observations, data, and theoretical dimensions outlined in this chapter, I summarize below some practical recommendations regarding the role of education in integrating refugees into national systems:

1. Early access to education. Ensure that refugee children have immediate access to quality education upon arrival in the host country. This can be achieved through special programs, language support, and the removal of bureaucratic barriers to enrollment.
2. Language acquisition programs. Implement comprehensive language acquisition programs tailored to the needs of refugee students. Proficiency in the host country's language is crucial for academic success and social integration.
3. Inclusive curriculum. Develop an inclusive curriculum that incorporates diverse perspectives and histories, promoting a sense of belonging among refugee students and enhancing cultural understanding among all students.
4. Teacher training. Provide training and support for teachers to effectively work with diverse student populations, including refugees. This includes training on culturally sensitive teaching methods and trauma-informed practices.
5. Psychosocial support. Offer psychosocial support services within schools to help refugee students cope with trauma and mental health challenges resulting from conflict and displacement.
6. Integration programs. Establish integration programs that encourage interaction between refugee and host community students. These programs can foster mutual understanding, tolerance, and friendships.
7. Recognition of prior learning. Recognize and validate the prior educational achievements and skills of refugee students, ensuring they are not placed in inappropriate grade levels or educational tracks.
8. Vocational training and higher education. Provide access to vocational training and higher education opportunities for adult refugees, equipping them with skills that lead to economic self-sufficiency and community contributions.
9. Parental involvement. Encourage parental involvement in their children's education, offering support to parents who may not be familiar with the host country's education system.

10. Public awareness and anti-discrimination campaigns. Launch public awareness campaigns to promote acceptance and combat discrimination against refugees within the host community.
11. Flexible education pathways. Recognize that refugee students may have irregular educational backgrounds due to displacement and offer flexible education pathways to help them catch up and integrate smoothly.
12. Collaboration with NGOs and international organizations. Collaborate with NGOs and international agencies specializing in refugee education to leverage resources, expertise, and best practices.
13. Access to scholarships and financial aid. Ensure that financial barriers do not prevent qualified refugee students from pursuing higher education by providing scholarships and financial aid opportunities.
14. Data collection and monitoring. Establish data collection and monitoring mechanisms to assess the progress and challenges faced by refugee students, allowing for evidence-based policy adjustments.
15. Policy coordination. Promote interagency coordination and collaboration between government departments, educational institutions, and refugee support organizations to create a holistic approach to refugee education.

By implementing these recommendations, countries can harness the transformative power of education to facilitate the successful integration of refugees into national systems, creating inclusive, diverse, and resilient societies.

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"There Is No Future Here"

Refugee Youth, Resettlement Tunnel Vision, and Barriers to Integration

Sally Wesley Bonet

Introduction

I arrived at the teacher's lounge and found the eleventh and twelfth graders sitting around the tables where teachers usually had their meals together. I had already met many of these students during my ethnographic observations in their classrooms over the past few weeks, but this would be the first time I spoke to them as a group. I was looking forward to this focus group because it would allow me to speak with the students directly, outside the confines of their classrooms, and without the presence of their teachers. I came to the semi-structured focus group with some questions but was also intent on hearing what the students wanted to share with me. I pulled up a chair and introduced myself, first in Arabic and then in English. Unlike their younger counterparts, these students were not surprised when I spoke with them in the Sudanese dialect of Arabic. They must have heard from their peers or their teachers that an American researcher of Sudanese descent was conducting research at the school for a few weeks.

The students that I was about to speak to attended Cairo Christian Academy (CCA), one of the many refugee schools scattered across the sprawling city of Cairo. Established in 1995, this K–12 school serves nearly 300 Sudanese refugee students, of whom 90 percent are Christians and 10 percent are Muslims. Since its inception, the school has exclusively employed Sudanese refugees: all teachers, staff, and administrators are Sudanese refugees, a source of pride for

all school stakeholders. Most of the students and teachers hail from the Nuba Mountain region, an area of Sudan that continues to be unstable and conflict-ridden. The school is supported by a variety of sources: the UNHCR provides educational grants to the students, while Catholic Relief Services provides teacher training and textbooks. The bulk of the funding is raised by the school board, which consists mostly of American and European expatriate members of a local international church. The board is charged with acquiring donations to provide for teachers' salaries, rent for the school property, a free daily meal for each child, and school materials. Students are exempt from all fees and tuition costs, but are responsible for the cost of transportation to school. Most students who attend the school live nearby and hence face low transportation costs. The school teaches the Northern Sudanese national curriculum, as required by the Egyptian government. The school also covers the $100 (US) fee for students to sit for the Sudanese national secondary exit exams: an exorbitant fee for most refugees attending the school.

Having grown up in Egypt myself, I was interested in the educational experiences of Sudanese refugees. I was born in Sudan but had lived in Egypt for several years before emigrating to the United States as an adolescent. While my family's class privilege had permitted me to attend both American and British private schools in Egypt, these students have had fewer educational choices. Even though the Egyptian government technically recognized Sudanese citizens' right to public education in 2001; since then it has done little to provide or ensure educational access. In fact, the government has created policies to ensure that Sudanese and other African children are excluded from national schools (Dryden-Peterson et al. 2019). Problematic policies, such as the requirement that refugee families provide residency permits, effectively exclude many refugees from public education as relevant documents can be extremely difficult to procure (Godziak and Walter 2013). Other barriers include school-related expenses and fees, which are unaffordable for most refugee families. Racial prejudice poses an additional barrier to education for Sudanese refugee children. Sudanese students have reported repeated instances of racist discrimination and harassment in public schools at the hands of Egyptian teachers and students alike (Godziak and Walter 2013; Moro 2002). As a result, many families have chosen to keep their children out of Egyptian public schools—which constitute the only affordable choice—in an effort to protect their children from harm. In response to this dearth of educational opportunities, faith-based institutions have created tuition-free, private schools like CCA.

Methodology

My research aims to answer the following question: How can faith-based, tuition-free refugee schools—specifically those that teach secular/national curricula and are open to students of all faiths—shape and affect students' future life chances, as well as their ability to integrate successfully into the societies of neighboring countries? To answer this question, I use CCA as a case study. My multi-leveled ethnographic engagement with CCA began in the summer of 2017 and continued through the winter of 2019. The data for this piece comes chiefly from a focus group that I conducted after my first few weeks at the school, in January 2017. My data sources also include daily observations of classroom instruction and semi-structured interviews with teachers, counselors, and administrators. In addition, I collected relevant school documents, including curricular materials such as copies of textbooks, disciplinary contracts between teachers and students, absence forms, copies of the school mission, and other important school documents posted around the school building. My interviews and focus groups were conducted in Arabic and audiotaped, then transcribed and translated into English.

Throughout the data collection process, I conducted a preliminary analysis by identifying emergent themes that guided future data collection. At the end of the data collection period, I began the open coding process, reading field notes of classroom observation as well as transcripts of interviews and focus groups in a line-by-line manner in order to identify preliminary themes. Next, codes were refined and narrowed in order to conduct a fine-grained analysis, giving way to categories that helped me develop ideas and theories to address my research questions. Finally, I subjected relevant documents to content and thematic analysis (Bowen 2009) to better understand the aforementioned research question.

Findings

High-Quality Schooling

I began this ethnographic project after my involvement in a four-year, inter-university project that examined the experiences of Syrian refugee children in Lebanese public schools. Based in a public early-childhood school in Beirut, the research team was particularly interested in how Lebanese teachers met

the socio-emotional needs of children whose families had fled the ongoing conflict and violence in their native country. We observed that teachers, who were overwhelmed by growing numbers in classes and a lack of adequate professional development to help them deal with the unique needs of refugee children, struggled to attend to students' socio-emotional needs. Teachers appeared to be more focused on the behavior of the children, insisting on silence and obedience, often through scolding, yelling, and shaming (Abu El-Haj et al. 2018).

When I arrived at CCA, it quickly became clear that this school was quite different from the one at the center of our project in Lebanon. CCA teachers spoke to the students with care and concern. Students spoke comfortably with their teachers, evidenced by my regular observation of teachers and students laughing together both within and outside of the classroom. In their interviews, teachers shared that they felt a deep sense of responsibility toward their students, as they were all members of the same refugee community. Motivated by their Christian values, teachers framed their students as "gifts" or "treasures" that they had been entrusted with, likening them to their "own children." In an interview, Mr. Jonathon, the school principal, shared that "The teachers and the administration here, we are all aiming at one goal. We want to teach these kids. We want them to be someone, someday in the future." Students, in turn, reported similar sentiments. Those who had attended other schools spoke of the uniqueness and high quality of CCA, citing the fact that their teachers respected them as evidence. Ramez, a twelfth grader, stated:

> This is a good school. It's better than a lot of the other schools around. You can tell the teachers actually care. They show up. They're prepared. They teach us, they grade our homework. Here it is more peaceful. There is no yelling. No one is threatening to hit you. The teachers, they are nice, so we are good too.

Positive relationships between teachers and students were only one feather in the school's proverbial cap. CCA is also respected within the Sudanese refugee community as a rigorous academic institution. Sudanese secondary students sit for two cumulative national exams, one at the end of eighth grade and the other at the end of eleventh grade. Their exams are sent to Khartoum through the Sudanese embassy to be graded and are returned via the embassy as well. CCA has boasted the highest number of secondary students who have passed this (pass/fail) exam in the past several years. This has brought teachers and administration immense pride, as it evidences the school's high quality.

Structural Barriers: Racism on Egyptian Streets

In my first focus group with students, I was primarily interested in learning about their perspectives on the school, their future aspirations, and how their education might allow them to achieve their goals. While most of the students spoke positively about the school and the education they received there, this did not seem to give them much hope for the future. In fact, much of the conversation during the focus group revolved around the various structural barriers that students faced on a daily basis. The first of these barriers was the daily dehumanization Sudanese students experienced on Egyptian streets. In spite of the high quality and success of CCA, students were not protected from the racism, discrimination, and harassment that awaited them outside the school's walls. Male students were regularly involved in fights started by Egyptians. However, when crowds gathered round, or if taken into custody by police, the Sudanese students were always blamed, simply because they were not Egyptian. According to many of the female students, the situation was even worse for women. Elham, an eleventh grade student, stated:

> They [Egyptians] follow you and harass you. Sometimes they will even try to put their hands on you, and because you are Sudanese, if you call out for help, no one will come. So you have to keep your head down, walk fast, and try to get away from them because you know that no one will help you.

Scholars have argued that Egyptian women experience an extraordinary amount of daily sexual harassment on the street (El-Ashmawy 2017), varying from incessant catcalls that often include violent and sexually explicit speech, to being touched and groped on streets and public transportation, to rape: sometimes committed in public and by more than one individual. Elham's testimony, however, draws attention to the fact that Sudanese women are even more vulnerable. Even tried-and-true strategies like calling on strangers to help a woman in distress—on which I myself relied as a young woman in Egypt—are not likely to work, as the general public views Sudanese refugees as second-class citizens. Fully aware of these realities, the school administration has made several attempts to protect their students. At one of the school assemblies that I attended, all students were urged not to loiter after school, and the male students were told to walk with the female students to the nearby public bus stop. In spite of these efforts, students reported experiencing consistent threats and violent incidents.

Students were not the only ones facing this harassment. Ms. Hanan, the Arabic teacher, spoke with me about her own experiences:

> We have difficulties because of our color. We are Black, and our skin color is the reason we are treated differently. We face this in the streets, every day.

Even as a woman in her mid-fifties, Ms. Hanan was not immune to harassment. She spoke of young men following her, taunting her, and calling her names. When I asked her how she coped with these incidents, she echoed the strategies Elham had shared: ignore the taunts, avoid eye contact with the perpetrators, and walk away quickly. She admitted that these coping tactics were difficult to use when the threats became physical. As she walked, pedestrians often threw garbage or soda cans at her. Once, as she was crossing the street, a minibus driver swerved from one side of the street to where she was, aiming directly at her, only to turn sharply at the last minute as she ran in terror. No member of the Sudanese refugee community is immune, regardless of their age. This is their daily reality in Cairo: the everyday indignity of anti-blackness.

Structural Barriers: The Lack of Opportunities in Egypt

In spite of the school's high quality and academic performance, there were still some undeniable truths about what lay ahead for graduates. According to the principal of CCA, among the eight students who passed the national secondary exam in 2019, only one student was planning to (attempt to) attend one of Cairo's public universities. It was simply too costly for the rest. Even among high-achieving students, there seemed to be a gap between their achievement and their ability to translate this success into real opportunities in Egypt. Joel, an eleventh-grade student, shared:

> Many of my friends stopped going to school. They saw their older siblings go to school, which is hard work. And then they graduated, but couldn't afford to go to college. And even if they did go to college, what would they do if they had a degree? I mean look at the Egyptians. They have degrees and they can't find work, so how would that work for us?

While Joel had personally committed to his schooling and was set to take his national exam a mere few months after he participated in the focus group, he was all too aware of the obstacles ahead of him. Public universities are not tuition-free for Sudanese citizens. University fees, although relatively low compared to the exorbitant fees of many private universities in Egypt, are still out of reach for most refugee families. There is an estimated unemployment rate of 12 percent for Egyptian nationals, rising to 30 percent within the youth

bracket (Abdel Ghafar 2016), even for those who are educated. Joel understood that opportunities for Sudanese youth are even fewer.

This reality was also confirmed by Joel's teachers. In my interviews with teachers, most cited the lack of adequate educational opportunities as one of the greatest struggles facing the Sudanese community. Most jobs available for Sudanese refugee women in Egypt are as domestic workers, working long hours for little pay, in parts of the city far from their homes. Employment opportunities for Sudanese men are even more limited, as they compete fiercely with Egyptian nationals for work as custodians, domestic workers, factory workers, and drivers. According to teachers and students, so-called respectable jobs at refugee schools or NGOs are few and far between. In spite of their daily search for work, many of the students' fathers were unemployed, leaving the family to rely on their mothers' income. Following the 2015 devaluation of the Egyptian pound, one income has not been enough to support a refugee household, and refugees face food and home insecurity at alarming rates.

Resettlement Tunnel Vision

As a result of the lack of opportunities, as well as other obstacles, students spoke of resettlement as the only way out of their current situation. Curiously, even students who seemed committed to their schooling and were deemed most academically promising by the teachers shared this perspective. Phoebe, one such student, commented that

> Many of my [refugee] friends don't even bother going to school. And honestly, I don't blame them. I mean, even if I *do* pass the national exam, what am I going to do? What is my future here? Everyone knows that the only real hope is resettlement. So sometimes I wonder, what is the point of school anyway?

Phoebe was identified by her teachers as one of the brightest students in her class. She spoke English fluently, took her studies seriously, and rarely missed a day of school. She was expected to pass the Sudanese secondary national exam—an accomplishment that few students achieve. And yet, in spite of her dedication and hard work, Phoebe expressed a grim outlook on her future. Acknowledging the barriers that lay ahead of all Sudanese refugee youth living in Egypt, regardless of individual effort, Phoebe questioned the promise of education, turning instead to resettlement as the only source of "real hope." Phoebe was not alone in this opinion. Joel, the student who spoke of the lack of opportunities for Sudanese youth, agreed, concluding:

> There is no future here. Abroad there can be a future, but not here.
> Phoebe: There, if you get a degree, if you work hard at school and go to college, it means something. You can do something with it, not like here.

Both Phoebe and Joel firmly believed that the only real hope lay in resettlement, declaring that returns on investment in education could only exist elsewhere. The students' preoccupation with resettlement was confirmed by their teachers. Ms. Hanan stated:

> The problem is that sometimes, the students, they put their minds all on resettlement, resettlement, resettlement! And as a result, they forget about their duty, which is to attend to their schooling and to do their homework. I tell them: "You should stay focused, do your work, and then your turn will come. But in the meantime, you need to do what you are meant to do, which is to focus on your schooling. You should stay and work hard until your time to leave has come."

Many teachers, like Ms. Hanan, were frustrated with students' all-consuming thoughts of resettlement. I call this focus on resettlement as the main way out of one's current situation "resettlement tunnel vision." Such tunnel vision may be detrimental to refugees. Less than 1 percent of refugees are resettled globally, and resettlement tunnel vision can arguably create a sense of false hope. It can lead to a refugee investing in an uncertain future while deemphasizing the desire to act in one's present. According to Ms. Hanan, youths' resettlement tunnel vision was negatively affecting their ability to be fully present and to focus on the task at hand: their schooling.

Many students, faced with these structural barriers, decided that the efforts required to continue their education were ultimately not worth it. What I found curious was the fact that top students like Phoebe and Joel continued to work hard at their studies, in spite of their pessimistic visions of their future. This led me to ask them:

> If you all are hoping to go somewhere else, why do you continue coming to school?
> Phoebe: Because it will prepare us better for when we travel. If we have a good education here, then we can just keep going to school there. It is for our future.

With an awareness of the obstacles ahead, these students conceptualized their current education as an investment in the future, a future centered on resettlement. This hope, this vision for their life, served as motivation for students to continue putting in the daily time and effort into their schooling.

For students like Phoebe and Joel, part of what drove them to succeed was actually the same phenomenon that teachers deemed problematic. In this sense, resettlement tunnel vision can help refugee youth survive their current realities, as they aspire to new worlds. Arguably, resettlement tunnel vision can be a source of comfort and even resilience, allowing refugees to imagine a different future for themselves in spaces rife with conflict, loss, and instability, allowing them to hope for a better future—which is key for refugees' overall well-being and adjustment (Yohani and Larsen 2009).

Conclusion

The students at CCA were fortunate enough to attend what they considered to be a high-quality school. At CCA, students were taught by caring, hard-working teachers who respected their students and wanted to help them achieve their highest potential. In addition, students received free tuition, school uniforms, and school supplies, and received a nutritious meal every day. Attending CCA could be considered a best-case scenario for the refugees. However, they continued to face daily indignities of dehumanization, including racism and discrimination at the hands of Egyptians. Students were also all too aware of what awaited them after graduation. As many of them could not afford to attend college, they were likely to face the same fate as their parents: searching for employment in an increasingly difficult/ever-tightening job market and trying to survive in an economy plagued with rising inflation. Given these realities, it is understandable that students experienced resettlement tunnel vision.

While teachers framed it as problematic, resettlement tunnel vision also acted as a motivator for successful students and as a general source of hope. However, given the reality that less than 1 percent of refugees worldwide are resettled to countries in the Global North (UNHCR 2023), one must wonder: What will become of these students when this hope runs dry? As countries in the Global North continue to close their borders, choosing deterrence and containment policies that keep refugees from moving beyond neighboring countries, the likelihood of resettlement for refugee youth becomes slimmer. What will happen when they too, like their parents, languish in Egypt year after year?

Much of the literature concerned with refugee education has rightfully argued for the importance of ensuring that refugees have access to quality educational opportunities and that education be included in the response to humanitarian crises. Schools are important spaces for refugees. In addition to

facilitating academic advancement, they are key sites for critical psychosocial and socio-emotional support, especially in contexts rife with violence (Abu El-Haj et al. 2018). While educational provision is an important goal, this chapter considers another question: What are the limitations of a focus on educational quality in contexts where the future life chances of refugee students are already predetermined? As other scholars have argued, school quality, individual effort, and even academic success amount to little in contexts where students' chances are circumscribed by the barriers that surround them (Bajaj 2009; Bellino 2018; Poole and Riggan 2020). For students like Phoebe and Joel—who, in spite of their hopes for resettlement, will probably reside in Egypt for the foreseeable future—their circumstances have not improved as a result of their education.

This reality demands that those concerned with refugee education make a shift. While we continue to demand that refugee children have access to quality educational opportunities, we must go further. We must advocate for policy changes that would facilitate the translation of these educational opportunities into future prospects for refugees within their various contexts. Currently, 76 percent of the world's refugees live in low- and middle-income neighboring countries (UNHCR 2023), which often struggle to provide social services to their own nationals, let alone to refugees (Dryden-Peterson et al. 2019). Hence, we must look beyond the micro-level of individual schools to better the lives of refugee youth. Countries in the Global North must reckon with the colonial and imperialist legacies of conflicts that have displaced today's refugees and take responsibility for them by opening their borders to refugees. Hosting countries, which are already stretched to their limits, need more support from the countries in the Global North currently following policies that keep refugees out of their borders (Collier and Betts 2017). Furthermore, hosting countries must reckon with the racism, discrimination, and anti-Blackness that textures the lives of refugees who reside within their borders, and make policies that both protect Black refugees and better integrate them into their respective societies (Magdy 2020). To make lasting, substantial changes in the lives of refugee youth, we cannot simply accept today's common-sense policies. These policies cause them to languish in neighboring countries for protracted periods, barring them from actual chances to better their lives. We must recognize that schooling is but one of many rights that refugee youth deserve, and that without addressing the structural barriers that fetter their lives, education will not lead to true integration.

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Experiences of Syrian Refugee Students in Turkish Higher Education

Nasir's Story

Melissa Hauber-Özer

Introduction

Due to its proximity to conflict, an open-door policy, and its position on the route to Europe, Turkey now hosts more refugees than any other country, including nearly 3.6 million from neighboring Syria (UNHCR 2020). Turkey has incorporated hundreds of thousands of displaced children and youth into the national education system, and as of the 2018–19 academic year, approximately 27,000 Syrians under temporary protection were enrolled in Turkish universities (Department of Migration and Education in Emergencies 2020). This accounts for 6 percent of Syrian young adults in Turkey (Yıldız 2019), twice the global average of refugees in higher education (UNHCR 2019b), indicating that Turkey has been relatively successful in integrating this so-called "lost generation" at the tertiary level.

While this is indeed an indication of success, it stands in stark contrast to the 20 percent higher education enrollment rate in prewar Syria (Yavcan and El-Ghali 2017) and the 33 percent of Turkish young adults who complete university (OECD 2019). Several scholarships have been opened to Syrian students in Turkey, funded by international nongovernmental and civil society organizations and used to cover the cost of preparatory language courses and living expenses (SPARK 2019; UNHCR 2019a). However, Syrian young adults in Turkey who manage to enroll in university face numerous ongoing difficulties, particularly limited Turkish language proficiency, discrimination, and financial stress (Akbasli and Mavi 2019; Hohberger 2018; Kozikoğlu and Aslan 2018).

The study from which this story is drawn employed critical ethnography to examine the experiences of a group of Syrian young adults enrolled in Turkish universities while under temporary protection status. Using a critical theory lens and Norton's (2013) investment framework, I turn the spotlight from barriers faced by refugee students to their personal characteristics and the strategies they use to overcome challenges in their educational journeys. Layered ethnographic and narrative analysis (Carspecken 1996; Riessman 2008) revealed a common story arc running through the eleven in-depth interviews conducted. Their stories began with a literal and figurative crossing into Turkey and Turkish society, *Geçiş*, followed by *Hazırlama*, a period of preparation for university, primarily learning Turkish and studying for and taking the entrance exam for foreign students, known as *YÖS* (*Yabancı Uyruklu Öğrenci Sınavı*). Upon beginning university, each participant faced a period of struggle, or *Mücadele*, as they grappled with the linguistic demands of university, a new sociocultural environment, subtle or overt racism, and financial difficulties. Then, through a combination of personal strengths and interpersonal and institutional supports, the students experienced a transformation, *Dönüşüm*, that enables academic success and, ultimately, participation, *Katılım*, in Turkish society on their own terms. Through individual narrative portraits (Smyth and McInerney 2013), I sought to communicate how each participant navigates challenges, invests in their goals, and advocates for themselves and fellow Syrians. This chapter focuses on one such portrait: Nasir's story.[1]

Nasir: The Mediator

Nasir opts to complete his interview in Arabic, so Samar, my key informant, joins us on the video chat to interpret for me. Nasir is twenty-seven and has medium-length dark hair and a slow smile. He exudes a calm, thoughtful demeanor. He seems shy at first, but once he starts talking, his words flow easily. Samar deftly relays his answers to me and my follow-up questions to him, but I wish I understood more Arabic because I feel the depth of his story is getting lost in translation. First, let's allow Nasir to introduce himself:

> I am a very quiet person. I listen and do quietly, more than I speak. My personality helped me in making good relationships with the professors and Turkish students. This made me a good mediator between the Syrian students and Turkish students who trusted me a lot and gave me anything related to the classes, like notes or books.

Nasir provides evidence of this self-appointed mediator role at several points in his story.

Geçiş: Crossing

Nasir is from Aleppo, where he finished high school and started university, studying English literature at the University of Aleppo. He arrived in Turkey in 2014 at the age of twenty-one, settling in the border city of Gaziantep. Gaziantep province hosts over 600,000 Syrians (DGMM, 2020) and has become a hub for international NGO activity in Turkey and northern Syria. As a result, the province offers extensive programs and resources for Syrian asylum seekers but has also seen rising levels of local resentment.

Hazırlama: Preparation

Nasir is determined to continue his education in Turkey, but his transition has been marked with distinct challenges and several overlapping barriers. He summarizes the difficulties he has faced:

> The first challenge was the financial situation. I could pass it if I knew that I would enter the university and just study. But in addition, I have to deal with other difficulties, such as dealing with professors, officials, and racism. And because of that, I decided to complete and restart from the beginning. I love English literature, but I couldn't study it in Turkey because it's not allowed for us to study in this department at Gaziantep University.

Because the Turkish public university system is nationally regulated, more desirable and higher-status departments have strictly limited admission. As a result, Nasir is not able to continue studying English literature in Gaziantep. In addition, although there are procedures for transferring credits from Syria to Turkish universities, Nasir is not able to obtain his records from Aleppo for a mixture of economic and security reasons. As a result, he has to start over as a first-year student:

> I tried to get my official documents from the University of Aleppo, but I could not get them because of the bad security situation and because they demanded a lot of money as well. I could take the high school diploma to enter Gaziantep University without any special exam. I entered the university here in Turkey in 2017 with my Syrian [high school] diploma. Now I am a student in Gaziantep

University in the department of Turkish language and literature. In 2018, the university decided not to accept foreign students without the YÖS exam.

Although other universities required it earlier, Nasir notes that he did not have to take the YÖS university entrance exam for foreign students when he entered university in 2017. This highlights the frequently changing and inconsistently implemented national policies directed toward Syrian students. Nasir does, however, have to overcome the language barrier, which he is achieving through his own effort rather than attending a course:

> I tried to learn the language myself. I listened to a lot of Turkish songs to improve my listening skills. In addition, I watched Turkish movies and series too. I tried to make conversations with Turkish people to improve my speaking skill too. By the way, I can speak Arabic, Turkish, English—but not so much— and Kurdish too.

It's particularly impressive that Nasir has learned enough Turkish on his own to major in the language. In this excerpt, he identifies himself as multilingual. Notably, this is the only time Nasir mentions his Kurdish identity, which is not considered an asset in Turkish society.

Mücadele: Struggle

In his early days at the university, Nasir struggled more with worries about social dynamics—possibly related to his ethnicity as well as his nationality—than with the language. Here, he describes his efforts to belong, notwithstanding his worries about racism:

> Turkish students look to me in a positive way. From the first moment I entered university, I tried to make a good impression on everyone here. I try to belong with the Turkish students and make short conversations with them. I do not try to make long conversations with them to not turn to racist issues. I try to attend all conferences and events that happen at the university; this makes me more involved in the general atmosphere of it. I try to help the Syrian students here too.

Similarly, Nasir relates his attempts to overcome discriminatory attitudes and behaviors among faculty members:

> I work hard to improve my relationships with professors as well. I had some problems with the professors in my first year at the university. Professors tried

to exclude the Syrian students: they did not answer their questions, they did not help them. One time I asked the professor a question, but he did not answer me. I repeated my question, but he did not answer me, and he told me that the Syrian students do not understand anything, therefore, he would not tire himself answering or explaining. After the class had finished, I went to the professor's office, but he kicked me out when he learned that I was Syrian.

Nasir's efforts to participate in his classes were met with overt racism, but this did not deter him. He explains that student affairs officials discriminate against Syrians but not against other international students:

The student affairs officials deal very well with foreign students, but when the issue comes to the Syrians, they deal with them badly. I know some Syrian students who have left the university because of the bad way that the student affairs officials work. They did not allow some Syrian students to confirm their registration at the university, and they canceled their registration. The students were forced to leave the university and did not complete their education.

Dönüşüm: Transformation

In fact, this pointed exclusion motivates Nasir to challenge negative perceptions of Syrians in Turkish society and to prove himself through academic success and extracurricular involvement:

After that, I decided that I would work very hard and challenge these difficulties to convey the correct image of the Syrian students to the professors and everyone in the university. In terms of not accepting Syrian students, I tried to strive and follow the lessons in an organized manner, and to increase my activities inside the university by presenting ideas, implementing projects, participating in activities, and organizing a drawing exhibition, along with joining the student gatherings inside the university.

Nasir's efforts are effective, as he explains with pride; his hard work not only led to a passing grade in the course mentioned above but also forced the racist professor to change his opinion about Syrian students:

At the end of that year, the professor told the Turkish students about me and said: "this Syrian student is a good example of the Syrian students who were able to succeed in this class." His class is very hard, and not every student is able to succeed in it.

Nasir offers another example of overt racism he experienced when dealing with professors:

> There is another professor who had a difficult style in dealing with Turkish and Syrian students. We had an exam in his class, and I could solve all the questions. I expected to get at least 80% on this exam, but the professor gave me just 5%. I visited his office and asked him to see my exam paper. He said "Nasir, there is nothing wrong with your paper, but I will make you fail the exam because you are Syrian." I could not pass this class in the first 2 years of my university, because he promised me that I would not pass this class. I did not care about what he said; I just kept trying and studying.

He also illustrates how discrimination distinguishes ethnically Arab students from ethnically Turkic (*Turkmen*) Syrians:

> I have a wide network of relationships and many friends at the university. My colleague, who is a Turkmen, was exposed to a racist position which was a little different from what happened to me. Actually, almost all of my friends have been exposed to situations similar to those that I had. One day a professor came to my friend and asked her if she is an Arab or Turkmen. She told him that she is a Turkmen. He told her to come to his office and he will give her 100% on the exam, and he will give the Arab students 0%.

These examples demonstrate how Nasir has persisted, investing in his education and advocating for fellow Syrians despite—or because of—the hostile sociocultural environment of his university.

Katılım: Participation

Nasir has begun participating in his community through volunteer work:

> I volunteered in the Red Crescent and joined the Gaziantep youth association, and, in short, that made me close to this Turkish society. I learned about Turkish history and Turkish culture, so I increased my volunteering to be in direct communication until I present something in the name of Syria that helps change the prevailing and popular thought patterns. I participated in organizing the international cooking festival that was held in [Gazi]Antep over the course of three days in 2018 and 2019. I joined a volunteer group associated with the World Culinary Organization, which created an event at Gaziantep University. Because of that, I was able to get to know Syrian and foreign chefs from different parts of the world, and I was able to try many different foods.

Figure 6.1. International Student Forum painting exhibition. Photo © Melissa Hauber-Özer.

This event is a particularly relevant way of getting involved in the local community because of Gaziantep's reputation as a city of gastronomy. Nasir chose to volunteer at this event in order to integrate into his community more strategically, showcasing Syrian cuisine and connecting with chefs from many different places. He goes on to illustrate how, after learning to advocate for himself with his professors, he has used his mediation skills to resolve conflicts on behalf of other Syrian students:

> And there was a Dutch government organization that offered scholarships to Syrian students at Gaziantep University, and the mediators between Syrian students and the government agency are Turkish employees who dealt very badly with the students. So, I spoke with the Turkish employees to be the mediator between them and the students, in order to relieve the students.

In addition, Nasir has taken a leadership role, organizing an art exhibition (see Figure 6.1, participant-provided photograph) to improve perceptions of Syrians in Turkish society. He explains:

> Also, last year, at the International Student Forum, I organized a painting exhibition and gathered talented Syrian students who created paintings that we displayed in this exhibition. I also have a talent for drawing. A group of Syrian students at Gaziantep University met together to form a beautiful picture of Syrian culture and thought. All the students study different specializations, but the talent for drawing emanates from within them, so they came together around a common love. They drew various paintings expressing their feelings about living under the conditions of war and the discrimination that is practiced

against them. The students participated to say that we possess culture and an artistic sense despite the conditions of war that are hurting us from the inside. Some of them lost brothers, others lost fathers, and some lost fathers, brothers, and mothers. They participated from the heart of the storm that burned their country. A lot of the time, university is considered merely an achievement and success in exams, but the matter is completely different. The university can gather minds, ideas and differences to give a mixture of everything.

It is notable that Nasir's approach is based on highlighting the talents and experiences of Syrian students, rather than encouraging assimilation or emphasizing similarity. He explains that "in a voluntary and calm manner, it increased integration in Turkish society." Through academic success, mediation, and self-representation, Nasir aims to disrupt negative perceptions of Syrians in Turkish society in general and his local community in particular. He explains these perceptions as resulting partially from displaced young Syrians' disconnection from their culture and values:

My first goal was to change the image of the Syrians for the Turkish people and change the way that they are dealing with them. Turkish people meet Syrian students who were very young when they left Syria, students who do not know anything about Syrian society, its culture and lifestyles. Because of that, the Turkish had a wrong idea about the Syrians.

He also notes the role that the unique context of Gaziantep plays in this dynamic:

The universities on the Syrian border are not bad because of the Syrians, but the issue is the nature of Turkish society in these areas. The people here are different in culture, education, tribal customs, and traditions. And when you go to the west of Turkey, the status of Turkish society changes as a result of its openness to the cultures of Western countries.

Interestingly, Nasir's explanation contrasts with other students' experiences of racism in the larger, more Westernized, and metropolitan cities of Istanbul and Izmir. In other words, local context may well contribute to a hostile environment, but discrimination occurs throughout Turkey, albeit in different ways.

Nasir explains how his volunteer work also serves as a way of investing in qualifications for future career options:

I am a volunteer in several Turkish organizations: one of them is the Turkish Red Crescent. I like working in these areas. My main goal is working in the teaching

sector. When I graduate, I will not be able to work as a teacher directly, so I will work in humanitarian organizations at least, to be able to work in teaching.

Nasir is aware of the limitations he faces in entering the teaching profession in Turkey and is preparing an alternate route to working in education: the humanitarian sector. He once again emphasizes the need to mediate interactions and advocate for Syrians. He sees this as an important part of education:

> I believe that the basis for building societies and creating generations starts with education. I have many thoughts which I want to circulate in society. I'm going to write books with ideas aimed at raising awareness and the right ideas in society. I plan to change the wrong ideas about the Syrian society too. After graduation, I will work in a humanitarian organization, and to be a good and active member in the organization from now I am currently studying in the Institute for First Aid and Disaster Management along with Turkish literature. Through this, I am achieving part of what I want, which is to work on the humanitarian side. Then I will turn to work on the educational side.

Conclusion

Integration in the nation of asylum is the default outcome for the vast majority of the world's forced migrants (Marlowe 2018; UNHCR 2020) and likely will be for the majority of Syrians in Turkey. In many cases, integration policies are poorly defined and may even encourage one-way adaptation—assimilation— into the host society at the expense of refugees' cultural and linguistic resources and individual goals (Ager and Strang 2008; Marlowe 2018). As we see in Nasir's story, however, rather than passively adapting to a new context, refugees draw on personal and community resources to navigate challenges, rebuild ruptured social networks, and create new identities necessary for more stable futures (Crisp 2010). We see that Nasir's goal is not, in fact, integration, but rather participation. He invests time, effort, and talent into creating opportunities for himself and other Syrians to push back against discrimination and participate in Turkish society on their own terms. Although he is well aware of the social and structural constraints Syrians in Turkey face, they do not deter him. Instead, he finds and creates alternative paths to recognition and participation.

This calls into question the assumption that refugee-hosting nations should aim for integration. Perhaps a concept like belonging, which encompasses the "multiple aspirations associated with integration, social cohesion,

and participation in a new host society" (Crisp 2010: 1), would be more appropriate. Rather than marking a supposedly linear journey from exclusion toward the presumed goal of integration, belonging illuminates "a personal experience that simultaneously occurs within socio-spatial forms of inclusion and exclusion" (Marlowe 2018: 33). In contrast to integration, this construct more accurately addresses the personal experiences of many refugees who are seeking to build new lives in settings that are often transitory or hostile. Policymakers, civil society organizations, and other stakeholders need to reconsider what the default outcome of "integration" looks like in practice and what refugees' goals actually are. The best way to do so is by listening to the stories of refugees.

Note

1   The portrait is written in present tense to transport the reader into the moment and bring the story to life.

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The Role of Education for Social Cohesion in Nepal

A Practitioner's Reflection

Bhasker Kafle

Introduction

Identity politics has been one of the major issues pushing the agenda of federalism in Nepal ever since a peace agreement between the Maoists and the then-government was signed in 2006. In this chapter, I try to understand social cohesion and conflict dynamics within Nepal, especially after the constitution was promulgated in 2015 and the country transitioned from a unitary mode of governance to a federal setup. More specifically, I aim to explore the role of education in creating social cohesion in Nepal.

Nepal has witnessed armed conflict take the lives of thousands of people and displace hundreds of thousands more. The period from 1996 to 2006 was characterized by a Maoist rebellion against the state, after which there have been several political and identity-based movements, both in the Tarai, a southern lowland region bordering India, and in the eastern region of Nepal (Pherali 2015). Following the peace agreement of 2006, the promulgation of the constitution, and the elections of three tiers of government, the country has entered into a post-conflict situation (Dahal 2016). With respect to schooling, Pherali and Garratt (2014) argue that educational reconstruction in the Nepali post-conflict situation must consider the notion of identity as part of a measured process to correct the legacy of ethnic, linguistic, and caste-based marginalization in Nepal.

In this chapter, I reflect on my experiences from a practitioner's point of view, having worked in the peacebuilding sector for the last fifteen years. Social cohesion has cultural, political, educational, and economic aspects, among others. It can also be divided into horizontal and vertical dimensions. I argue that, in the

context of Nepal, social cohesion is usually understood in terms of its horizontal dimension, which refers to social trust, pluralism, and interdependence between citizens. Discourse in Nepal neglects the vertical dimension of social cohesion, which relates to the state–citizen relationship, including state institutions such as the police and official administration, and hence to the process of integration, such that a state must be inclusive to be cohesive. I also reflect on the role of education for social cohesion in the post-conflict and federal context of Nepal. In addition to my own experience, studies conducted on social cohesion in other contexts are also relevant here. For example, Halai and Durrani (2018), writing about Pakistan, found that teachers subscribe to assimilationist approaches to social cohesion. These are aligned with curriculum texts and promote official nation-building agendas, leaving issues of social cohesion peripheral to the core academic curriculum.

Reflections from Personal and Professional Experience

Scene 1

Ram (name changed) voted during the December 2017 provincial and federal elections in Nepal. There were two candidates in the provincial seats for each of the federal parliament constituencies. He voted from Kathmandu, where a senior political leader had contested the federal election. As such, he knew the two competitive candidates for the federal parliament seats and could choose one of the two. However, for the provincial election, he did not even know the names of the major political party candidates contesting the election. Just a few months earlier, there had been an election for local government units which had seven ballots on a single paper. This meant he had to choose seven candidates from among political party representatives and independent candidates. Here, he voted for the only candidates he knew.

Ram's case was that of a person who had recently migrated to the capital, Kathmandu. He did not have a social network and was not aware of who the people contesting the election were. It can be assumed that the situation is different in villages where people have lived in one place for a long time and know each other well. However, this story highlights one of the challenges of integration and democratic participation for a person who has internally migrated or been displaced. This is one of the difficulties of creating social cohesion while a country is in transition to federalism in a post-conflict

context. Still, by using his agency and participating in the election, Ram was taking part in democratic processes. This is a social practice which, in the long run, shapes social structure and is an important aspect of strengthening the vertical dimension of social cohesion. This example also reflects the scenario that can be similar in the context of integration when a family migrates to another country.

Scene 2

In 2017, I was working as a consultant with an international organization, coordinating and organizing electoral violence prevention dialogues. I was in Inaruwa, the district headquarters in the Sunsari district, home to the Madhesi people living in the Tarai, who among other groups were demanding that their grievances be addressed in the constitution before the local elections were held. A local partner of the international organization had invited multiple stakeholders, including political parties, civil society leaders, and government officials, for a dialogue, as the local election in Sunsari had been postponed three times. There were groups that opposed the election being held, and one of the representatives of the political parties who belonged to a hill ethnic community and had boycotted the election had somehow been missed in the invitee list and so was not invited to the workshop because of a minor oversight. This was not deliberate. When the workshop was almost finished, he entered the room and, shouting angrily, asked why he had not been invited. He happened to know about this workshop from some other sources. As state mechanisms had been unable to address his grievances, he expected international organizations to fill the gap. During this meeting, I could feel the existence of an undercurrent of conflicts and grievances in Nepali society, which form another challenge to social cohesion and integration.

This second case illustrates existing identity-based emotions related to social cohesion and conflict in Nepal in the context of the transition to federalism. These kinds of emotionally charged conversations are everyday experiences for people in different social settings. Similar exchanges have also been witnessed on social media. The issue here lies in flawed horizontal social cohesion, which refers to the relationships between social groups and communities. At the same time, it also relates to vertical social cohesion, especially when a social group seeks their own protected space or recognition in the national legislature, such as the constitution. This story illustrates that recognition of identity and acceptance of diversity and multiculturalism are key to social cohesion in the case of Nepal.

Scene 3

In January 2017, one of my friends invited me to join him in a personal capacity for the inauguration of a school that he had built through his local NGO in one of the villages in a remote area of the Sindhupalchowk district of Nepal. This NGO had already built and handed over seventeen schools to different communities after the Gorkha earthquake in April 2015. It was a pioneering organization within the Sindhupalchowk education sector, as neither international INGOs nor the government had been able to build schools in such a short span of time after the earthquake. The terrain in this area makes it very difficult to deliver construction materials during the rainy season because of the condition of the roads, so construction, once started, has to happen quickly.

It took us six hours to get to the school that was being inaugurated, traveling along a bumpy road. We were a team of five—my friend, a journalist, a renowned airplane pilot active in social work in Nepal, a colleague from his organization, and myself. We also stopped by a village on the way, where we had a small discussion with the head teacher about acquiring suitable land to construct a school in that village. From the conversation, I learned that there had been a big dispute and that several rounds of conversations were being held to finalize the land acquisition. The school was currently being operated from makeshift tents situated where the older structure, now destroyed by the earthquake, had been. This space was small and not suitable for constructing a new school. This gave me my first insight into how much communities value schooling in rural Nepal; I could see the dedication of the head teacher, who also taught in the local primary school.

After our journey, we arrived at the school that was to be inaugurated. It was on top of a small hill and served all the small villages around it; some of the students had to walk for two hours to attend classes. I was excited by the whole scene; we were welcomed with garlands of fresh flowers, and we had lunch with everyone, which all the villagers had helped to prepare. Afterward, there was a formal program with speeches from all those in attendance. A local government official from the district education office was also present, appearing highly dedicated to the cause of education.

I was overwhelmed by the celebratory atmosphere. Especially noticeable was a young man in his mid-twenties whom everyone called "Dorjee Sir" (name changed). While my friend's organization also made important contributions, Dorjee Sir was instrumental in making the school happen—constructing it with the community's full participation. He had noticed how the NGO had helped

build a school in a nearby village and so kept following up with my friend, asking for support. He was so enthusiastic that my friend had to somehow figure out a way to support building a school in that village, even though it was not part of the original plan and therefore he did not have any dedicated resources for the proposed project. Additionally, the land was on a hilltop, so it was difficult to get all the construction materials there by vehicle. Instead, the villagers were mobilized to build the school, contributing their labor. Dorjee Sir was such a humble person that there was a natural tendency for everyone to support the cause he himself was so greatly motivated by.

The newly built school was the most advanced building in the village. Everyone was excited, as they felt the school was their own communal creation. As a peacebuilding practitioner with experience working with national and international organizations, including the UNDP, in Nepal and in South Sudan, I was now more interested in the issue of how education is valued, and how the construction of a school, as in the above case, functions as a temporary center of a society's universe. This led me to dwell on social cohesion and conflict in the federal context of Nepal in general and the role of education and schoolteachers in facilitating this social cohesion.

Reflections on Social Cohesion and Conflict in Nepal

In a separate endeavor, I conducted qualitative interviews with three professionals working in the field of peacebuilding, governance, and conflict transformation in Nepal, collecting their reflections on social cohesion and conflict in the country. This section will analyze the findings from these interviews in relation to the three scenes described above, which come from my own personal and professional experience.

Social cohesion has different connotations depending on the regional and country context. It is often defined in terms of the extent of trust, interdependence, and interpersonal interaction among members of a society, together with their sense of shared or common destiny. Social cohesion facilitates a willingness to participate in collective efforts to reach shared peace and development goals and encourages citizens to cooperate and engage with the state to create mutually reinforcing state–society relations of trust and loyalty. One of the interview participants understood vertical social cohesion as a relationship between state and society based on trust and people's participation, connected to strengthening institutions and public service provision. He understood

horizontal cohesion in terms of socioeconomic equality and inclusive economic development. Social cohesion can therefore be seen as relating to the interaction between the individual and society, as seen through the lens of the state, as well as encompassing more horizontal relations: those between groups, individuals, and the wider community.

This conceptualization of social cohesion does not fit the context we find in Nepal, however. In Nepali, the corresponding term is *samajik sadbhav*, which translates in English to "social harmony." It emphasizes the prominence of horizontal relationships between diverse groups in society which differ in religion, ethnicity, and geography, whereas social cohesion has both horizontal and vertical components. Interestingly, one of my research participants argued that the ideal of social harmony does not include the presence of diversity and multicultural elements within society, instead being based on notions of similarity. However, according to him, social cohesion as an ideal is about creating a cohesive society by recognizing internal diversity.

Distinct societal issues affect urban and rural areas. Moreover, issues such as inclusion manifest differently in different regions. There is, therefore, a need to create a space for frequent interaction and discussion between citizens and the government during the decision-making process, so as to enhance the vertical dimension of social cohesion. The importance of civic engagement was also highlighted by the participants of the study and can be linked to the concept of social cohesion in the Nepali context. Frequent interaction between relevant parties helps build good institutional practices. Moreover, it represents an opportunity for citizens to learn about their rights, limitations, roles and responsibilities, and accountability toward others. Scenes 1 and 2 above on the participation in the electoral processes by an individual and political party show these dynamics in action in Nepal's context. Free, fair, credible and periodic elections help strengthen social cohesion. This is also linked to the proper electoral and governance system, which ensures inclusive participation of all sectors of society in state institutions.

There are three ways of working toward social cohesion in Nepal in the newly federal context: preventing conflict, creating equitable economic opportunities, and linking these activities with sustainable development goals (SDGs). If the political context changes, the vehicle of social cohesion shifts too. Whichever tools are used, it is paramount to observe social cohesion through the lens of conflict sensitivity and aim toward a harmonious society. The activities of relevant organizations need to focus on this area. Moreover, taking this approach will help improve public services, leading to broader social cohesion.

Based on my own personal reflections on the second scene, ethnic identity and the emotions associated with the feeling of being discriminated against reflect the need for "time and space," a key element of structuration theory,[1] to create an emotional outlet. The action of the individual in the anecdote illustrates his agency as an activist and political actor working to change social structures. It is also an example of the issue of identity recognition, which concerns inclusion in state power, symbolic and substantive representation, and participation in state mechanisms. This again relates to the vertical dimension of social cohesion.

To better understand the conflict and social cohesion context of present-day Nepal, it is important to explore the conceptual evolution of so-called unity in diversity. One of the participants, distinguishing between social cohesion and social harmony, suggested that social harmony does not necessarily recognize diversity or the multicultural aspects of a society, as it is based on notions of similarity. Conversely, increasing social cohesion is about creating a cohesive society by recognizing diversity within it, which comes with several challenges. Two important challenges in the context of federalism were highlighted. One was the issue of untouchability or caste discrimination, and the other was the rise of regionalism with its concurrent bitter sentiments toward other communities. The participant further distinguished between two alternative focuses: relationships (social harmony) and inclusion (social cohesion). One is more of a social issue, and the other is political. However, they are closely interlinked.

Both concepts are relevant to the Maoist insurgency, which was characterized by the use of violence against the state and the political issues of inclusion and identity. It had an effect on social cohesion in Nepal. In some places, people were displaced, fleeing their communities for safety; in others, the inhabitants remained and faced the situation as a community, increasing relevant measures of social cohesion (Gilligan, Pasquale, and Samii 2014). The Maoist insurgency later gave rise to other ethnic and identity-based campaigns, including the Madhesh movement.

Now, with a federal constitution in place and elected representatives in all three tiers of government and legislature, there are new provisions regarding the promotion and protection of the rights of vulnerable and marginalized communities written into the constitution. However, while issues of social cohesion in Nepal are as critical now as they were ten years ago, social cohesion is now understood and implemented in a narrower sense, covering only its horizontal dimension, mostly referred to as social harmony.

The main political goal for the newly elected government of federalized Nepal is development, mostly economic and infrastructural development. Their

view of development neglects state–society relations and ownership of the nation-building process, which should be shared by diverse groups of people. This dimension, referred to in this chapter as the vertical dimension of social cohesion, is completely overlooked. With the new rhetoric of development in the country, the issue of social cohesion and meaningful inclusion is very likely to be sidelined, although there will be ongoing rhetoric about maintaining social harmony, created for public consumption.

Here, a few key questions remain for further exploration: How do people's aspirations to a clear cultural identity and ownership of the state mechanism fit into the broader discourse of development in the new federal context of Nepal? Will federalization support social cohesion in its broader sense in Nepal? Since federalism has only recently been implemented, answering these questions requires some time to see how the process will impact access to service delivery and give voice and participation to the country´s most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.

Community Schoolteachers and Social Cohesion in Nepal

Teachers play various roles in Nepali communities. They are regarded as key actors in community development, which includes promoting peace and social cohesion. Education and social cohesion are both broad concepts that carry different meanings in different contexts (e.g., Halai and Durrani 2018; Acedo 2013; Gilligan, Pasquale, and Samii 2014). Social cohesion can be seen as a process or means for peacebuilding (Cox and Sisk 2017; Brown and Zahar, 2015). Similarly, there is increased interest in the role of education for the promotion of tolerance, sustainable development, and the potential of teachers to serve as active agents of peacebuilding or social cohesion (Horner et al. 2015) in a society. For example, in the case of Pakistan, Halai and Durrani (2018) have explored ways in which teachers' agency can increase social cohesion. They have looked into teachers' perspectives on the major drivers of conflict in Pakistan and the role of education and teachers in social cohesion and mitigating inequities in education. As Nepal transitioned from unitary monarchy to Federal Republic and from armed conflict to a post-conflict situation, education has also been in transition. Education and teachers have been crucial in peacebuilding and constructing social cohesion in Nepal, similar to their role in other such contexts (e.g., Smith, Datzberger, and McCully 2016; Pherali 2015; Komatsu 2014).

Conflict affects everyday situations everywhere and remains prevalent in rural areas of Nepal. Community schoolteachers are some of the key actors in local contexts, active in community and social roles besides their core teaching role in the school. Both before and since becoming professional teachers, they too are no more than human beings, embedded, as we all are, in our individual positionalities and socio-historical contexts. This often brings them to the forefront of local conflicts, either as mediator or as an involved party. There has been little study on this aspect of schoolteachers' engagement in social and community activity and their ability to affect levels of social cohesion.

Nepal has witnessed armed conflict and several identity-based movements in the recent past. The conflict in Nepal affected the education system severely as the schools were often used as bases to fight against opposing forces (Pherali 2016). Schools are usually forced to close during such contestations, movements, and strikes. This also generated some movements such as the *School as Zone of Peace* movement (UNICEF 2011); which was a campaign to keep schools separate from conflict activity.

During such times, though teachers played a crucial role in continuing education, they were some of the most at risk. At the same time, since they were trusted members of the community and were expected to have a higher sense of responsibility toward their students and the community, they had to play the role of "agents of peace" (Horner et al. 2015). They continue to play such roles even after the end of violent conflict. Against this backdrop, the following questions provide an interesting basis for further exploration: What roles do the teachers play in their communities besides their teaching roles in community schools in the current context? How are they promoting or impeding peace and social cohesion in their communities? And how are school-community relationships mediated through teachers in the context of other community development issues, besides learning and teaching, in a school that has a peacebuilding function?

Note

1   See the work of Anthony Giddens, among others.

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A Day in the Educational Life of a Teenage Refugee in Thessaloniki, Greece

Lucy Hunt

Introduction

In this chapter, I would like to share with you some of the things I have learned about young refugees' experiences of post-compulsory education in Greece. This means upper-secondary education and beyond—that is, senior high school and university—as Greek compulsory education lasts until the end of junior high school, up to the age of fifteen.

I conducted fieldwork in Greece's "second city," Thessaloniki, which is in the north of the country, close to the border with North Macedonia and Bulgaria. During this time, I tried to better understand young refugees' educational decision-making and the factors which make them more or less likely to continue with their education. While many teenage refugees continue to arrive in the country, their participation is fairly low: only around half of fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds are enrolled in public education (MoE 2017). Even when they do enroll, many attend inconsistently or stop attending at all. I tried to explore the stories behind these statistics by, first, working as a volunteer teacher for three different NGOs over eight months; second, holding focus group discussions with young refugees on their educational aspirations and challenges, and doing creative tasks with them; and third, interviewing people close to them, such as educators, parents, social workers, cultural mediators, and so on. To give some background, refugees in Thessaloniki come from a wide range of countries across the Middle East, East Africa, and South Asia, representing diverse linguistic, national, ethnic, and educational backgrounds (Ghandour-Demiri 2017). They are both refugees and asylum seekers, but I am using "refugees" for everybody here as shorthand.

To share what I found, I would like to walk you through a day in the educational life of a sixteen-year-old refugee named Rasoul from Afghanistan, who attends a Greek general public high school. Rasoul is a fictional character based on various young people I met in different informal educational settings and on the things that they and the people close to them told me. I am taking this approach to try to highlight the multi-level, intersecting constraints impacting every part of young refugees' day-to-day school life. In my work, I spoke with young people aged up to twenty-five and would like to mention that older youths attend high school too—especially evening classes at vocational schools. However, this piece focuses on the difficulties faced by children between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, which decrease their motivation, make it difficult to learn, and, overall, put them at risk of dropping out.

Before School

First of all, we need to think about where Rasoul is. Does he have accommodation? Is it a container in a refugee camp, a UNHCR-managed apartment in the city, or a bed in a shelter for unaccompanied youth? Some teenagers may also be living in squats, or homeless. For all of them, changes to their asylum status or other decisions may see them relocated or evicted at short notice—meaning that their accommodation situation is generally unstable. For now, let us say that Rasoul lives in one of the camps outside Thessaloniki, with his parents and siblings. Let us also say that he has just woken up. The first thing he has to consider is the weather: What is the season? Is it cold? Is it raining? If it is wet outside, will he be able to dry his clothes later? How does the weather make him feel? He may also worry that his classmates will laugh at him for wearing the same thing again and again, or treat him differently for not having cool-enough outfits.

After getting ready, he tells his family he is leaving for the day. Are they supportive? Or do they think he should be trying to find work instead, as he is an adult and should help by bringing in an income? Young boys and girls who arrive alone are especially likely to be pressured into raising money to remit back home or to pay for (irregular) onward travel so that the family can be reunited in Northern or Western Europe. Rasoul's family might also give him other jobs to do instead of going to school or remind him of interviews or documents that need to be collected. If he has a sister, their parents may delegate childcare responsibilities to her while they search for work, preventing her from attending school on some days.

The Journey to School

Let us assume that Rasoul has negotiated with his parents and is off to school. This could be at five o'clock in the morning because it takes two hours by bus to get to the high school in the city, and he needs to arrive in time for his morning classes. This is, of course, if there are any buses at all, as they may not be running. Other young people he knows may be attending vocational or technical high schools instead, perhaps through evening classes, but those schools are also mostly concentrated in the city, so they face the same problems with public transport. The other issue is that, being *public* transport, the public who are also taking these buses may be hostile to refugees. During his journey, Rasoul may have other passengers tell him to leave their country or ask him why he bothers going to school—telling him that there is no point in doing so, because he is not going to become anything special. He might even have bus drivers segregating him from other passengers. All of these things happened to the young people I met during my fieldwork. For Rasoul, it means that he has to face a number of challenges before even arriving at the school gate.

At School

Let us suppose that Rasoul attends a general senior high school, which claims to offer reception classes for newcomers. These are separate classes for refugee and migrant youth, focusing on language, mathematics, and ICT. However, they only run if there are enough refugee or migrant youth in the school. If there are, a teacher will have to be hired, which can take several months. If the reception class teacher has not yet arrived at Rasoul's school, Rasoul can only sit in on "normal" classes with the rest of the students. Here, he faces three types of challenges: challenges with the content; challenges with the teachers and their methods; and challenges with other students, whether Greek or migrants themselves.

First, he may face challenges with the content. Let us say that Rasoul's mother tongue is Pashto, and that he also speaks Farsi, as well as some Arabic, English, and basic Greek. However, he had to stop school when he left Afghanistan and has now missed four years of learning. As general senior high schools in Greece are generally used to prepare students for university study, the content is very academic, meaning that Rasoul is immediately required to study subjects such as physics in Greek, as well as Ancient Greek language and literature. He cannot afford the extra private tuition which his peers go to in the afternoon,

leaving him at a double disadvantage. This affects his motivation: he struggles to understand the content and knows it is only going to get more difficult as they get closer to their final exams.

This is where the second set of challenges comes in: relating to teachers and the pedagogical methods used. In some classes, the teacher has had some training on intercultural or inclusive education and tries to include him, despite the language barrier. Some teachers try to use visual materials and other alternative methods, and Rasoul and his refugee peers ask them for more of this kind of support. In the worst cases, however, he is given a textbook he struggles to understand and is told to sit at the back and watch and listen. As he does not feel encouraged or included, his motivation drops. In other lessons, he has the opposite problem: some teachers pull him into the spotlight and praise him loudly for completing a task well "despite being a refugee," or ask him about the scars on his hands in front of the whole class—using him as a learning point for his peers.

These peers at school constitute his third set of challenges. Rasoul has few opportunities to mix with and get to know the Greek students, and after his reception classes start, it will be even more difficult because their group will be isolated from them. He has the feeling that they do not understand what it means to be a refugee or that they have been taught to be scared of refugees by politicians, the media, and/or their parents. They do not necessarily say anything very bad—maybe they make a few comments, speak Greek quickly in front of him, or make jokes based on stereotypes. But they also do not want to hang out after school or during the breaks. Some students may be luckier, such as Rasoul's sister, who attends junior high school. There, her classmates take care of her, show her around, and share homework help in their class WhatsApp group. But for Rasoul, school is a tiring few hours of feeling uncomfortable, confused, and often invisible.

After School

After school, while other students go to academies for extra tuition, Rasoul usually goes to a community center on the edge of the city for free language lessons. However, he might not be able to go today because the sessions are not running due to funding cuts or a lack of volunteers. Alternatively, Rasoul may have gotten bored of repeating the same topics over and over again: "Hi, my name is Rasoul, I come from Afghanistan." As students frequently come and go, the teachers have to keep repeating the basics for newcomers.

Instead, Rasoul makes the two-hour journey back to the camp and tries to find a quiet spot to settle down and memorize his new Greek and English vocabulary. Just as he begins, however, a loud argument breaks out next door between some neighbors, making it too noisy to concentrate. This often happens due to living in close proximity and the general frustration among residents. He tries to move to find some quiet, but everywhere he goes he is distracted. For example, friends and neighbors may tell him to put the book down and join them because there is no point in studying anyway. In the end, Rasoul manages to read a few pages before heading to bed, ready to repeat this process the following day.

Perseverance and Support

It is clear, then, that Rasoul faces a large number of social, structural, and material challenges during his day. These all work against both his physical ability to access the school and his motivation to continue studying. However, while I have considered some of the biggest issues young people face, I would also like to highlight their dedication and perseverance. This is evident in the fact that half of young refugees aged fifteen to eighteen are at least enrolled in Greek high schools. Several of the young people I met had either completed high school, entered Greek universities, or decided to take other educational routes, and I observed three main sources of support that helped them to do so.

The first is a positive relationship with their teacher. If their teacher speaks to them, directs them to extra support or, at the very least, lets them know that they see them—making them visible in an appropriate way—they are motivated to keep going. Teachers also have the power to bring students together and help them get to know each other. Second, students also find support through relationships with their peers. For example, if they get to know other refugees and migrants, they can create a small community within the school. This is easier than interacting with Greek students and constitutes an important source of support. However, it is even better if they feel a sense of belonging to the wider school, which can be achieved if the school organizes intercultural events and makes space for other languages, ways of understanding, and ways of existing. Another easy way to get students mixing is through sports and arts, which do not necessarily require much language, time, or money. Third, young people also support themselves via their own agency. They seek out extra support, go to teachers to ask them to try different methods, connect with peers via WhatsApp groups, educate other students on what it means to be a refugee, and undertake

various other actions that promote their own equitable involvement in the life of the school.

Conclusions

To summarize: public schools are a crucial "space of encounter" (Piekut and Valentine 2017) in which relationships with teachers and peers are key. Outside of this space, restrictive structural conditions—such as insecure legal statuses and insecure accommodation—must be addressed if young refugees are to access and fully benefit from education. In addition, the individual's drive to learn should be nurtured through educational counselling and other methods to encourage them to believe in themselves. It is not enough for refugee students to be legally entitled to schooling and enrolled in high schools. It should also be communicated that they belong and can succeed, and they must be supported in the classroom to make that happen.

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"Turkish for Europe"

The West Berlin Turkish Textbook Project and Education for Integration, 1980–1987

Brian Van Wyck

Introduction

In October 1987, newspapers in Berlin reported a shocking scandal ("Skandal um Schulbücher" 1987; "Laurien stoppt" 1987). On page 7 of a tenth-grade textbook used in Turkish language classes for Turkish pupils in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and around Europe, a lesson on national stereotypes contained crude anti-Semitic tropes. Under the subheading "peoples" (*milletler*) a collection of jokes playing on national and ethnic stereotypes were presented, following the pattern: "one Englishman is a tourist, two Englishmen are a trading company, three Englishmen are a colony." About Jews, the page reads "one Jew is a beggar, two Jews are usurers, three Jews are an international bank" (Özhan and Binyazar 1985).[1]

The entire page was explicitly attributed to the Turkish writer Yaşar Nabi Nayır.[2] Nevertheless, the textbook itself, the final in a series of six, had been written by the West Berlin education ministry under the auspices of School Senator Hanna-Renate Laurien. Thus, parallels with the state-sanctioned anti-Semitism of National Socialist textbooks were all too easy to draw. Contributing to the government's embarrassment was the fact that, although the textbook had been published in 1985 and a German translation had been completed in 1986, it took until late 1987 for the page to be discovered.

The Jewish Community of Berlin quickly threatened to file charges, and the offending book was pulled from schools ("Skandal um Schulbücher" 1987). According to its press releases, the West Berlin administration examined the other books in the series, finding no similarly scandalous content but some "serious deficiencies," including pedagogical errors and a purported left-wing

bias in texts selected for inclusion as reading ("Türkische Zeitung" 1987). Even as the administration distanced itself from the textbook project, calling its overall suitability into question, Berlin representatives defended the head of the project, Gerhard Weil, and the textbook's authors, İncilâ Özhan and Adnan Binyazar, from charges of mismanagement and anti-Semitism respectively. Weil, who spoke "fragmentary" Turkish, received translations of only some textbook pages during the production process; the problematic page had not been included ("Verwaltung kann kein Türkisch," 1987). Özhan, a veteran teacher in Berlin schools, and Binyazar, a respected linguist and author, were certainly no anti-Semites, stressed Laurien; their mistake was in exercising poor judgment by including such material, at least without sufficient contextualization. Özhan and Binyazar were not permitted to comment on the matter to the media. The two did, however, apologize in writing to the Jewish Community of Berlin ("Türkische Zeitung" 1987).

While Laurien's administration tried to move past the issue by pulping the tenth-grade textbooks and commissioning reviews of the other volumes, a number of interested observers defended the project. The Education and Science Workers' Union (*Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft*, or GEW), which represented many teachers, prepared a comprehensive dossier on the textbook project, the scandal, and its aftermath. GEW Berlin's vice chair, Safter Çınar, argued that the anti-Semitic stereotypes were a convenient pretext for abandoning a textbook project that had caused friction with the Turkish government. The GEW was joined in levying this accusation by, among others, the Berlin Association of Turkish Parents, the Turkish Teachers Association, numerous academics, and even Fakir Baykurt, a teacher and writer whose work was included in the books (Berlin Türk 1990; "Açik Mektup" 1988, 7–8; Jungmann et al 1987; Hepsöyler and Liebe-Harkot 1988, 41–44; Baykurt 1988). These groups and individuals shared a suspicion of the school senator's motives and enthusiastically endorsed the textbooks and the achievement they represented. They argued that such colorful, innovative, internationally successful books, used with success in four West German states and four European countries, should not be jettisoned merely because of 1 page out of 1,400 across 6 volumes and certainly should not be sacrificed on the altar of good relations with the Turkish state.

In this discussion, the legacies of National Socialism and the Holocaust were invoked, as was the responsibility of the West German government toward children of migrant workers and refugees originally from Turkey, its largest immigrant population. Also debated was the Turkish state's reach across borders.

Finally, the books' partial funding through the European Community and their use outside the Federal Republic lent the matter a European dimension.

In these respects, the discussion surrounding these Turkish books produced in Berlin touched upon central themes in post-war German history: legacies of the Holocaust; multiculturalism in a diversifying Federal Republic; migrants and cross-border connections; and Europeanization. Because of these intersections, the abortive Berlin Turkish Project offers useful insight into the history of Turkish migration in Germany. The focus of this piece is narrower, on the varied understandings of integration different actors—Turkish and German, state and civil society, native and migrant—brought to their evaluation of the Berlin books before, during, and after the controversy in 1987. These ideas of integration varied widely, from the preservation of Turkish national identity and long-distance nationalism, to Turkishness with a European or German overlay, even to a rejection of a proscriptive notion of integration altogether. By crystallizing and opening up to scrutiny these divergent ideas, this chapter will argue that the Berlin textbooks made an unjustly forgotten contribution to Germany's migration history. The variety of responses the textbooks elicited, at a time when "concepts of integration [sprung] up like mushrooms," reflect the books' innovatively open-ended, voluntary, individual, and decidedly non-proscriptive understanding of what integration might look like for migrant pupils in West Berlin and in Europe more broadly (Meier-Braun 1980, 75). Long before it came under critical scrutiny from scholars of migration, the Berlin Turkish textbooks offered an alternative worth revisiting to the all-encompassing framework of integration (Favell 2022).

Textbooks and Turkish Education in West Germany, 1961–80

The Berlin books represented a departure from the usual practice of educating Turkish pupils, something that made them a lightning rod for both praise and criticism even before the Jewish stereotype controversy. By self-publishing the books, West Berlin deviated from common practice by treating Turkish education in the FRG as a matter of solely German, rather than Turkish, concern. Non-citizen pupils from the six major countries of labor recruitment during the period of so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) migration (1955–73) were entitled to an education that simultaneously offered integration into German schools and preserved the language of the homeland. This second half of what was commonly referred to as the "dual task" (*doppelte Aufgabe*) took the form

of supplemental language lessons, administered varying by state either by the German school with foreign teachers hired for that purpose, or by the respective consulate, without German oversight (Van Wyck 2017, 466–491). Classes for foreign pupils were frequently referred to as "the national school in miniature" in the 1970s (Grossmann 1974, 19). The metaphor captured the assumption, prevalent in practice if not by the letter of the law, that homeland—not German—standards should guide these spaces. This applied not only to methods used by foreign teachers but also to textbooks, which were exempted from the scrutiny employed elsewhere in school.

As Brian Puaca has argued, textbooks were central to post-war pedagogical reform in West Germany, encouraging critical engagement and "[deconstructing] the traditional authoritarian relationship between teachers and pupils" (Puaca 2009, 3). Despite the importance placed on textbooks for educating democratic citizens, illiberal material in textbooks for foreign pupils received a muted official reaction for much of the 1970s. Even media reports about, for example, a Spanish textbook that praised Franco alongside Mussolini and Hitler did not compel change (Bippes 2011, 134; "Bessere Möglichkeiten" 1971). As one federal official said in response to concerns about Greek textbooks in 1972, "return [migration was] under no circumstances to be made more difficult" (Lehman 2019, 102).[3] In the early 1970s, most Germans expected the foreign population to leave eventually. Banning textbooks used in the homeland would hinder re-integration and even discourage return migration.

Though West German authorities were amenable to the use of foreign textbooks, teachers who worked with them in German classrooms were all too aware of their shortcomings. Teachers from Turkey hired to teach in West German schools in the 1970s frequently bemoaned the unsuitability of Turkish textbooks for children in West Germany. In the view of many teachers, textbooks conceived for schoolchildren in Turkey were irrelevant to children's lives in the Federal Republic and were often overly nationalistic and pedagogically limiting, better suited to lecturing than discussions. In response, many teachers modified and supplemented textbooks or even wrote entirely new books of their own (Ercan 2016, 140; Akıncı 2008, 287–289; Kaynar 2002, 122–126). One survey of Turkish teachers active in the period found that just 6 percent used predominantly materials from Turkey, with an even split between teachers who exclusively used material they created themselves and those who used both imported materials and their own (Karhan 2016, 120). The challenge of assessing imported textbooks for use in teaching Turkish in the Federal Republic was common enough that Mustafa Şükrü Çakiroğlu wrote a dedicated guide to

Turkish books to help teachers evaluate existing material and create their own (Çakıroğlu 1984).

In the late 1970s, Germans began to catch on and add to these critiques of Turkish textbooks, bringing in their own post-National Socialist concerns about nationalism and education. Teachers and academics saw in Turkish books a nationalism and militarism that rendered them "frightening and virtually unusable," "incompatible with democratic convictions," and reminiscent of "the darkest chapter of German history."[4] German officialdom increasingly joined in with these criticisms as the decade progressed. In 1980, a joint federal and state commission critiqued imported textbooks, calling for materials "that proceed from the children's actual experiences" and did not just prepare for return (Bund-Länder-Kommission 1980). Germans were increasingly interested in new textbooks that reflected the conditions of migration, and West Berlin's education authorities took it upon themselves to create them.

Turkish Books from Berlin: The Berlin Turkish Project, 1982–7

In the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, the reader can examine all six books in the Berlin series and compare them side by side with textbooks produced in Turkey and used in the Federal Republic in the 1970s and 1980s. One is immediately struck by differences in printing and layout and in what Felicitas Macgilchrist calls the multimodal and material dimensions of mediality (Macgilchrist 2018, 169–177). The quality of paper and variety of color in the fifth-grade Berlin textbook differs dramatically from that of a Turkish social studies text. The linear layout in an imported reader, with one text following the next, contrasts with the mixture of textboxes, multi-page readings, illustrations, questions, and grammar pointers that crowd the pages of the Berlin books.[5] The almost hectic feel is a hallmark of these books, with each page packing in as many different readings and activities as possible. On page 118 of the eighth-grade text, for example, under the heading "Life Abroad," the reader finds a poem on the theme of homeland by acclaimed poet Nâzım Hikmet, a collection of newspaper headlines related to Turkish migration, thematically relevant vocabulary ("work permit"; "to be discriminated against"), rules for adverbs, and discussion questions on experiences of feeling, or being made to feel, like a foreigner (Özhan and Binyazar 1984, 118).

The busyness of these books makes sense given the variety of aims they were meant to achieve. Politicians, heads of schools, and teachers expected the books

to facilitate "no more and no less than the integration of migrant children, whatever one understood by it," as put by project members in 1985 (Kröner, Özhan, and Weil 1985, 11). The steady accruing of meaning and expectations around the project can be traced back beyond its formal commencement in 1982.

In the latter half of the 1970s, several West German states became interested in offering courses in Turkish as a foreign language for Turkish citizens. This was in the belief that students could develop competency in their homeland language and receive grades that would count toward secondary-school placement.[6] In 1979, education ministers agreed to a common regulation permitting Turkish to take the place of a mandatory foreign language. West Berlin, which prided itself on innovation in educating foreign pupils, leapt at this opportunity faster than did the other West German states.[7] The school senator commissioned guidelines for Turkish as a foreign language, and the first students were enrolled by the fall of 1980.[8] The guidelines stressed that these classes were not about preserving existing language skills, but should provide language training "that works closely in tandem with the German class in promoting the development of concepts and the acquisition of skills and abilities fundamental to the teaching of other subjects."[9] Turkish as a foreign language was also expected to assist pupils as they found their social and individual identity in a migration context, to afford opportunities for contrastive learning comparing German and Turkish, and finally, to prepare students to develop independently in their language and culture.

To create textbooks meeting these requirements, the school senator applied for and received funding from the federal government and the European Community. After an abortive first effort by a contracted research institute, the school senator took the unusual step of bringing textbook creation in-house in early 1982.[10] Gerhard Weil, an official responsible for training foreign teachers, supervised the project. Weil, at the recommendation of a Turkish musicologist, hired Adnan Binyazar, a trained teacher, well-known author, and former member of the Turkish Language Association, the regulatory body of the Turkish language.[11] Binyazar was joined on the project by İncilâ Özhan, a teacher who had worked in Berlin schools since 1970.[12] Özhan, described by the other members of the team as its driving force, had experience developing her own class materials, like many Turkish teachers in the FRG (Jungmann 1991, 43f). She and Binyazar would write the books, with Özhan taking the lead on pedagogical questions and Binyazar focusing on selecting readings.[13]

Receiving federal and European funding complicated the project's task, as the books now needed to be flexible enough to meet different standards across

Europe. This raised the question of how a contrastive approach would work when the language of contrast differed. Furthermore, the goal of socialization in a migration context varied depending on that context. On top of this, there were wide differences in the role of Turkish in Dutch, Belgian, Danish, and British schools where the books were used by 1987.

Despite these challenges, Binyazar and Özhan wrote six textbooks, two workbooks, and a teachers' handbook between 1982 and 1986 (Özhan and Binyazar 1982, 1982b, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1985b). Amazingly, the team produced the first two books in three months, all while Özhan taught part-time. Despite the rushed pace, teachers around Europe were highly satisfied with their work. Between 70 and 88 percent of the teachers surveyed evaluated the books positively (Kröner 1987, 112). The books included an astonishing diversity of voices, with 694 different authors (459 Turkish, 235 foreign), ranging from sociologist Nermin Abadan-Unat to Stefan Zweig, from Atatürk to Herman Melville.[14] This range of authors intrigued parents as much as pupils. Teachers reported in 1983 that parents had requested worksheets of their own to help them follow along with the books (Schroeter-Kleist 1983).

Over the five-year course of the project, the team described the books in varying ways. In one instance, the books were a bridge between bicultural pupils, their parents, and their home environment (assumed to be homogeneously Turkish) (Kröner 1983, 45). Binyazar told a reporter that the books cultivated appreciation for "humanity" (*insan sevgisi*), with the help of the artistic expression collected across the six volumes ("Birinci yabancı dil olarak Türkçe" 1986, 35f). In the same interview, Özhan said that maintaining a national culture while coexisting with others was an important goal, one achieved through discussion, investigation, and independent thought. The handbook listed thirty-two "information areas" (*bilgi alanları*) in the books, ranging from thinking ability or thoughtfulness (*düşünebilme*) to "a feeling for the truth" and "loving and protecting nature."[15]

Cutting across these varied goals are a few unifying principles discernible upon close reading. For one, the notion of integration presented was a diffuse one, with humane values privileged over the specifics of the receiving culture, in keeping with a belief in the universality of certain concepts and rights and with the practical consideration of using the books across Europe. A second consistent feature was the centrality of the teacher in remaking the texts. The books were simultaneously dense with themes and readings, yet thin on context and background for the wide range of topics and themes covered. Teachers could never hope to cover all of the material in a given volume, nor did the books seem to be designed with linear progression in mind.[16]

In general, the textbooks encouraged mixing, matching, and supplementing with additional information as needed. Thus, on page 82 of the seventh-grade book, in a unit on the Crusades, pupils were asked to discuss differences and similarities between information on the topic in Turkish and German histories (Özhan and Binyazar 1983, 82). This lesson clearly required the teacher to select and integrate outside material in Turkish and in German. In stark contrast to imported Turkish textbooks that provided complete, ready-made lessons, the Berlin books required more from teachers: more engagement, more creativity, more discernment. In 1985, Özhan described the culinary metaphor one teacher used for this process: "[w]ith such a selection every cook might use the same foods and spices but will prepare different dishes" (Özhan 1991, 57).[17] Özhan encouraged teachers to exercise judgment and adapt the books as they saw fit. This placed tremendous responsibility on teachers, but as shown, creating and reworking teaching material was a familiar skill and common experience for Turkish teachers in the FRG, as Özhan well knew.[18]

The final way the textbooks dealt with integration was to treat it pluralistically, as an individual choice and without a defined outcome. Özhan argued that Turkish classes should give pupils the tools to independently develop their own linguistic abilities and cultural identity. What this looked like would be up to them; they "decide themselves, which way to go rather than having this dictated [to them]" (Özhan 1991, 55). In other words, students had to determine what integration might look like for them. Including a variety of readings, themes, and questions, the textbooks provided material that could lead students to a bicultural identity, a cosmopolitan orientation, a deeper engagement with Turkish culture, or some individualized combination thereof. Thus, in taking up the question of what integration would look like for Turkish children raised in Europe, the textbook project implied that the question was flawed. The variety of visions of integration available in the books suggested a flexible, personalized notion of integration, too varied and personal a concept to prescribe a fixed answer for students. This descriptive, rather than normative, notion of integration parallels that of migration historian Leo Lucassen, who understands integration as "a sociological process that describes the way in which . . . people find their place in society" (Lucassen 2005, 18). The Berlin Turkish books did not dictate what that place might be.

Our Children in Germany Are Being Poisoned: Turkey and the Berlin Textbooks, 1983–7

An individual understanding of integration and cultural or national identity was one of the many aspects of the Berlin project that did not endear it to conservative

critics in Turkey. The conservative press and right-wing governments of the 1980s viewed the books and their open-ended treatment of identity as a threat to Turkish loyalties. The first shot in an unrelenting campaign against the books was fired soon after the first volume was released. In February 1983, in a front-page article in the conservative daily newspaper *Tercüman*, Doğan Sümer warned darkly that "our children in Germany are being poisoned" (Sümer 1983; Tercüman Avrupa 1983). The Berlin books—written by "traitors" and "extreme leftist militants"—were brainwashing children. Among the "leftist ideologies" in the books was "separatism" (*bölücülük*), a common euphemism for fostering the rights or identities of minorities in Turkey.[19] Presented as a particular affront was poetry in the fifth-grade textbook written by Nâzım Hikmet, who had died in Moscow exile in 1963 after years of imprisonment for his communist convictions (Meyer 2023).

Tercüman quoted education minister Hasan Sağlam, who claimed that his ministry had tried to stop the book project without success.[20] Sağlam's denunciation began a multi-year government campaign against the books, driven by intersecting concerns about education and the diaspora. After the September 1980 coup, the ruling military junta in Turkey saw the diaspora as a threat in need of regulation.[21] Domestically, the generals blamed the education system overall and teachers in particular for aggravating the violent political conflicts with which they justified military intervention; post-coup, they sharply curtailed teachers' freedoms and carefully controlled classroom materials (Kaplan 2006, 194; 207f). After 1980, all textbooks were required to include at least one passage warning against domestic subversion. The neoliberal Motherland Party elected after Turkey's return to civilian rule shared these overlapping concerns about diaspora policy and education. Between the 1983 *Tercüman* article and the 1987 stereotype scandal, Turkish officials let no opportunity to voice their distaste for the books pass. Officials raised the issue at conferences, during diplomatic visits, and in letters of complaint sent directly to education ministries.[22]

Most official assessments of the books included elements of methodological critique.[23] However, the heart of the critique was not pedagogical. To quote Sağlam, the books were "full of ideology" (Botschaft Ankara 1983) and their aim was leftist political manipulation of impressionable children (Türkisches Konsulat to Kultusministerium 1983). Their authors were anti-Turkish or anti-national (Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium 1987: 304/6180; Parlak 1991, 68), imparting a "false image of Turkey" (Kommuniqué 1985). The combined effect of these manipulative textbooks "left a feeling of pessimism in our children" (Vorschläge 1985). The people of Turkey were presented as "poor, undeveloped, bounded by superstition" (Parlak 1991, 68). This image of Turkey was not only

harmful to the development of proper national identity, it was warned, but also "might limit the desire to return to the homeland" (Vorschläge 1985).

A European Success: The Berlin Turkish Books in West Germany, 1983–7

The reminder that return migration was a shared interest, and the claim that Turkish state influence over its citizens abroad would facilitate return, was often Ankara's trump card when dealing with West Germany during this period when encouraging return migration became federal policy (Stokes 2022, 150–154). In the case of the Berlin textbooks, this argument found little purchase. Through 1986 at the latest, West Berlin officials consistently rejected criticisms of the books, whether in the Turkish media or from Ankara.

In response to the initial *Tercüman* article, Laurien wrote a detailed rebuttal (Laurien 1983a).[24] She pointed to factual errors in the article, such as the claim that the authors were political refugees. Above all, the school senator stressed that the books were not inappropriately ideological. On the contrary, like all textbooks used in West German schools, they were intended to "foster the development of personalities equipped to oppose National Socialism and all other tyrannical doctrines" and to build "public and societal life on the basis of democracy, peace, freedom, and human rights" (Laurien 1983b). Laurien had no desire to see Turkish citizens alienated from Turkey; indeed, in introducing the books to the West German public in 1983, she had observed that "whoever knows their native language well will not be alien to the homeland" (Laurien 1983c). The books would help Turkish citizens retain their national and linguistic identity while incorporating principles of human rights grounded in Germany's rejection of its Nazi past but open universally to all. As historian Rita Chin has observed, this was a definition of integration that Laurien shared with party colleagues in the conservative Christian Democratic Union in the 1980s. Integration was not a two-way street: migrants were obligated to meet the imagined standards of modern liberal democracy (Chin 2007, 142).

Laurien's response to Turkish criticism of the Berlin books, like those of other senior officials, reflected particular interpretations of the books and the values they embodied. These values were perceived, at different times, as characteristically German or European.[25] Laurien's endorsement of the books and the values she argued they represented can be seen, for example, in a newspaper article introducing the project in 1983. Laurien is depicted in an

accompanying photo showing the "books that should build a bridge" to two beaming eleven-year-olds (Laurien 1983c). As the books were adopted outside West Germany, Laurien's ministry crowed that they were a "European success" ("Berliner Türkische Lehrbücher" 1983). The books were a European success more than a Turkish one because, as the school senator assured reporters in 1984, their "didactic conception corresponds more to comparable Western European principles of lesson design than Turkish ones" (Senator für Schulwesen 1984). These were "Berlin Turkish [books] for Europe," as the ministry referred to them, not merely because they would be used across the continent, but also because these were books that taught the values of the European school—by implication, not those of Turkey—alongside the Turkish language.

West German officials tended to share this view. In 1983, an internal ministry memorandum on the books in Lower Saxony determined that the Berlin books could be adopted in the state, concluding that Turkish objections were on a "political rather than technical level."[26] Yielding to Turkish concerns would establish an undesirable precedent, allowing Turkey to dictate education in West Germany with the danger of "teaching opposed to our understanding of constitutional order" (Kultusministerium 1983). Tellingly, the report suggested a comparison with the "Qur'an school problematic" for an idea of where this might lead.[27] The equivalence drawn between Turkish state textbooks and extracurricular religious institutions associated in popular consciousness with violence and extremism is revealing. Accordingly, the Berlin books were soon in heavy use in Lower Saxony (Lehrerfortbildungskurs 1984).

"Serious Deficiencies": The End of the Berlin Turkish Project, 1987

The absence of a defense of the books in the face of a renewed campaign in the Turkish nationalist press in 1986 and early 1987 is all the more striking in light of the prior enthusiasm. *Hürriyet* claimed in 1986 that Laurien had assured Turkish representatives that she would "correct" the books in response to their criticism ("Mustafa Kalemli" 1986). Most inflammatorily, *Tercüman* quoted a senior Turkish education official in April 1987 who vowed that "if they continue to permit such books to be read containing pieces by Nazım Hikmet or other extreme leftist writers, then I will publish Hitler's book in Turkey and introduce the history of Hitler into schools" (Hacıkadiroğlu 1987). Though Laurien assured the GEW her position had not changed, she responded to neither article publicly (Laurien 1986).[28]

When the embarrassing page in the tenth-grade textbook came to light in October 1987, it was actually several days after Laurien had referred to "serious deficiencies" in pedagogical conception in all six books, which would be evaluated and revised accordingly. No further copies would be printed. In this exchange, Laurien pointedly referred to the products of the project not as "textbooks"—the term used repeatedly from 1983 onward— but only as "material" which would be "further developed" into textbooks (Abgeordnetenhaus von Berlin 1987b). For the GEW, this was evidence that Laurien's administration wanted to move away from the books even before the stereotypes page was found.[29]

In response to the GEW's questions about Turkish influence on the decision, the administration defended its version of events (Türkische Schulbücher 1987). Laurien announced that the books, other than the tenth-grade text, could continue to be used, but no new copies would be printed; the project was finished.[30] The reworking of the books was outsourced, and when the first revised book was released in 1990, there was no indication of its authors or origins.[31] The impression was of an entirely new book, effectively writing the project out of history.

Opinion is still divided about the salient factor in the project's ignominious end.[32] For Gerhard Weil, it was the "quite silly misunderstanding" of the stereotypes page that ended the project he had led for five years. Safter Çınar referred to this account as "a fairytale" and blamed pressure from the Turkish state for the Berlin government's about-face.[33] The *Tercüman* newspaper agreed with the claim that external pressure had led to the decision, crowing that its reporting had finally "born fruit" (Hacikadıoğlu 1987b).[34] Across these interpretations of the project's end, it is notable how little credence is given to the official version, according to which the books were deficient in conception and execution, even outside the error in judgment represented by the stereotypes lesson.

An alternate explanation might be found in the absence of a broader constituency for the books and for Turkish as a foreign language in Berlin. These classes were perceived by some parents, heads of schools, and teachers as a limitation on potential academic achievement, as English was required in secondary schools preparing students for university.[35] This presented a dilemma for Turkish parents who wanted their children to attain higher school qualifications.[36] Some may have been discouraged from choosing Turkish as a foreign language by the press attacks on the books. But even Rıza Baran, a teacher and activist who was no friend of the Turkish government, could not

in good conscience recommend the class to pupils "whom you do not want to deprive of all future prospects" (Baran and Saydam 1985, 108–109). For their part, many heads of schools were unconvinced of its merits, a problem reported since 1983, in the project's earliest days (Schroeter-Kleist 1983). Consequently, many schools did not offer Turkish classes in the first place.

Even where it was offered, Turkish was often an afterthought. Some heads of schools were not even aware that their schools had Turkish classes in the first place (Jungmann 1991, 30). By the 1987–8 school year, only 28 primary schools offered Turkish; in that year, only 308 out of 2,304 eligible fifth graders enrolled (Jungmann 1991, 28). The books found impassioned support among German and Turkish intellectuals and activists. However, the innovative work the books represented attracted less attention precisely in the constituencies—parents, pupils, and school administrators—who might have been expected to raise a groundswell of grassroots support for the project when it was needed.

In her history of Turkish migration in Berlin, Sarah Thomsen Vierra argues that integration should be understood as a locally embedded process (Vierra 2018, 228). For reasons outside the control of their authors, the Berlin books were not adopted into local, everyday contexts that might have seen the project preserved and continued. Nevertheless, the books represented and elicited different and contradictory notions of integration in the 1980s, a crucial period in Turkish–German migration history. They reveal a theorization of integration on the part of their authors that, in turn, built on the approaches and ideas of Turkish teachers. The Berlin Turkish books represent the work of migrants as theorists, not just objects of theories formulated by states or in academic discourses. In that sense, the project represents a missed opportunity to approach integration in new ways that might have helped shape the "lost decade" of migration and integration in the Federal Republic more positively (Bade 1995, 533).

Notes

1 The textbook in question is İncilâ Özhan and Adnan Binyazar, *Türkçe Dil ve Okuma Kitabı 10* (Berlin: Senator für Schulwesen, 1985). The copy in the collection of the Georg Eckert Institute does not include this page. It can be found in *Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft Landesverband* (GEW LV) Berlin, *Türkisch-Bücher aus Berlin. Eine Dokumentation der GEW-Berlin* (November 1987). Dokumentationszentrum und Museum über die Migration in Deutschland (DOMiD) H03 GEW Türk.

2 The jokes were taken from Nayır's 1965 collection of satirical and humorous writing: Nayır, Yaşar Nabi. 1965. *Dünyanın En Güzel Hikayeleri*. Istanbul: Varlık Yayınları.

3 On textbook controversies more broadly, see Lehman 2019, 90–104.

4 The first quotation is from an evaluation by teachers of German as a foreign language in 1980; the second two are from a resolution by Berlin teachers in 1978. See Kultusministerkonferenz 1980, 4. Tagung der Gemischten deutsch-türkischen Expertenkommission. Vorbereitende Notizen zur Tagesordnung, 16 June 1980. Bundesarchiv (BArch) B 138/38659; "Konsulatsunterricht ist antidemokratisch," *Berliner Lehrerzeitung* 32, no. 4 (1978), 4.

5 The Berlin Turkish books are Özhan, İncilâ, and Adnan Binyazar. 1982. *Türkçe Dil ve Okuma Kitabı 5.* Berlin: Senator für Schulwesen; Özhan, İncilâ, and Adnan Binyazar. 1982b. *Türkçe Dil ve Okuma Kitabı 6.* Berlin: Senator für Schulwesen; Özhan, İncilâ, and Adnan Binyazar. 1983. *Türkçe Dil ve Okuma Kitabı 7.* Berlin: Senator für Schulwesen; Özhan, İncilâ, and Adnan Binyazar. 1984. *Türkçe Dil ve Okuma Kitabı 8.* Berlin: Senator für Schulwesen; Özhan, İncilâ, and Adnan Binyazar. 1985. *Türkçe Dil ve Okuma Kitabı 9.* Berlin: Senator für Schulwesen; Özhan, İncilâ, and Adnan Binyazar. 1985b. *Türkçe Dil ve Okuma Kitabı 10.* Berlin: Senator für Schulwesen. Turkish textbooks used for comparison are Asal, Tarık, Niyazi Akşit, and Ferruh Sanır. 1982. *Sosyal Bilgiler 3*, 7th ed. Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi; Tunç, İsmet, and Ali Tunç. 1977. *Türkçemiz*, 11th ed. Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

6 Turkish could also be taken in lieu of a foreign language—usually English—sparing children the challenge of learning another language on top of presumed difficulties in mastering German.

7 For a contemporary assessment of West Berlin's policies and its self-professed exceptionalism, see Rist 1979, 242–268. A representative expression of Berlin exceptionalism can be seen in a paper by a senior education official (Jancke 1976, 324–333).

8 The guidelines for these classes were written by a commission coordinated by Klaus Schuricht, a specialist in so-called foreigner pedagogy with experience as a lecturer in Ankara. On Schuricht's and his philosophy for Turkish in West German schools, see Schuricht 1982, 78–96.

9 The guidelines are quoted in Jungmann 1991, 26.

10 In 1980, West Berlin hired the Institute of Futurology (*Institut für Zukunftsforschung)* to prepare the books; however, the institute closed at the end of 1981. An overview of the progress the project had made as of that point can be found in Institut für Zukunftsforschung 1981.

11 Adnan Binyazar discussed his background and participation in the project in an email exchange with the author in September 2023. Binyazar, 2023.

12 The final member of the team was Birgit Kröner, responsible for internal evaluation and Europeanization.

13 This is Binyazar's characterization of a collaboration he described as exceptionally harmonious. Binyazar, 2023.

14 A complete list of authors can be found in "Schriftsteller in den Türkischbüchern Band 5–10," *Türkisch für Europa*, 72–79.

15 Handbook excerpted in GEW LV Berlin, *Türkisch-Bücher*.

16 There were pages within sections clearly intended to create contrasts, for example, readings on housing difficulties for migrant families in Europe and the Turkish problem of *gecekondu bölgeleri* or squatter's neighborhoods with unregistered, hastily erected dwellings, often on the outskirts of large cities (Özhan and Binyazar 1982b, 28–31).

17 When presented with this metaphor, Binyazar preferred to describe the books as a "guide" or "pathfinder" (*yol gösterici*) rather than a collection of recipes. Binyazar, 2023.

18 It is thus of crucial importance that the textbook project was coupled with a training program for teachers focused not only on working with the books but also on didactic training more generally. Birgit Kröner underlined the significance of this aspect in a 1983 article, as did Walter Jungmann in his evaluation of the project. See Kröner 1983, 62; Jungmann 1991, 90–92.

19 On the usage of *bölücülük* in the migration context, see Sökefeld 2008, 243f.

20 No motive was offered for West Berlin's conservative government taking up with socialist activists against its NATO partner, and Sümer's description of the Berlin books was presented as the most prominent among several hazily depicted conspiracies against Turkish children abroad. These ranged from alleged efforts to teach Kurdish in German schools or a murky plan for Islamic religious lessons concocted by the Federal Republic and an unlikely coalition of allies (Yugoslavia, Syria, Iran, and the UK). The chapter can thus be contextualized as part of a growing unease in the Turkish conservative press about a perceived widening distance between Turkey and its diaspora.

21 On diaspora policy after the coup, see Aydın 2014.

22 Selected examples, among many: Botschaft Ankara 1983; Türkisches Konsulat to Kultusministerium 1983; Kommuniqué 1984; Parlak 1991: 67f.

23 This was especially directed at the use of colloquial language, grammar instruction, or typographical errors. A representative example of these criticisms can be found in: Vorschläge des Türkischen Erziehungsministeriums 1985.

24 *Tercüman* printed Laurien's letter with a pointed disclaimer explaining that they were doing so in keeping with West German press law that applied to the European edition printed outside Frankfurt.

25 A rebuttal from a senior Berlin official to a characteristically scathing assessment of the books by a Turkish consular official can be found in Jancke 1991: 69–71.

26 Lower Saxony relied on reviews by Turkish teachers in making this assessment. For examples of these, see Sevkiye Bağatur 1983; Yıldız 1983.

27 Alleged problems with so-called Qur'an schools, unregulated extracurricular courses in Qur'anic recitation run by religious groups independent of the Turkish government, were well known at the time the report was written. See Hunn 2005, 432–46; Van Wyck 2020.

28 For the school senator's muted reaction to the *Tercüman* article, see Abgeordnetenhaus von Berlin 1987a.

29 Indeed, as Weil recalls, the German translation of the stereotypes page had been discovered by Laurien's assistant, who passed it along to the media and Berlin's Jewish community. Weil described it as "the first scandal in which the School Senator exposed itself" (Weil, 2016).

30 In other West German states, the books were pulled entirely. See Çınar, 1987. In July 1986, after completing the final textbook, Özhan left the project early out of frustration with limitations imposed by dwindling funding from the school senator. Jungmann 1991, 44–45.

31 Jungmann 1991, 37; 50. The revisions were carried out in the state pedagogical institute in Soest, North Rhine-Westphalia.

32 Adnan Binyazar pointedly declined to speculate on this question when asked by the author, suggesting only that the answer would be provided by posterity. Binyazar, 2023.

33 Çınar reiterated his respect for Weil, even as he strongly disagreed with his version of events (Çınar 2016).

34 Jewish stereotypes were mentioned in passing in *Tercüman*, but the overall impression was that Germans had belatedly recognized the books for the "communist propaganda" *Tercüman* and the Turkish government had long maintained they were. Other Turkish newspapers presented the details differently, corresponding to editorial lines and outlooks. See "Skandal kitap" 1987; Zarif, 1987.

35 English was required in secondary vocational schools as well (Jungmann 1991, 28). On issues that arose with native languages taught as foreign languages, including Turkish, see Lehman 2019, 177–179.

36 For empirical findings on Turkish parents' high expectations for educational achievement in the FRG, see Renner 1975, 25; Alamdar-Niemann et al 1991, 158.

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Problematizing Integration

Impediments to Integrative Education in Cyprus

Dilek Latif

Introduction: Education, Conflict, and Sustainable Peace

Due to the unresolved Cyprus conflict, education in Cyprus has been traditionally linked to nation-building and significantly influenced by political developments. The highly centralized education systems in both South and North Cyprus are shaped around the national ideologies, planned and controlled by the national authorities. On both sides of Cyprus, education systems emphasize the monocultural character of Cypriot society: while the Greek Orthodox content of the national curricula and textbooks is linked with the Greek national identity in the South, the Turkish Sunni Islamic content is linked with Turkish national identity in the North. On the other hand, dramatically increased migration to Cyprus over the last few decades has added to the enduring challenges of public education and complicated integration in relation to migration.

Within this context, the implementation of integrative education policies in Cyprus faces two main challenges preventing it from effectively promoting peace, tolerance, non-discrimination, and an inclusive society. The first challenge is the existence of two separate systems of public education, where students learn ethnocentric versions of history in segregated schools and environments. The education systems in both South and North Cyprus replicate the ongoing ethnic conflict; their instruments of education, particularly the curricula and textbooks, are examples of ethnocentrism, nationalism, and racism. Despite the last two decades being marked by debate about the revision of history and religious education textbooks to create a more inclusive and pluralistic narrative, all such attempts have failed to produce positive outcomes.

In divided societies, public schools, curricula, and textbooks contain and disseminate national ideologies, perceptions, and messages to be conveyed to future generations (Gellner 1997; Giddens 1991). Conflict-torn societies develop narratives, mythologies, and official histories that become "proxy battlefields" for the conflict (Smith 1983). In the case of Cyprus, where post-conflict hostility and separation have continued for decades, education serves to reinforce perspectives from the past. Public schools provide ethnic education to strengthen the ethnic identity of each community and commonly propagate narratives used to legitimize their political goals (Kizilyurek 1999; Latif 2019; Papadakis 2008). By means of school education, the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities both legitimize their respective political positions.

In line with this, history education, school activities, and commemorative practices like national celebration days are used to convey and legitimize official narratives and reinforce identities defined vis-à-vis the other (Spyrou 2002). School activities based on nationalistic themes, such as competitions in poetry and essay-writing during Martyrs' Week and the God Bless the Motherland Days, are used as tools to justify official historical narratives and political goals. Overall, these are not helpful in creating an understanding of the "other" or in encouraging reconciliation or peaceful coexistence of the two communities (Zembylas 2014).

The second challenge is the integration of growing numbers of migrant and refugee children into the public education systems on both sides of the divide. Statistical data demonstrate that the Republic of Cyprus has the second highest immigration rate in the European Union (Chrysostomou 2019). The total migrant population is estimated to be approximately 20 percent of the overall population (Statistical Service Republic of Cyprus 2017). In accordance with the last available census data, the number of migrants in the Greek Cypriot South was around 170,000 in 2011 (UNHCR 2019). Here, this mostly Muslim community includes Pakistani, Iraqi, Afghan, and Iranian immigrants, and Syrian and Palestinian refugees (Avraamidou . 2017). Recently, North Cyprus has also been receiving a rising number of migrants and refugees from different backgrounds. There are 10,000 immigrant workers and approximately 8,000 Alevi naturalized North Cyprus citizens, generally of Turkish, Kurdish, and Arab origin. Main barriers to the development and implementation of integrative education policies derive from the content and structure of the educational systems on both sides. There are very limited educational initiatives for the integration of migrant and refugee children and a lack of functional intercultural classrooms, where children with diverse backgrounds can be taught together. Within this context, this study

aims to provide an overview of the challenges faced in implementing integrative education in Cyprus, exploring alternative ways to design national curricula, educational programs, and textbooks in order to avoid exclusion and promote peace in the divided island. The research design is based on a document review method in combination with the analysis of educational practices at public schools. The documents analyzed include curricula, educational programs, and textbooks.

Historical Context

The "Cyprus problem" has been characterized as one of the world's most intractable, unresolved ethno-communal conflicts. The Republic of Cyprus, which was founded in 1960 as a bi-communal state, broke down in 1963 after interethnic fighting resumed. The first interethnic clashes started during the 1950s in the fight against British colonialism. The island's two major ethnic groups, the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, are divided along linguistic, historical, ethnic, and religious lines. The ultimate partition of the two communities and physical division of the island came about after the 1974 war. Following the war, Cyprus was divided by a demilitarized zone and split into the Turkish-Cypriot North and Greek-Cypriot South (Latif 2010). A number of unsuccessful talks were coordinated by the United Nations (UN) aiming at the reunification of the island under a federal state (Varnava and Faustmann 2009). In response to these failing negotiations, the Turkish Cypriot community declared the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983, which is not recognized by any country except Turkey. On May 1, 2004, the Republic of Cyprus entered the European Union as the only legitimate state on the island. From that day on, the EU acquis applies only to the areas under the Republic of Cyprus control; it is suspended in the North, which is under the Turkish Cypriot administration. Representatives of both communities continue negotiations with no fruitful outcome as of yet.

After the collapse of constitutional rule in 1963 and the division of the island, the two separate administrations have had autonomy over their respective education systems. The inability to find a solution to the ongoing political problem has led to the politicization of the education systems. Misrepresentations of historical facts and the promotion of distorted and incomplete narratives both reinforce divisions (Ingrao 2009). Political leaders use education for disseminating ideologies, preserving power, and maintaining the status quo.

Additionally, there has been an increasing flow of immigrants and refugees to both sides of the island in recent years. On top of the negative effects of the division of the island and the ongoing ethnic conflict on education, integrating immigrants and refugees into society and the education system has presented further challenges.

Ethnocentricism in the Education System and Historical Narratives

One of the main impediments to integrative education in Cyprus is the ethnocentric public education in segregated school systems. The education systems in both South and North Cyprus have been an important part of the ongoing ethnic conflict. The main instruments of education, particularly the curricula and textbooks, reproduce ethnocentrism, nationalism, and racism (Latif 2019: 37). Despite the presence of initiatives to change history and religious studies textbooks to become more inclusive, no positive outcomes have been achieved. The Greek Cypriot authorities' efforts at curricular reform led to divisions within the coalition government of the time. Even though the updated curriculum emphasized the "development of intercultural awareness, tolerance and respect for otherness" (Education for All National Review Report: Cyprus 2015), the history textbooks have not been revised as projected.

On the Turkish Cypriot side, history textbooks have been revised a number of times; all revisions followed elections where power changed hands. The *History of Cyprus* textbooks, used in secondary schools from 1971 until 2004, subjectively described the past from a Turkish nationalist point of view. In the early 2000s, when the pro-solution and pro-reconciliation center-left Republican Turkish Party (CTP) assumed power, a process of revising the history textbooks started. The revised history textbooks differed considerably from the previous ethnocentric Cyprus history textbooks, rejecting any obvious indication of a national enemy and adopting multicultural approaches and visual materials (Latif 2010; Vural and Özuyanık 2008). The ensuing major shift from political and military history toward social and cultural history was arguably an improvement as social and cultural considerations are essential instruments of denationalizing history. All volumes acknowledged the pain and loss of the Greek Cypriot

community, contributing to the development of empathy and tolerance, which could support reconciliation.

However, those textbooks have since been replaced by revised textbooks after the CTP government lost the 2009 general elections to the center-right National Unity Party (UBP). The 2009 revised Cyprus history textbooks have been reverted to an ethnocentric approach, using more nationalist and militaristic discourses and visual images. The 2009 textbooks' narrative and visual images were built on the differences and conflicts between Turkish and Greek Cypriots again. In 2016, after political power changed hands, new textbooks were prepared once more. They reflect the political environment of the by then coalition government of the nationalist UBP and pro-solution CTP. For the first time, nationalist-conservative and pro-solution-progressive historians and history educators worked together under the history education commission to re-write the history textbooks. Even the title of the textbooks represents the moderate approach. The title of the first revised textbooks in 2004 *Cyprus History*, was criticized by the nationalist/conservative circles. The title of the 2009 revised textbooks *Turkish Cypriot History*, was criticized by the pro-solution and progressive circles. The title of the current 2016 textbooks includes both--*Cyprus and Turkish Cypriot History*. Historical events are written in a descriptive style, with a more impartial perspective without a nationalist position. Overall, the revision and re-revision of textbooks reflect the attempts to change the policy and narrative of the textbooks according to the shifts in the political context.

Ethnocentricism in the Greek Cypriot Case

Before the 1974 war in Cyprus, Cypriot Hellenism was the focal point of the Greek Cypriot historical narrative, which emphasized the unification of Cyprus with Greece (Kizilyurek 1999; Papadakis 2008). At that time, the conflict between Greeks and Turks was extensively covered in the textbooks, with Turks represented as historical enemies (Hodge and Lewis 1966). After the island was divided as a result of the 1974 war, a political will to reunite Cyprus led the Greek Cypriot narrative to change. Turkey's military presence and division of the island remain major turning points in recent history, constructing negative images of Turkey and Turks as the "other" (Spyrou 2011). There is hardly any reference to coexistence and cooperation between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, with Turkish Cypriots presented as Turks, who are historical enemies or opponents of the

Greeks (Papadakis 1998, 2008). Furthermore, the post-1974 Greek Cypriot education system underlines the significance of the national struggle and the remembering of the "occupied areas" (Christou 2006; Zembylas 2014). Turkish military presence and the division of the island remain the most significant events in recent history, which are underlined within the education system as part of the national curriculum, textbooks, and school activities.

Ethnocentrism in the Turkish Cypriot Case

The Turkish Cypriot ethnocentric education policy mirrors the political ideology and national narratives dominant after the 1974 war. The Turkish Cypriot community is portrayed as an organic part of Anatolia and the Turkish nation. The main historical narrative of the history textbooks justifies the geographical division of Cyprus on the basis that the two communities in Cyprus cannot live together (Kizilyurek 1999). The opposing narrative of Cypriot Hellenism is included to underline the Ottoman/Turkish roots of the island. The most prominent topic in the textbooks is the national struggle and intercommunal strife of 1964 to 1974. The 1974 Cyprus war is portrayed as a "peace operation," and a positive outcome of the struggle (Papadakis 2008).

Over the last two decades, as part of steps toward peacebuilding and reconciliation, there have been efforts to renew some of textbooks and curricula. The Turkish Cypriot history textbooks have been revised three times, always following elections where power changed hands. After 2003, when the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) took government control for the first time since 1971, a revision of Cyprus history books for lower secondary schools took place. This process continued between 2005 and 2009, when Cyprus history textbooks for upper-secondary schools were rewritten. The main difference between the old and the revised textbooks was a movement toward perceiving Cyprus as a mainland, versus Cyprus as a geographical extension of Anatolia. The biggest difference in the first revised textbooks was the absence of an obvious indication of a national enemy. However, the 2009 revised Cyprus history textbooks reverted to an ethnocentric approach, using more nationalist and militaristic discourses and visual images. According to the main aims of the Education Program of 2016, new history textbooks were developed by the Basic Education Program Development Project, which do not vary from the usual ethnocentric approach.

On both sides of Cyprus, there has been an overpoliticization of history education and the corresponding textbooks. A fierce debate on the content and

approach of the textbooks brings up arguments about the dangers of an erosion of national identity and the termination of national consciousness. Moreover, outside the classroom, the same historical events are remembered through opposing narratives and contrasting commemorative school practices.

The 1974 War: Greek and Turkish Cypriot Narratives and Commemorative Practices

The Greek Cypriot official narrative depicts the 1974 war as a barbaric Turkish invasion with a tragic end. The incidents of 1974 are commemorated on the "I do not forget" national remembrance day (Christou 2006). This is a date of national mourning for Greek Cypriots, which school students commemorate accordingly. The Turkish Cypriot official narrative describes the 1974 war as a peace operation, defined as the "Happy Peace Operation" in former textbooks (Latif 2010). It is portrayed as a happy ending for the Turkish Cypriot community, after which Turkish Cypriots have been living safely and happily in North Cyprus. There is a big day of celebration for Turkish Cypriot schools, where the students read nationalist poems and write essays.

Overall, since the 1974 war, education, national narratives, and popular discourse have connected to the Cyprus conflict. Misrepresentations of historical incidents and suffering, omitting or ignoring facts, and promoting distorted and incomplete narratives that reinforce divisions have complicated the process of reconciliation and integration. The practice narrative of Brian Van Wyck, "'Turkish for Europe': The West Berlin Turkish Textbook Project and Education for Integration, 1980–1987," also illustrates the tensions around the matter of textbooks and integration, regarding the contradictory notions of integration in Turkish—German migration history. The Berlin Turkish Project shows how different understandings of integration by different actors—Turkish and German, state and civil society, native and migrant— were brought to their evaluation of the Berlin textbooks before, during, and after the controversy in 1987. In Van Wyck's practice narrative in this volume (Chapter 9), the perspectives on integration greatly differed, ranging from the preservation of Turkish national identity and long-distance nationalism, to Turkishness with a European or German overlay, even to a rejection of a proscriptive notion of integration altogether. In this regard, the debates over schoolbooks demonstrate the process through which each society's ruling elites gain the approval of the "existing political, social, and economic system, together with the cultural attributes that reflect its hegemony" (Ingrao 2009b).

The Integration of Migrant and Refugee
Children into Public Education in Cyprus

The Greek Cypriot Education System and Issues of Integration

A second challenge in Cyprus is the integration of migrant and refugee children. The constitution of the Republic of Cyprus gives the right to education for all residents living in its territory. Regardless of their legal status, nationality, or origin, all children have the right to study in public schools. Hence, migrant and refugee children officially have the same conditions for education as other students, and school policies and regulations should be implemented equally. Public primary and secondary education is mandatory and free of charge for all children. The language of education is Greek. Despite high school not being compulsory between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, education is provided free of charge in public schools; this also includes technical and vocational training programs.

Initially, migrants were considered as guest workers according to immigration policies, so they were not granted educational rights. Toward the end of the 1990s, official education responses to migration started to develop, which were related to the steps for the accession of Cyprus into the European Union (EU). The immigration issue first appeared on the educational agenda of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) of Cyprus in 1999. Since Cyprus joined the EU in 2004, the MoEC has attempted to address "intercultural education" and "inclusion" within the educational policies in line with European discourses, which also included alignment of the national curriculum (Hajisoteriou 2020). However, previous research indicates that national educational policies are not reflected in the classroom practices. Serious barriers exist in language policy planning and reformed history and religious education.

Hitherto, the education system of the Republic of Cyprus tries to endorse the principles of intercultural education and aims to introduce other cultures and global values to all students while working against stereotypes and prejudices. The MoEC cooperated with the Commissioner for Administration and Human Rights and developed a code of conduct against racism and a guide for registering racist incidents in the school environment (Papamichael and Zembylas 2017). From 2015 to 2018, MoEC also adopted the *DRASE* program (Actions for School and Social Integration), which aimed to provide services for about 100 public schools, including kindergartens, primary schools, secondary schools, high schools, and technical schools (UNHCR 2018). This

program intended to support economically disadvantaged pupils and reinforce social cohesion, working to eliminate social marginalization and exclusion by improving learning outcomes. However, the school attendance of refugees and migrant children under eighteen years old, who are entitled to free access to primary and secondary education, is very low. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the impediments are as follows: failure of parents to enroll their children in the local educational system, the language barrier, conflicts with other students, absenteeism without a valid reason, difficulties in adapting to the new learning environment and teaching methods, limited relationships between parents and the school community, and racism (UNHCR 2018).

While language lessons are offered by municipalities in cooperation with NGOs, funded by the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF), these programs mostly take place in big cities. A limited number of initiatives also exist to facilitate refugees' effective participation in education; an agreement signed between the UNHCR and the University of Nicosia aims to offer opportunities for refugees to have access to tertiary education (UNHCR 2018). The Ministry of Education has also realized the need to review the difficulties faced by different age groups in the national educational system and redesign educational programs accordingly. Five priorities have since been designated for the integration of migrant and refugee children (UNHCR 2019): learning the Greek language; reception of newly arrived children with a migrant background; teacher education and continuing professional development; collection and analysis of data on the needs of pupils with a migrant background; and intercultural approaches in new curricula.

Built on the available data about the current status of access to the educational system and the barriers to education that refugee children face, the No Lost Generation: Refugee Children Education in Cyprus project makes some policy suggestions for the integration of asylum seekers and refugees into all levels of education, responding to the target for an inclusive and equitable quality education for all children in Cyprus:

> Create an informative program for asylum seeking and refugee parents with children at the pre-school age (e.g. parenting workshops, practical workshops to inform of choices and the Cyprus educational system). Improve refugee students' achievements by strengthening individual support, close collaboration with family or custodians, intercultural training, high numbers of mentors, intercultural mediators, as well as improvements in teacher training. Create certified accelerated educational programs for children and

adolescents who have been out of school for several years and find the formal system inaccessible.

Create methods to recognize prior learning activities which can then be recognized by higher education institutions as parts of study programs (in the form of credits, for example), which in turn can help students to complete their higher education studies. Fund research on refugee students' resettlement process and its impact on students' social, psychological, and educational wellbeing, and research examining the special needs of students leaving school at an early stage, the characteristics, the reasons and the dimension of drop-outs. (Katsounari, Phylactou, and Heracleous 2021)

The Turkish Cypriot Education System and Issues of Integration

In recent times, North Cyprus has also been receiving migrants and refugees from different backgrounds. Turkish language instruction in public schools is a major barrier for migrant and refugee children. Therefore, the Educational Planning and Program Department of the Turkish Cypriot Ministry of Education initiated a study of primary, secondary, and high schools to enable students whose mother tongue is not Turkish to receive a more qualified education and eliminate disadvantages arising from the language. The number of students whose mother tongue is not Turkish was determined, and a commission consisting of academicians, supervisors, and teachers was established.

The commission prepared the "Turkish (language) Support Program for Foreigners" in November 2019. While creating the Turkish Support Program, two different education levels were taken as a basis: a primary-school program for ages six to twelve and a program for secondary school and high school developed for ages thirteen to seventeen (MEB 2020). The programs have three levels each, beginner, intermediate, and advanced, and were put into practice for the first time in the 2020–1 academic year.

Notwithstanding the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic, students were able to continue face-to-face education at schools during the September–December 2020 period of the 2020–21 academic year. The second semester was met with serious problems as there was insufficient infrastructure in public schools for online education. For this reason, no data is available on whether the Turkish Support Program for Foreigners was effective or successful.

New educational programs and curricula developed on both sides of Cyprus tried to consider the diverse conditions in the educational systems due to the existence of migrants and refugees from Africa, East Asia, and the

Middle East. Although the Educational Planning and Program Department has referred to the need to promote tolerance and mutual understanding in order to accommodate diversity at schools, these attempts are yet to yield a positive result for the integration of migrant and refugee pupils (Zembylas and Loukaidis 2018: 7–9).

Conclusion

Among the main challenges of integrative education in Cyprus are the ethnocentric versions of history in segregated schools and environments. History education and textbooks are often sites for political contestation, both in schools and in society at large. This is why governments attribute importance to the teaching and learning of history and claim serious control over the history curriculum. A new educational direction is necessary to raise more tolerant and cooperative new generations who can embrace diversity.

There is a continuing necessity on both sides of the island to take steps in writing history textbooks and changing their teaching methods, in order for history education to be used as a positive tool to promote peace and understanding for future generations. Education and curriculum development specialists should explore alternative ways to design national curricula, educational programs, and textbooks in order to avoid exclusion and promote peace on the divided island. The curriculum for history education should be revised, especially with regard to pedagogy, didactic approaches, the development of historical thinking, and the evaluation of historical sources.

On both sides of Cyprus, an alternative to the dominant nationalist paradigms, which emphasizes their shared homeland and underlines common experiences and the possibility of cooperation, is essential to promote the belief that the two main communities can peacefully coexist. There is also an urgent need for the development of curricula, educational programs, and textbooks that can help with the integration of minority, migrant, and refugee children into public schools.

The second hindrance is the integration of migrant and refugee children into the public education systems. The current practice is to enroll children in local schools. However, one of the major difficulties is that there is no official procedure to assess the educational and cognitive level of the children upon enrollment. Other difficulties with the integration of migrant and refugee children into their new school environment include conflicts between children,

absenteeism, language barriers, adapting to the new learning process, the relationship between the parents and school community, and racism. Overall, Greek and Turkish language instruction in public schools is a major hindrance for the attendance of migrant and refugee children. Education planning departments should work on effective linguistic and cultural adaptation programs to facilitate the integration of minority, migrant, and refugee children.

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Community Building and Integration through Education

Denise R. Muro

Introduction

In 2015, a record number of asylum seekers made their way to Europe, with approximately 1.3 million asylum applications in that year alone. The next year, 2016, saw nearly as many, with 1.2 million applications. Significantly, while Germany was the destination country for 45 percent of all of Europe's asylum seekers in 2015 and 2016, no other single country accounted for more than 8 percent (Connor 2017).

In 2016, the large number of newcomers in Germany, as well as backlogs in the asylum system, prompted a national discussion around integration. What does successful integration look like? Who is responsible for integration? And what does integration mean, fundamentally? These questions were being raised by public officials, community members, and newcomers alike. I was fortunate enough to be in Berlin at the time and was able to engage directly in fieldwork in situ. There, I formally interviewed forty-four people and had many more informal conversations. I spoke with refugees, asylum seekers, and individuals working closely with them through NGOs and citizens' initiatives. Most of the asylum seekers I spoke with had come to Germany during the summer and fall of 2015. I was also able to attend various related public talks and events, volunteer with a few different organizations, observe their work, and shadow refugees and asylum seekers in their day-to-day lives. This included going with them to classes, accompanying them as they accessed other services, and visiting their accommodations, whether a temporary living space or more permanent housing.

While public officials and public talks often focused on formal integration programs such as German language and culture classes, newcomers and those working closely with them often focused more on the importance of social interaction and community building. Whether in a community setting or in a classroom, social interactions between newcomers and established Berliners were fascinating to hear about and observe, providing an intimate and insightful look into day-to-day integration. During my time in Berlin, I observed and spoke to people in various educational settings, including state-sponsored German language classes, nonprofit-run language cafés, cooking classes, book discussions, walking tours, and community learning circles. In what follows, I describe three specific settings: a state-sponsored German language class, a community learning setting, and a walking tour focused on drawing parallels between Berlin's history and the Syrian refugee crisis.

Learning in a German Language Class

I spent several days with two asylum seekers whom I had met in Berlin. Zahar was a young, single man from Afghanistan who had most recently worked with the US military as a translator. When the unit he was working with left the country, he found himself and his family in danger and eventually decided to make his way to Europe to seek asylum. Ara was a single mother from Syria who had arrived in Germany with her young daughter in 2015. Ara and Zahar had become friends, supporting and helping each other through the various struggles and obstacles they encountered during the asylum process.

Zahar reported that Syrian asylum seekers' cases tended to move much faster than the cases of other asylum seekers. As such, he explained that they usually were able to enroll in German language and culture classes more quickly and were able to get their own housing sooner. This was the case with Ara. She was quickly able to enroll in a German course; however, the only location option she was given took nearly an hour to get to. With the challenges of finding childcare and the inconvenient location of the class, she had stopped going and was waiting for another spot to open up in a more conveniently located class. The status of Zahar's case meant that he was not technically supposed to be able to access German language and culture courses yet. However, he explained that

he was very eager to begin learning German and making a new life for himself. He had obtained permission to enroll in a German language course, although when I met him there was still no guarantee that he would be granted asylum and allowed to stay in Germany.

During the time I spent with Zahar and Ara, I attended Zahar's German class with him. He asked his teacher and classmates if it would be okay for me to observe. The class was a traditional, relatively formal classroom environment, with the teacher up front at the whiteboard and rows of adult students facing her attentively. All of the students were men, and most of them were young. The teacher was a German woman, probably in her thirties. Before the class began, the attendees talked among themselves in Arabic and English. Zahar explained that most of them were Syrian and that he was the only Afghani man. They talked about their friends or relatives, the difficulty of contacting people back home, and the challenges of various aspects of their asylum cases and their new lives in Germany. Here, Zahar arranged to go with a man to a meeting later that afternoon to help as a translator, as the man didn't speak any German or English.

The students seemed very eager to learn. There was a general air of excitement in the room, and once the teacher began, everyone was quiet and attentive, diligently taking notes and occasionally asking questions. Not knowing much German myself, a large part of the lesson's content was beyond my grasp. However, I was surprised that the students hardly did any talking. The instruction was very unidirectional, and there were not many opportunities for practice. Based on my observations, there was also a significant power imbalance between the teacher and the students. She did not seem very approachable before or after class; it was clear that she was not there to befriend them or help them with other aspects of their lives.

I spoke with the men in the class during the break and after the class ended. They described the teacher to me with words like "tough," "serious," and "strict." They also noted that they sometimes felt like she thought of them and treated them as children, and that this made them feel belittled. Zahar agreed that she was serious and not very friendly, but explained that he didn't need her to be friendly. He was interested in using the class to learn German and didn't necessarily expect the teacher to be very friendly or helpful with matters outside of class. He expressed that it would have been nice if she was more open to connecting with the students, but said he was just happy to be in the class.

Learning Together in a Community Setting

Later that month, I went to a different sort of learning setting. I had met two asylum seekers, Ghais and Hasan, who were both regular participants in a program focusing on community building for newcomers and locals, run by a local nonprofit organization. So-called living room storytelling events were one unique part of their program. They aimed to build organic connections between newcomers and locals and to offer newcomers a setting in which they could learn and practice German with native speakers.

I traveled there together with some of the participants, and there was a lot of excitement on the way. The events were actually held in someone's living room and hence limited to around twelve participants per event. That evening's event was at the apartment of two brothers who had recently come to Berlin from Syria. There was some food and a lot of friendly conversation happening before we got started. It was a warm and friendly environment, and everyone seemed relaxed and natural. Although I learned there were a few first-time participants, everyone seemed to know someone, and the group was very inviting and inclusive.

We all sat in a large circle in the living room of the apartment, on couches, chairs, cushions, and on the floor. One of the hosting brothers began by welcoming everyone and saying they were glad to have so many people in their home. He noted that they had always had a lot of family and neighbors around while growing up, so it felt like home for them to be hosting so many friends in Berlin. He handed over to another participant to start the discussion for the evening. The participant, a staff member in the organization running the event, noted that there were newcomers and locals present in the circle and that the organization's vision was to bring people together as equals, avoiding the power imbalance associated with Germans helping refugees. They intentionally used the terms "newcomers" and "locals" to avoid dividing people up by legal status, explaining that the words "newcomers" and "locals" better enabled people to connect as fellow humans.

The event did not focus on any specific aspect of the refugee experience. Instead, participants connected around a theme that everyone could think about and respond to as humans. That night, the initial discussion prompt required participants to share their earliest childhood memory. This was something everyone could relate to, not something unique to the refugee experience, and it allowed for a lot of cultural exchange. During the discussion, participants were allowed to ask questions, and over the course of the evening questions and

comments on topics such as cultural and religious practices and norms, family dynamics, educational history, and politics came up.

This setting allowed for a multidirectional exchange between equals. No one person was in charge of the content, and we could all learn from each other. Previous living room storytelling events had already led to continued engagement, with some people becoming closer friends or participating in other programs from the organization. All those present were encouraged to bring other friends to the next event. Participants noted the importance of convening as humans rather than as refugees and Germans. They expressed an appreciation for the exchange of ideas and perspectives and enjoyed getting to ask questions and learn from one another's experiences. This kind of learning setting, far from the traditional classroom, allowed for substantial relationship development and community building, which seemed tremendously beneficial for newcomers and locals alike.

Learning through History

One of the more unique experiences I had while in Berlin was a walking tour led by an asylum seeker. The Refugee Voices Tour aimed to draw connections between some of Berlin's history and recent events in Syria. Tarek, a young Syrian man, led the tour I was on and two other tour-goers accompanied us. The tour lasted about three hours and brought us to a number of famous sites around Berlin, including parts of the Berlin Wall, Checkpoint Charlie, some federal buildings, and *Gendarmenmarkt*.

At each stop, and along the way, Tarek took us through some German history, specifically that of Berlin, drawing parallels with more recent events in Syria. He discussed conflict, power-hungry and authoritarian regimes, censorship and stringent crackdowns on opposition voices, and the displacement of people. Overall, the message of the tour was that no nation is immune to conflict; turbulent and destructive political circumstances can occur anywhere, costing human lives.

Later on, I was able to talk to Tarek about his own story and experiences. Before 2013, he and his family all lived in Syria, but they had since been scattered between a few countries. In 2013, the year that Tarek cites as when a larger number of Syrians began to flee and "the idea of Europe was starting to get more famous," Tarek and his older brother were the only ones still in the family home in Syria. Their father, sister, and younger brother had moved to

Libya, where their father and younger brother could work, and their mother was in Turkey with extended family. When Tarek left Syria, he headed for Libya. There, his father and younger brother facilitated the process of Tarek finding a job. However, when the situation in Libya became more unstable, the family decided that Tarek's sister should go to Europe. As a dentist, she was able to apply for a visa to attend a dentistry conference in Italy. The family also agreed that it would be best if only Tarek and his brother remained in Libya; due to the instability, they might have had to fight or flee at any moment, and their elderly father was not as mobile. Thus, their father was sent to join their mother in Turkey.

In the meantime, Tarek's sister made it to Italy and then traveled to Berlin, where she had a brother-in-law who was a permanent resident. Her brother-in-law had lived and worked in Germany for several years, and this social connection facilitated her entry into Europe. Finally, Tarek and his younger brother decided to flee Libya and head to Europe. Already fluent in English, Tarek saw the UK as the ideal option. However, he explained that "what basically happened is that my sister was here before me, so we have to be together, and she was staying here for more than six month[s], and at that point when we arrived to Europe, she got her residence." Tarek also explained that having his sister and her brother-in-law already familiar with Germany made the adjustment process easier for him and his younger brother. Their sister and her brother-in-law were able to share information with Tarek and his brother, and the four were able to form a stable support system rather than facing social isolation in a new country.[1]

However, despite being with family and becoming involved in a few different organizations and volunteer initiatives while waiting for work authorization, Tarek still noticed the difficulty of trying to integrate. Commenting on the negative implications of being known as a refugee and the divisions he felt between himself and his new society, Tarek said:

> The thing that I really hate, [is] that the word refugee is a bad word now . . . you have the stereotype and it's not always a positive way. People, if they want to react in a positive way, they will pity you that, "Ah, okay that poor man or poor family!" or something, and on the negative way, "Okay [these] extremists, or this people that just want to ruin our way of life or our way of living!" So it's always in the both sides it's not a good word . . . Even when I get more engaged in society, even if I had my residence, I'm gonna stay in their eyes a refugee. And this is, you can say, block me from society that I'm gonna stay out, I'm not gonna come in, you're not gonna see me as equal.[2]

Tarek explained that he often saw Germans as engaging with refugees either negatively, based on stereotypes and fears, or in a patronizing way, assuming refugees to be helpless. He noted that people's reactions to the word "refugee" served to separate or block him from society, causing him to limit his interactions with others. He expressed the desire to be seen as equal, on human terms. This desire is part of what motivated him to continue doing the walking tours. Through them, he was able to share part of his story, share what his country was going through, and connect it to something that most Germans were much more familiar with.

Reflections and Conclusion

Day-to-day interactions in communities and learning environments offer tremendous insight into integrative processes. While traditional educational settings, like the state-sponsored German language course, can further integration by advancing practical skills such as language ability and familiarity with cultural norms, nontraditional and multi-directional learning environments seem to offer something more. In addition to a setting for learning and practicing German, the storytelling circles offered an opportunity to learn about other people's experiences and foster understanding, connection, and community building. Moreover, the walking tour eschewed the traditional educational dynamic of a German teaching a group of asylum seekers and instead had an asylum seeker teaching a group of Germans and tourists (or in my case, a researcher) from other countries.

As I studied these day-to-day settings, I could see the importance of investigating how and to what extent asylum seekers and refugees are able to exercise their agency and be seen and engaged with on a human level. This has long been an interest of mine. As a social science researcher, I continue to reflect on how my own positionality and perspectives inform my research. Having worked with resettled refugee and immigrant communities in Colorado for several years, researching similar communities in another setting was still very personal for me. I have witnessed refugees' challenges integrating firsthand, and I have seen host communities treat them with disdain, suspicion, and patronization. I am aware that these experiences make me naturally empathetic to refugee communities. My previous experience with refugee communities makes me sympathetic toward their experiences. Nevertheless, having observed and engaged with so many refugees and immigrants who express a deep desire

to be self-sufficient and not to be patronized or pitied, I also recognize the importance of engaging with these communities on a human level rather than as someone offering aid or taking a position of superiority. I recognize that sympathy may look like pity in some cases, and I strive to be aware of how I am coming across in order to strike a balance. My previous experiences working with refugee communities helped me to be more conscious of how I expressed my sympathy and concern for the asylum seekers and refugees with whom I spoke and interacted in Berlin. Due to my previous experiences, I was able to take a balanced approach with my interview participants. Ultimately, I am aware that my concern for refugees' agency and treatment as human beings, developed through practical work with these communities, also informs my research interests and approaches used.

Moreover, throughout my time researching and working with immigrant and refugee communities, I have continued to reflect on my own motivations for being involved in this work. Early on in this research process, several organizations declined my request for interviews, stating that they were getting too many requests from journalists and researchers, and so were not responding to any of them. One individual noted: "I'll be honest with you. I receive nearly ten emails a day from researchers or journalists looking for interviews." Furthermore, when seeking an interview from a self-organized refugee group that publishes a newspaper called *Daily Resistance*, I came across this statement on their website: "If you want to interview refugee activists for a research project, please consider your position in relation to people categorized as refugees and being active politically, and how refugee protests and the activists themselves can benefit from your project" (Refugee Movement 2016). As the last thing I wanted to do was be another insensitive, probing microphone in someone's face, treating them like an object to be studied rather than a human being with an individual story, I began making every effort to intentionally foster relationships with the people I interviewed rather than simply interviewing them and moving on. While this approach required spending more time with each individual and likely resulted in a fewer total number of interviews, it helped me get to know individuals on a deeper personal level.

The experience of being turned down for interviews and asked by the *Daily Resistance* website to consider my position caused me to reflect even more deeply on my role as a researcher in this context. I found myself reflecting on my own privilege and power relative to that of my interview participants. As

an American citizen, I have the privilege of freedom of movement; I elected to travel to Berlin and was able to secure funding to support myself while there. In contrast, the asylum seekers and refugees with whom I engaged had experienced forced displacement with no other option than to leave their homes, and they often had experienced extreme restrictions on their movement, both along the way to Berlin and once living there, in temporary housing facilities.

Yet, as a woman of color, I was also able to gain some further insight into their experiences. Often, when I was with other people of color who were asylum seekers and refugees, I blended in, at least to the casual onlooker. While tagging along with asylum seekers and refugees in their day-to-day lives, I experienced Germans watching us with suspicion, shouting at us, and even throwing trash at us on one occasion. My status as a non-German who did not speak the language and was new to navigating German culture and society also allowed me to better understand and empathize with asylum seekers and refugees. We often bonded over social blunders and things we hadn't realized. My status as a non-German also meant that when engaging with the organization that put on the living room storytelling events, I was regarded as a newcomer (as opposed to a local). While the group aimed to connect on a human level and did not overuse the newcomer and local labels, it was interesting to take on that label despite my newcomer circumstances being so different from those of the asylum seekers in the group.

Ultimately, I sought to engage with asylum seekers and refugees on an individual, human, level, aiming to understand and connect with them. The narratives above, together with my other research, seek to represent asylum seekers and refugees on the human level beyond their legal status, sharing their stories. My research and practice interests center not on how we, as locals, can help refugees, but on how we all can help and support each other, how we all can promote better understanding and community building, and how we all can live together in a way that supports us all in reaching our potential.

Notes

1   Tarek (Syrian asylum seeker) in discussion with the author, June 2016.
2   Tarek (Syrian asylum seeker) in discussion with the author, June 2016.

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Part II

Analytical Commentaries on the Narratives

Integration as a Practice of Pluralism

Challenges in Migration and Education

Mneesha Gellman

Introduction: Schools as Ideological Battlegrounds

There are many different terms used to describe the process of being together that happens when migrants from one country enter and live in another. From melting pots to mosaics to salads, societies employ a bevy of often problematic metaphors to describe the process of incorporating newcomers. Relationships across groups can take numerous shapes. With outright hostility or segregation on one side of the spectrum, and types of acceptance on the other (Schaefer 2013: 211), the degree of assimilation required from newcomers is variable across contexts.

Pluralism is where multiple layers of identities are welcomed and incorporated into the systems and spaces that shape quotidian life. Sometimes also labeled multiculturalism, pluralism is a strong social foundation for healthy democratic systems that uphold values of human rights. Pluralism may include some degree of assimilation from newcomers, which can facilitate communication through language, for example, but it does not necessarily require it. Similarly, there is nothing inherent in democratic regimes that require assimilation either. Democracies can welcome everyone on an equal footing regardless of identity background, allowing people to maintain country-of-origin identities to the degree that they prefer. When democratic regimes behave this way, states benefit from pluralism by affirming a commitment to the full dignity of the person, and in turn, democracy is strengthened by the participation of a citizenry that feels empowered rather than excluded. Such a commitment to pluralism has implications for the rights of other minorities besides

newcomers, including Indigenous peoples, LGBTQI+ populations, and people with disabilities.

The dictionary definition of integration is the "incorporation as equals into society or an organization of individuals of different groups" (Merriam-Webster 2022). The reference to being equals is key to the concept of integration many authors invoke in this volume. Unlike tolerance, which connotes a lack of hostility to difference but not an embracing of it, integration explicitly asserts the equality of all who constitute a given social entity. Pluralism and integration resonate conceptually because both invoke welcoming newcomers without requiring an abandonment of the home country identity, for example, linguistically, religiously, or in other cultural practices. Yet, the conceptual definition of integration may not neatly match its reality as a daily practice.

In any political regime, there are spaces where states send messages about what kind of being together is allowed. Integration, which conceptually includes equality as newcomers enter new societies, may, in fact, look a lot like assimilation—where newcomers or other outsiders are expected to take on characteristics such as the language and beliefs of the ethnic majority—in practice, especially in the context of formal education. Public schools are at the forefront of state messaging about nationalism and citizenship formation. What is taught, how it is taught, and who is teaching whom is all highly political (Bentrovato, Korostelina, and Schulze 2016; Ince 2018; Jacob and RunningHawk Johnson 2020; Lara-Cooper and Lara Sr. 2019). Many systems and educational curricula are geared to facilitate assimilation, more so than equality-based integration, at least in the United States and many Global South contexts I have studied.

As principal sites of citizen-making, schools, classrooms, and curricula are all sites of power where states define the contours of national identity and the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. Even though there may be efforts to make such sites appear benign, those who control schools and their associated budgets, employment pipelines, and curricula are powerful actors with significant influence on the next generation of world-making. To take one example from my home country of the United States, everything from the languages in which instruction is delivered to the teaching of topics such as evolution, sexual education, critical race theory, and ethnic studies reveals socio-political fault lines. The tectonic plates of political (dis)order are visible in the wars fought for the hearts and minds of students. For better or worse, the field of education is a hotbed of contention over what coexistence can or should look like around the world.

Assimilation Factories: The Limits and Promise of Schooling

At the root of many fights over what is or is not taught in the classroom are bids for power and control over both economic resources and identity. For example, the educational portfolio of the United States is a white settler-colonial product that continues to justify white supremacy as well as the control of natural resources (Picower and Mayorga 2015: 6–11). I have written elsewhere about the role of boarding schools for Native Americans and English-only education mandates as culturecidal policies—policies that intentionally kill off cultural practices that do not fit the dominant framework—to implement an unequal and frequently violent assimilation (Gellman 2023). There are as many approaches to migrant incorporation in schools as there are school districts and states around the world. Generally, incorporation is determined by variations in federal or central policies, coupled with school administrator and individual teacher philosophies on the assimilation-to-pluralism spectrum.

Represented in the chapters in this volume is the fact that much of the time, schools are sites of violence for newcomers as well as Indigenous peoples, who are frequently the traditional owners of the land on which assimilationist schools are created. While schools can sometimes be sources of respite, as is the case for Sudanese refugees in the private school in Egypt described in Sally Wesley Bonet's chapter, more typically they mandate conformity to state assimilationist projects. Whether through macro- or microaggressions, differences of identity threaten state projects of nation-building. In some of the cases I know best, Indigenous and minority identities—including languages, dress, creation stories, and other ways of being—have been targeted for extinction by fearful power-wielding ethnic majorities. This is the case in Mexico (Gellman 2019; Hamel 2008), El Salvador (DeLugan 2012; Gellman and Bellino 2019), Guatemala (López 2017), Turkey (Cetin 2020; Gellman 2017; Ince 2018), the United States (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; Wilson and Schellhammer 2021), and around the world (Hornberger 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar 2010). Schools are primary sites of power where state institutions have almost unfettered access to forming the identities of younger generations.

Schools can also be central spaces for upward socioeconomic mobility and self-actualization. Through education, working classes aspire to transcend their social stations, or at least have the potential to find gainful employment. The fact that an increase in years of schooling for girls correlates with overall improved development indicators for countries and human survival rates overall shows a real benefit of schooling (Gadoth and Heymann 2020). Generations of

historically oppressed populations around the world have fought—sometimes at peril of their lives—for the right to access education. Education, as the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms in Article 26, is a human right (UN 1948).

In my own family history, it was access to education that transformed my first-generation-born-in-the-United States grandparents to be able to aspire to go from peasant to working middle class. My great-grandparents, as Jews fleeing Eastern European pogroms as young adults, surely arrived in the United States with hope for education as a transformative possibility for their descendants. Personally, it was access to college and then graduate school that changed my own direction from being a service industry employee to a knowledge-maker.

Schools can be spaces for self-actualization, for networking, and for acquiring of the basic skills—from languages to technical skills to an appreciation of arts and culture—that allow a complex pluralistic society to function. But the hidden agendas of schooling need more visibility and critique. For newcomers, the strength required to get through schooling and retain a sense of the cultural self connected to a home country or culture is no small feat. In the following section, I offer brief comments on some of the common themes across the chapters in Part I of this volume.

Power and Positionality in the Study of Education

There are multiple commonalities across the chapters that are based on personal experiences in schools. One shared thread is the articulation of positionality. Most of the authors describe their own identities in relation to their places of study. In my discipline of political science, this practice, known as "reflexive openness" is considered an important part of research transparency (Thomson 2021; MacLean et al. 2021). Facilitating reflection on how the self may impact the data we interpret is a basic best practice for researchers across disciplines.

The reason that positionality is so vital to understanding any form of research is that our identities contain many implicit biases and matrices of power. These preferences and hierarchies that shape who we are as humans may come into our research puzzles in multiple ways. Of course, as ethnographers, our phenotypical positionality is clear to those we engage with and can influence our findings in a wide range of ways. But positionality also influences how we might code data or define indicators in qualitative as well as quantitative research. For this reason,

candid discussions of positionality are a valuable contribution from many of the authors.

Another contribution the authors make is to center the experiences of teachers and students as those who are directly affected by the study themes. So much research has been done *on* marginalized communities, rather than *with* them (Gellman 2021). While this volume does not take an explicitly collaborative stance that centers stakeholder partnership, it does foreground research done in a bottom-up manner, which is a welcome relief. Far too frequently, decisions about educational programming, especially through Global North channels of aid to the Global South, come in the form of heavy-handed, top-down policies. Out of touch with reality, many such top-down programs are doomed to fail, or at least miss their mark. I offer a few painful examples here.

In 2013, I visited a rural West African community that had been the recipient of a USAID-funded PlayPump, a water pump that requires spinning a merry-go-round to pump water up from a well. Implemented with good intentions and from a distance, this approach seemed like a way to get clean water and playground equipment, both of which were lacking, to the village residents at the same time. The installation was accompanied by an educational workshop for the community about the importance of carefully managing natural resources. Years after its installation, when I asked multiple women in the village whether they liked the merry-go-round, I was soundly told off, with hisses and eye-rolling:

> The children, they used it for the first few weeks, or sometimes they will go after school and play on it for a short while. But most of the time, it is us, the women, who have to go round and round! We need water in the morning when the children are at school, for washing, cooking, everything! So imagine, a bunch of us women having to go spin around every day to get our water!

Clearly, this was not what PlayPump International or USAID envisioned for their development project, but it exemplifies the dangers of top-down approaches to complex social issues.

In a schooling example, an Indigenous teacher in southern Mexico recounted to me how frustrating it was that the state-issued mathematics textbooks used foods like pizza to teach Indigenous Mayan children fractions. "Why couldn't they have chosen the tortilla?" he lamented. "Aren't we colonized enough?" While to textbook authors based in urban Mexico City, pizza might seem like an easy concept to convey fractions, in rural Indigenous communities it is not culturally relevant. In communities without disposable income, pizza itself might be a new concept, or if it is for sale by locals, it might be, as I sometimes observed, made

on square baking pans that do not look like the circles in the textbooks but are more readily available in the marketplace.

Developing culturally sensitive curricula necessitates invoking ideas that resonate with students. The authors here show in their carefully constructed ethnographies why such resonance matters for young people who already face so many obstacles to their educational success. In addition, culturally resonant curricula have the potential to facilitate a sense of inclusion and belonging in formal education, providing a range of intangible goods such as self-esteem and well-being. These ephemeral qualities that can be derived from schooling arguably play as much a part in youth success as the technical information offered by formal lessons.

What the chapters in this volume show us is that education projects rooted in intimate local knowledge and combined with best practices in inclusive pluralism will best position people for success. Schools that integrate, rather than assimilate, can honor the unique cultural inheritance of each student while also fostering sharing skills needed for personal and professional advancement. How such integration plays out may vary considerably from school to school. Such variation is most functionally accommodated when there is some degree of decentralization available, meaning that schools have some degree of autonomy in deciding how to adapt to local needs and circumstances. When curricula are mandated from centralized or even regional ministries of education, content producers and administrators may not have their fingers on the pulse of school-specific needs. In communities with high rates of migration, schooling needs may shift considerably and quickly over time. Bottom-up understandings of educational needs are fundamental to sensitive schooling that can create spaces for peaceful coexistence.

A final and ongoing theme from the ethnographic chapters is both the commitments and challenges that teachers face when educating heterogeneous student populations. Teacher training is an ongoing obstacle nearly everywhere. With variable quality and incentive structures, teachers who are confined to test preparation or held to strict state mandates may have little room for innovation, even when they firmly set out to make their classrooms inclusive. Structural obstacles also impede teacher effectiveness, such as matching languages for Indigenous communities and systems of seniority that determine teacher placements, as well as corrupt unions (Chambers-Ju and Finger 2017; Cook 1996; Gellman 2017; López 2017: 63). The grassroots approaches to understanding these obstacles, and what might be done about them, can speak beyond their specific case studies to offer insight across both geographies and disciplines.

Conclusion: Education as Both Solution and Problem

There is no one solution that can improve education quality or outcomes across the board. The potential interventions for the cases represented here are as numerous as the authors and the students they observe. Teacher training, culturally sensitive curricula, and a commitment to pluralism are all fundamental necessities of education for the twenty-first century. Above all, a willingness to look critically at power—who has it and how it is shared—should be part of every teacher's and administrator's toolkit.

The lessons offered in Part I of this book are confrontational. School climate matters. If students are made to feel ashamed about aspects of their identities, they may perform poorly or drop out altogether. If culturally sensitive curricula or instruction in home languages are not available, students may sleep through lessons or decide that education is not for them. If students are subjected to macro- and microaggressions in the schoolroom, they experience yet further trauma. This is especially pertinent in the cases of migrant and refugee children, or those who are marginalized by some other form of structural adversity for one reason or another. Many already carry trauma with them. Schools should not add to their baggage.

Of course, there are many variables in newcomer well-being beyond the purview of schools. Community climate, as seen in the case study of Somali refugees in Ethiopian schools, or Rohingya people in Myanmar, can be terrible for visible minorities. Overt racism and discrimination can make any daily routine, including school attendance, a worry and a peril. Migrant and refugee students also face major obstacles in life outside school, including exposure to violence and resource scarcity, possibly in addition to trauma from family separation, a condition responsible for intense anxiety in young people. Countries that pay any degree of lip service to democracy should be concerned about addressing all of these variables, although some of them are transnational problems caught up in international relations quagmires. But one sphere is squarely within the control of states: the provision of public education to people within their territory. Schools have been and continue to be sites of violence for many. They can, however, also be at the forefront of integration efforts that promote human dignity. Centering pluralism—a form of peaceful coexistence—as a core goal of education is one thing that local, state, and international actors can take from the lessons offered to us in these chapters.

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Education and Integration

The Importance of Incorporating Refugee Youths' Agency and Perceptions

Annett Gräfe-Geusch and Johanna Okroi

Introduction

Due to the war in Ukraine, Europe is facing one of its largest displacements of people since the Second World War. Similar to the refugee influx of 2015–16, the presence of large refugee streams, predominantly consisting of Ukrainian women and children,[1] are testing preconceived notions about the role of education in processes of integration. As a result, debates around integration and education in Germany are currently focused on finding solutions that can facilitate educational access for large numbers of newly arrived students.

In Germany, these ongoing discussions rarely question underlying concepts of integration. In policy and academic research alike, the concept of integration is broken down into different aspects. However, what is critically apparent from these political and academic debates is the lack of bottom-up knowledge about integration which, if included, could provide new insights relevant to both the theorization of the integration process and policy and practice considerations.

By analyzing the practice narratives provided in Part I of this volume, we ask specifically: What lessons about the connection between education and integration can these international narratives offer for the German case? Starting from the current German debate, our analysis pays close attention to the different organizational models used to integrate newly arrived students into education systems. This enables conclusions to be drawn about which conceptions of integration these models are based on and what their consequences are for refugee youth and adolescents. We focus on the structural and social aspects of integration, specifically to show that only with a combination of these

different aspects can there be successful integration. To shift conceptions of integration away from the idea of a one-sided process of assimilation, we argue that considering the positionality and agency of refugees themselves is crucially important, as it expands the theoretical paradigm.

We apply our findings to the German case to offer new perspectives on the policy initiatives being implemented. Since German debates and research so far predominantly approach the question of integrating Ukrainian refugees based on learnings from the long summer of migration, 2015–16 (e.g., SWK 2022: 9), our approach thus goes beyond the current perspective on education and integration in Germany by expanding the discussion to include learnings from international, national, and local systems from the Global North and South alike. This international perspective is important as climate change, international conflicts, and economic inequalities are likely to increase global mobility and thus make the question of how to integrate refugee and immigrant students into diverse education systems pressing beyond the German context.

This chapter begins by briefly summarizing how we understand the concept of "integration" and how it may fall short of fully accounting for the experiences of refugee youth and providing meaningful policy for them. We then outline the German debate around the integration of refugee students from Ukraine into the school system. Next, we discuss the practice narratives and their implications for reconceptualizing integration and integration policy, before connecting our learning back to the German case and the theorization of integration more generally.

Integration Policies in Research: A Brief Overview

The concept of integration is present in political narratives, scholarly projects, theories, and media and public discourses. It has been hugely influential in the realm of social policy (Goodmann 2010; Brown 2014). However, this concept is often loosely defined. This allows for different interpretations of what successful integration entails, all of which are subject to debate and dependent on the positionality of different actors (see Favell 2021). Integration discourses, however, have also been criticized for producing rather than reducing racialization and exclusion (Korteweg 2017).

Under the Christian Democratic government in the early 2000s, integration became a focal point of German policy documents as part of the country's attempt to come to terms with its increasing diversity. Integration policies were

formally implemented with the 2007 Integration Plan and the 2010 Integration Program. In both documents, integration is vaguely defined as the economic, cultural, and linguistic incorporation of people with migration backgrounds into mainstream German society. This framework was updated recently by the National Action Plan on Integration, or NAP-I (Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration 2020), breaking the integration process into five different phases and acknowledging its long duration. The focus of NAP-I remains on migrants and their families, considering their language acquisition, access to education and the labor market, and civil society engagement. It may expand the German integration debate, offering a more broadly defined conception of social integration, but without fully considering migrant populations' perspectives and agency. Integration concepts which connect with the idea of linguistically, culturally, and/or socially deficient immigrant groups are especially highly criticized by migration and integration scholars (see Terkessidis 2010; Favell 2021; Korteweg 2017).

In the international academic literature, integration is defined as a social, "discursive" (Korteweg 2017: 429), and political practice, a "process and end state by which highly globalized societies imagine they will restore unity and cohesion after large-scale immigration and the diversity it brings" (Favell 2021: 2). This rather critical view of integration as an imagined discourse and practice highlights the one-sidedness that many researchers attribute to the idea of integration, especially in the Global North. It also highlights who is often left out by these conceptions and policy efforts—those marked as immigrant, refugee, or otherwise different. Below we show that the practice narratives highlight ways to break this one-sidedness by paying attention to the agency and perspectives of those marked as outsiders. In this chapter we seek to provide a different way to conceptualize and theorize integration by providing a conception that includes other perspectives and reflects the agency of those marginalized by traditional integration discourses.

Research often distinguishes between various forms of integration policy. For our purposes, the concepts of structural and social integration are especially important. Structural integration denotes the implementation and/or creation of specific organizational forms that allow access to society—to schools, for example. Depending on the organizational structures used to create access, the consequences for other domains of integration, like social integration, will differ. As we show below, in German schools, there are multiple organizational models used to facilitate structural integration (Massumi et al., 2015). However,

these organizational forms are not unique to Germany and can also be identified within the practice narratives.

Terms like "social integration" are used to denote the facilitation of social contact with already settled and/or citizen populations to promote processes such as the creation of peer networks, the development of friendships, and informal language acquisition (see SWK 2022: 15). Social integration can either be sought formally, through institutional initiatives, or facilitated informally by NGOs, community-based organizations (CBOs), or private actors seeking to create entry points into established networks like sports clubs or intergroup projects. It should be noted that efforts to promote social integration are often one-sided, provided for migrant populations, not in collaboration with them.

In this chapter, we expand on these focal issues by highlighting the importance of considering the agency and perspectives of the recently arrived, who form the target of integration policies. We use the concept "sense of belonging" for this purpose. This concept is oftentimes used in ethnographic and qualitative work, for example, on nations and nationalism (e.g., Miller-Idriss 2009), or on recently arrived and/or already settled minority groups (e.g., Bendixson 2013; Abu El-Haj 2010). The term denotes a feeling of acceptance, inclusion, and identification with specific groups ranging from peer groups to nations or the global community. This concept breaks with the one-sidedness of integration theory by including the perspectives of those who are the objects of integration policies. It is able to decenter the oftentimes patronizing focus on migrants' deficiencies, highlighting deficiencies within the receiving contexts instead (see Korteweg 2017; Mayblin and Turner 2021).

The German Context: Debates around the Integration of Ukrainian Refugee Students

Due to the influx of war refugees after February 24, 2022, the relevance of education to integration efforts became a focus of German debates. There is broad consensus that newly arrived students should continue their schooling quickly to avoid gaps in education. The core of the debate is, therefore, focused on the question of providing access to the education system, with politicians, researchers, and practitioners taking vastly different positions.

In Germany different models to facilitate access have been identified and categorized on a continuum between two poles: the submersive model and the parallel model (Massumi et al. 2015). The parallel model entails that newly

arrived students are taught in separate classes. Since education in Germany is organized by federal states (*Länder*), similar to the US system, there are various names for parallel structures: preparatory classes, international classes, and welcome classes. In general, these parallel structures are supposed to be a short-term measure for students, preparing them for integration into regular classrooms within one or two years. Hence, they have a strong focus on improving language proficiency. The submersive model, on the other hand, entails participation in regular classes right away. That is, students are not separated into special classes but rather participate in regular classroom environments right away, without additional assistance. A hybrid of the two is known as the integrative model. It combines classroom submersion with additional language courses to facilitate a reduction of language barriers and thus enable more participation, while at the same time providing ample opportunity for social contacts (Massumi et al. 2015: 45).

Due to its federal system, different variations of all three organizational models can be found within Germany, often with vast differences in implementation between individual schools and/or age groups. However, the parallel model seems to be the most politically endorsed. According to Bauer (2022), as of March 2022, eleven out of sixteen states plan to use the parallel model, establishing so-called welcome classes to integrate the newly arrived students from Ukraine.[2]

This is not surprising, as the parallel model has a long tradition in German education (Karakayalı 2021; Brüggemann and Nikolai 2016). It was first implemented in the 1960s, when so-called guest workers arrived in West Germany. The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK) recommended in May 1964 that the children of guest workers should be taught separately until their language skills allowed them to join regular classes. All states in West Germany followed this directive (Helbig and Nikolai 2015: 126). In 2015–16, when a substantial number of refugees mainly from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq arrived in Germany, the parallel approach was again applied in most states, across all types of schools.

A group of German education researchers (SWK) consulting for the KMK has argued against using the parallel model as the dominant approach. They recommend avoiding separate preparation classes for students in elementary school and in the early years of secondary school. Instead, students should attend regular classes with additional German language training at the beginning and continuous support over time (SWK 2022). Others have argued more strongly against the parallel model, showing that it has caused a lack of social interaction, a lack of integration into extracurricular school activities, and a lack of regulations

and structures due to the provisional nature of the classes, issues which do not occur when applying an integrative model (Karakayalı et al. 2017). However, there remains an overall lack of research and reliable representative data on the success of these different models (SWK 2022: 12).

German debates around the integration of Ukrainian students currently focus on questions of access to the education system. While historical path dependencies mean that current policies contradict some scientific recommendations, there is still a general lack of empirical data that can provide reliable practice guidelines. Below we show that looking beyond German borders and learning from practice narratives on a global scale can provide important insights for the German debate and beyond. In the following section, we look specifically at the organizational models described in the practice narratives and what they mean for the integration of refugee students.

The Practice Narratives: Learning from Integration Models on a Global Scale

Organizational Models

Massumi's framework (2015) of different organizational models used to facilitate formal access for refugees to educational systems was based on the German system but can be observed in countries all over the world. Within the practice narratives, we found examples of all three main models: parallel, integrative, and submersive. Figure 13.1 illustrates which organizational models from the practice narratives we focus on in the main.
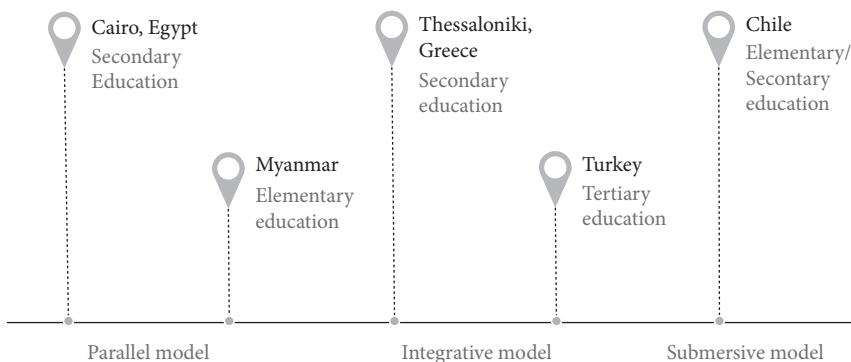
Figure 13.1 Organizational models from the practice narratives. ©Annett Graefe-Geusch and Johanna Okroi.

We also want to note that, of course, each country displayed various variations within these models that we did not include in the above visualization. In addition, the classification was created by Massumi et al. (2015) for elementary and secondary education. Therefore, the narratives illustrating integration into tertiary education are not as clearly classified within it. However, we see similarities between tertiary education in Turkey and the integrational model and with tertiary education in Colombia and the submersive model, outlined below.

The Parallel Model

The parallel model facilitates education for refugee and migrant students in classes or schools separate from local students (Massumi et al. 2015: 7). This separation can be in place for a limited amount of time to facilitate language acquisition and prepare newly arrived students for regular classes, but it can also be applied permanently. Long-term parallel models that result in a diploma are described in two narratives—one describes the situation of Rohingyas at the elementary school level in Myanmar, and the other covers the situation of Sudanese refugees in secondary education in Egypt. In both settings, the students were educated in schools that exist almost completely in parallel to the regular school system. This means that refugee students were learning in segregated schools supported by nongovernmental organizations. In both cases the parallel schooling system coincides with total social segregation from the majority population.

In Myanmar, segregation is based on geographical distance. A substantial number of Rohingyas in Myanmar live in camps far away from local communities. The geographical distance was vividly depicted by the researcher describing her access to the camp:

> The closest IDP camp, Ah Nauk Ywe, can only be reached by hiring a speedboat from Sittwe to travel across the Kaladan River, but the shallow mangrove coast means that speedboats cannot come all the way into land. Instead, the speedboat has to anchor in the shallows, while a wooden boat is sent out from the camp to collect any visitors. Even the wooden boats cannot go all the way to shore, and visitors to Ah Nauk Ywe are always required to wade through shallow river water and mud for anywhere between twenty minutes and an hour—depending on tides. (Gregson, this volume)

Through this description, the remoteness of these camps, as well as the desire of the receiving nation to physically separate Rohingyas, becomes palpable. This

is further facilitated by restricting outsider access to these camps by requiring official permits for entry.

In Egypt, some Sudanese refugee students were educated based on the curriculum of their country of origin, taking the corresponding national exams. In this way, they were kept from participating in the national education system of their receiving country. Segregation, however, was not manifested geographically but through structural barriers such as a requirement for residency permits to access public school. Moreover, social barriers like the overt racism against Sudanese students and teachers prevented refugee students from attending public school. One female student described the situation on the streets of Cairo as follows:

> They [Egyptians] follow you and harass you. Sometimes they will even try to put their hands on you, and because you are Sudanese, if you call out for help, no one will come. So you have to keep your head down, walk fast, and try to get away from them because you know that no one will help you.

While female Sudanese students were thus seen as sexual objects within Egyptian society, their male peers had to fear physical violence. Neither of them could hope for police or civil intervention as they were clearly marked as different within Egypt. However, in the school itself, students and their teachers had built a safe environment for learning, leaving the threat of sexual harassment, violent assault, and overt racism at the door, as was evident in teachers framing their students as "gifts" that they had been entrusted with, and as such needed to treat as their own children.

In both cases, geographical, structural, and social barriers constructed and increased educational segregation for these refugee students. While both contexts used a parallel model to formally arrange access to education, there was no additional formal facilitation of social integration with reference to the majority population or fostering a sense of belonging to the wider receiving society in refugee students. In fact, quite the opposite was the case. Students in no instance felt part of the community beyond their schools.

This social isolation also affected students' and parents' assessment of future economic success. Sudanese students in Egypt, interviewed by Sally Bonet, saw very limited future perspectives in their receiving country:

> Many of my friends stopped going to school. They saw their older siblings go to school, which is hard work. And then they graduated but couldn't afford to go to college. And even if they did go to college, what would they do if they had a degree? I mean look at the Egyptians. They have degrees and they can't find work, so how would that work for us?

The economic situation in their receiving country exacerbated youths' hopelessness, especially when comparing their situation to that of their Egyptian peers. In Myanmar, similar sentiments were expressed: children and parents described the uncertainty of their future, especially regarding employability, leading them to question the overall purpose of education.

Overall, the narratives show how the parallel systems of Myanmar and Egypt create and reinforce multiple obstacles to refugee students settling into their receiving nations. Future employability was especially called into question in each context, exacerbated by a lack of social integration and a lack of a sense of belonging within the wider community by refugee students. In Egypt at least, students and teachers were, however, able to create a sense of belonging within their school by creating a warm, welcoming, and safe environment.

The Integrative Model

In the integrative model, newly arrived students join regular school from the very beginning and get additional language support (Massumi et al. 2015: 7). Within the practice narratives, we see the Greek and Turkish case as examples of this model, albeit with slight variations.

In Thessaloniki, refugees enrolled in upper-secondary education became part of the public-school system. Some schools provided reception classes focused on improving Greek language proficiency. However, these classes were only held subject to organizational constraints, facing problems such as insufficient enrollment to fill a class and a lack of qualified teachers. Consequently, a significant number of refugee students entered regular classes right away without extra language support. Typically, they took extra language lessons after school in community centers.

While for some students this model could provide an entry point into a future in Greece, others might not manage to overcome the obstacles they faced. Some obstacles were present within the school itself: the language barrier, the highly academic content, the teaching methods, and interactions with teachers and students. Additionally, students faced major obstacles outside of school such as long commutes to school, racism, financial uncertainty, and family responsibilities. All these barriers resulted in comparatively low enrollment rates among refugee students in upper-secondary school.

However, there were students who managed to overcome these challenges, graduate successfully, and continue into tertiary education in Greece. The author

of the narrative, Lucy Hunt, observes that these students were internally and externally equipped in a special way. They were characterized by particularly high levels of perseverance, had the support of their teachers, and built high-quality peer-to-peer relationships. That is, they managed to socially integrate into peer and professional networks through this organizational model. Hunt also recommended organizing "intercultural events and making space for other languages and ways of understanding and being in the world" (Hunt, this volume) to foster a sense of belonging within the school community. In her analysis, both social integration and a sense of belonging are directly connected to students' success.

Similarly, the story of Nasir, a Syrian refugee studying at a Turkish university, chronicled by Melissa Hauber-Özer, highlights the importance of social integration and the development of a sense of belonging. Would-be university students in Turkey had access to preparatory language courses, provided by NGOs like in Greece, which allowed them to participate in regular university education programs. Nasir's story shows that he was only able to successfully pursue tertiary education by seeking out social integration with other students and professors to overcome the obstacles he faced:

> My personality helped me making good relationships with the professor and Turkish students. [. . .] Turkish students [. . .] trusted me a lot and gave me anything related to classes, like notes or books. (Hauber-Özer, this volume)

In addition to seeking moments of social integration, he also actively facilitated his own sense of belonging within the Turkish university, as he reported:

> I try to belong with the Turkish students and make short conversations with them. I do not try to make long conversations with them to not turn to racist issues. I try to attend all conferences and events that happen at the university; this makes me more involved in the general atmosphere of it. I try to help the Syrian students here too. (Ibid.)

In many ways, his actions blur the line between social integration and a sense of belonging, where social integration usually entails an external provision for minority populations to facilitate social interactions, and the creation of a sense of belonging refers to personal conceptions of acceptance and inclusion within a group.

The two narratives show that the outcome of the integrational model is ambiguous. While it provides the opportunity for refugees to build a future in the receiving country, educational integration only succeeds for students who are lucky enough to benefit from a good support system inside and outside of

school. This highlights the relevance of social integration and the youth's own sense of belonging for individual success within an integrative model. Even though the integrative model tries to diminish language barriers by offering courses, it does not actively or systematically counter social barriers.

The Submersive Model

In the submersive model, newly arrived students start in regular classes right away and do not get any extra language support (Massumi et al. 2015: 7). An example of the use of this type of organizational model is described in the narrative about Chile. Here, all students in the observed school were expected to participate in all activities and adapt to a highly culturally specific school environment, and there were no activities or support structures for newcomers. This especially affected students who did not speak the language of instruction. The researcher observed how these factors negatively impacted the motivation and creativity needed to overcome these barriers. In the end, this led to the major exclusion of newly arrived students and limited their abilities to make educational progress, as Cortés Saavedra's description of a classroom situation shows:

> Esther [a foreign student] was lying on her table with her eyes open, but not following Carolina's [the teacher's] instructions. On many occasions, I saw Esther in class unable to complete her homework because she did not speak Spanish. [. . .]. That day, [. . .], Carolina began to review the assignments of each of the students in the class. However, when she got to Esther's seat, Carolina looked at Esther out of the corner of her eye, and continued on, without giving her the opportunity to do anything, not even some gesture to communicate. Esther followed Carolina with her gaze, observed her for a few seconds, and laid her head back on the table, but now, with her eyes closed. (Cortés Saavedra, this volume)

The submersive model depicted in this system entails a concept of integration that relies only on the formal provision of access to the education system. Once there, the responsibility for successful integration belongs to the individual student. While opportunities for social integration were theoretically provided, as students spent their day with peers, the example of Esther in Carolina's class shows how the experience could become isolating, foreclosing the development of any sense of belonging. Integration in these contexts thus became a one-way street that some may master, but many will fail.

Concept of Integration Vis-à-Vis Organizational Models

As described above, the three models of access to the education system for refugee and migrant students are based on different understandings of integration. The differences can be narrowed down to two aspects: the potential of the model to encourage social integration, potentially leading to a sense of belonging, and the support refugee students receive from the receiving country (or, in some cases NGOs and other organizations) to tackle other major challenges like language barriers.

In all cases, the structural aspect of integration into education was the focus, while the social aspect of integration was not directly facilitated, being seen as a secondary concern. In cases exemplifying the parallel model, social integration of refugee students into the receiving society was prohibited, and the pieces discussed feelings of being unwanted by the majority population. This not only led to a deep form of exclusion and isolation but also made students and parents question the purpose of education per se. This was different in cases of integrational and submersive models, where education opened up possibilities for social interaction with the majority population. However, the translation of these social encounters into meaningful social integration was highly dependent on the agency of the refugee students, local students, and teachers and was therefore limited to a distinct type of refugee student. This demonstrates that the facilitation of social integration is not sufficiently addressed by any of these models. If they achieved social integration, as in the case of Nasir, students were able to develop a sense of belonging within and beyond their local contexts. If not, as the case of Esther demonstrates, even a setting that provides plenty of opportunities for social encounters may create utter exclusion and isolation.

Barriers to social integration, however, represent only one obstacle refugee students face in their receiving countries. There are many more obstacles that refugee students face at school and in their private lives. Overall, we see that the organizational models acknowledge and approach these obstacles differently. For example, language barriers are addressed directly by providing language courses in the integrative model but not in the submersive model. While these obstacles are not the focus of this chapter, they nonetheless deserve closer attention in future research.

Taking the Perspectives of Refugee Students Seriously

The conceptualization of integration that these models are based on mainly reflects the views of the political authorities, focusing on structural aspects of

integration which can be easily regulated politically. It does not incorporate the perspectives of refugee students and their understandings of integration.

In the practice narratives, refugee students highlighted the importance of the social aspects of integration. In doing so, they often spoke not of integration but of belonging. Different narratives, including Nasir's story, showed that belonging and being seen as an equal were more important to the newcomers than other aspects of integration, such as overcoming language barriers. This is vividly described in the story of Tarek, a Syrian refugee in Germany. Despite his social engagement—giving free walking tours—and his many social encounters, he had concluded that this would never be enough to belong:

> Even when I get more engaged in society, even if I had my residence, I'm gonna stay in their eyes a refugee. And this is, you can say, block me from society that I'm gonna stay out, I'm not gonna come in, you're not gonna see me as equal. (Muro, this volume)

Both Nasir's and Tarek's cases show that they were willing to try to belong to the society of their receiving countries. But their experiences also demonstrate that a sense of belonging cannot flourish if only one side seeks it, and it does not come through the mere provision of access to institutions. Instead, fostering belonging requires constant effort from both the majority population and refugees. The creation and maintenance of a sense of belonging can therefore be seen as a constant work in progress.

In sum, we see differences between the concepts of integration prioritized by authorities and those prioritized by refugee students. While the authorities studied focused on structural integration, refugee students prioritized social aspects and aimed for a sense of belonging. We argue that to encourage meaningful and long-term integration into education (and society more generally), both aspects must be connected.

Conclusion

So, what lessons about the connection between education and integration do practice narratives from other contexts offer for the German case? They show that the models to organize the integration of refugee and migrant students into the education system, identified based on the German context, can be applied around the world. They are thus not specific to one country or context but are rather found in variations globally. This makes learning from other contexts

even more crucial, as variations in different settings may highlight what works and what does not work.

The narratives highlight the importance of considering social aspects of integration, which, in the best case, can facilitate a sense of belonging for refugee and migrant students. In terms of policy considerations, our analysis revealed two strong arguments for including considerations of social integration and belonging when aiming for meaningful integration in education. First, these aspects reflect the concerns and priorities of refugee students. Throughout the practice narratives, refugee students—regardless of context—highlighted the importance of social integration and belonging, stating that their main goal was to be seen as an equal and to belong to society. However, they expressed major concerns about the feasibility of this aim. Second, our analysis revealed that social integration was a key factor in successful integration. While structural integration was a necessity, it was nowhere near a sufficient condition for successful integration. Multiple narratives showed that a good social support system at school, with high-quality teacher–student and peer-to-peer relationships, was required to be able to successfully navigate the educational system, especially within an integrative or submersive model. Additionally, narratives describing parallel models showed that lacking the ability to build social connections with the majority population limited students' abilities to translate educational success into economic success.

The focus of current discussions about the integration of Ukrainian refugees in Germany is how to organize formal access to the educational system. What we can learn from practice narratives is that we need to consider different aspects when deciding on an organizational model. First, it is highly important to reflect on the concept of integration that a model is based on. The underlying understanding of integration essentially defines what may be achieved. Second, to meet the needs of refugee students and enable them to navigate through the school system the organizational model should promote social interactions and thus seek to foster a sense of belonging. Third, integration and especially the social aspect of integration, requires an effort on the part of refugee students but also on the part of authorities, teachers, and students of the receiving country. This means that integration must be seen as a two-way-street rather than a one-way-effort. Therefore, students and teachers of the majority population should be included in political considerations.

In addition, our discussion expands academic conceptions of integration by incorporating the idea of a sense of belonging. Through this concept we can account for the agency and perspectives of refugee and migrant students. It moves our conception of integration beyond that of a focused effort to overcome

the deficits of newly arrived populations and incorporate them into majority society. Instead, our expansion allows a focus on the responsibilities of majority societies making our conception of integration truly dialectic. Using the bottom-up knowledge that is illustrated through the practice narratives provides a counterpoint to often top-down policy demands.

Notes

1 The UNHCR estimates that since the start of the war on February 24, 2022, approximately 5.3 million people fled Ukraine as of April 27, 2022 (UNHCR 2022). Since men between eighteen and sixty are not allowed to leave Ukraine, those arriving in other European countries are mostly women and children. According to a survey by the Federal Ministry of the Interior (2022), 84 percent of the refugees from Ukraine are women, and 58 percent of them fled together with their children.
2 Only Thuringia, Mecklenburg–Western Pomerania, Lower Saxony, Rhineland-Palatinate, and Saarland intend to apply an integration model (Bauer 2022).

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Reflections on Host Communities and the State

An Intersectional Perspective

Tania Saeed

The practice narratives in Part I provide insights into the day-to-day lives of refugees, IDPs, and members of minority groups trying to create their own place in contexts with different degrees of inclusion/exclusion. Formal and informal educational institutions become important instruments of the state in defining the degree of inclusion/exclusion, where both members of the "host" community and "outsiders" have some (albeit limited) agency in creating space and (re)defining everyday borders and boundaries. Reflecting on these practice narratives, I am going to explore these degrees of inclusion/exclusion and what they mean for "integration" and citizenship through an intersectional approach, problematizing notions of agency, while centering the role of the state that controls the literal borders of the nation-state and the imagined boundaries of belonging through education. The practice narratives present different situations of inclusion/exclusion, especially in education, with interactions in and beyond the classroom across different social contexts. These everyday interactions illustrate the extent to which inclusion/exclusion is possible within the host communities.

Drawing on the practice narratives in this discussion, I also bring my own observations from research on education and marginalization in the context of Pakistan, particularly in relation to Afghan refugees. As host to one of the largest Afghan refugee communities in the world, the case of refugees in Pakistan is no different from many of the narratives in this book, where these parallels across different contexts highlight one important factor: the workings of the modern nation-state. The state in its various forms is the backdrop to (and often at the forefront of) the narratives that have been discussed in Part I; any reflection

on integration in relation to belonging, inclusiveness, social cohesion, or assimilation will be incomplete without this exploration.

An Intersectional Perspective

> Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences. The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor. They are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways. When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. (Collins and Bilge 2016: 1)

The practice narratives in Part I can be considered through an intersectional approach to integration, where the degree of inclusivity/exclusivity depends on the "many axes that work together and influence each other." While integration can be viewed as an external policy by a state, the extent to which the outsider/ newcomer finds their place also depends on their sense of belonging, as highlighted by Lucy Hunt's narrative of Rasoul, an Afghan refugee trying to access education in Greece. Belonging can have a personal emotional or psychological basis of attachment to a place or community, but the political project of belonging needs to be understood at a deeper level of complexity. Yuval-Davis (2006, 200) argues how an "intersectional approach" to belonging in relation to social location is essential as one's "concrete social location is constructed along multiple axes of difference," where "intersecting social divisions cannot be . . . added up" but exist as "constituting each other" and any understanding of "social location in terms of certain specific grids of difference is far from simple."

It is these differences based on nationality, ethnicity, religion, caste, gender, sexuality, ability, and/or class that cut across the practice narratives and determine the degree of inclusion/exclusion that exists for different communities. This intersectionality also determines the role of the researcher/writer in the chapters in this book. For example, Sally Wesley Bonet's positionality as a Sudanese who briefly lived in Cairo but moved to the United States gives her the unique perspective of being both an insider and an outsider to the Sudanese community in Cairo, while Denise R. Muro's chapter in Germany shows how Muro's identity as a non-German positions her as one of the migrants or refugees in the eyes

of the "casual onlooker," experiencing the kind of discrimination and attacks that her participants experience. Hence, degrees of inclusion/exclusion in the everyday realm can be the result of physical identifiers, rather than the legality or illegality of "belonging" to a place, but one that is informed by a larger geopolitical discourse related to the "outsider's" identity.

The State and Geopolitics

The modern nation-state defines and regulates its physical and imagined borders. Despite technological advances which may have eased mobility, developments across both the Global North (e.g., US-Mexico border; post-Brexit UK border) and Global South (e.g., India and its Citizenship Amendment Act; Myanmar and Rohingya refugees) have become even more hostile in regulating entry and citizenship. Technological changes have resulted in more sophisticated surveillance machinery in the form of digitized identity cards and passports (see Alimia 2019), thereby increasing bureaucratization of identities through technology. The state defines the rights and responsibilities of its citizens, the nature of which varies across different types of democracies and state structures. It is also the state that defines the terms of admission for the "newcomers" (as defined by Muro in this volume) in the practice narratives, where they try to negotiate a space for themselves. While the lived narratives and struggles of the "newcomers" in Part I are important in highlighting their everyday realities, we cannot overlook the power dynamics that exist not only within the host community but also within the host state.

A state's response to a refugee crisis, for instance, is not based on humanitarian principles alone but also the wider geopolitical discourse that frames conflict and wars. Shaddin Almasri has illustrated the difference in treatment of Afghan and Syrian refugees by the Turkish government, as aid "in Turkey has become increasingly based on refugee nationality" and "externalisation processes" (such as support from other countries, including the EU) have created "hierarchies of protection" (2023, 31). Given the prolonged Afghanistan conflict, Afghan refugees in Turkey are already discriminated against and held suspect by virtue of their identity, considered a security threat. These biases, while a result of a larger discourse around the War on Terror, are further exacerbated by the priorities of donor countries that aim to keep refugees out of their own countries and regions. For example, the "EU-Turkey Statement of Cooperation" of 2016 specifically pointed to Syrian refugees:

(1) irregular migrants crossing to Europe through Turkey to the Greek islands were to be returned to Turkey, (2) any Syrian arrivals through this same corridor were to be returned to Turkey, and for every one Syrian return to Turkey, the EU would resettle one Syrian from Turkey, and (3) Turkey was to expand its protective measures along the border to Europe and to ensure the active interception of irregular migration attempts. (2023, 46)

Geopolitics also plays a role in the way the Pakistan state has dealt with Afghan refugees within its borders and the bureaucratization of identity that has followed. Nearly "2.2 million unrecognized Afghans" (without any legal documentation) and "1.32 million registered and recognized Afghan refugees" are living in Pakistan, where 600,000 Afghans fled Afghanistan in 2021 when the American forces withdrew from the country (Cone and Khan 2023). An Afghan refugee population has been in Pakistan for more than four decades. The refugees arrived during different phases, the first major influx taking place in 1979 with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. During the initial phase, the Afghan refugees were welcomed at a time when Pakistan was a close ally of the United States in the fight against the Soviet Union, and the Afghans were considered Muslim brothers and sisters who were united toward a common cause. However, the relationship with the refugee community has changed over these decades, informed by geopolitical events. The Afghan community, having social and tribal networks in the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, has traditionally moved with ease through the porous border that lies between Pakistan and Afghanistan, despite historical political tensions around the nature of this boundary. It was in the aftermath of Pakistan joining the Global War on Terror that a bureaucratic system to manage Afghan refugees was created in the form of proof of registration (PoR) cards, and later the Afghan citizen cards (ACC) were recognized. The PoR cards were issued during an official registration process in 2007 through the UNHCR and the Pakistan government, with the government claiming to use these cards to better manage and provide services to the Afghan refugee community, such as allowing "PoR cardholders to use their cards to open bank accounts, receive driving licenses, and obtain SIM cards" (Rashid 2019). The ACC holders were registered in 2017 but do not hold the same status as PoR cardholders. The ACC exercise was an attempt by the government to document unregistered Afghan refugees. However, Alimia (2022; 2019) has illustrated how such management became more of an exercise in the surveillance and tracking of refugees. As the geopolitical context has changed since 2021, Afghan refugees have been left in

limbo. Many have escaped to Pakistan with hopes of seeking resettlement in the United States, yet policy disagreements between the United States and Pakistan and Pakistan's existing political crisis have further exacerbated the situation. The policy of repatriation that Pakistan has traditionally followed toward Afghan refugees further complicates their place within Pakistani society, which is not one of integration but rather of survival.

Repatriation, Remaining or Resettling, and the Role of Education

The practice narratives in Part I explore integration through the experiences of different "outsiders" and "newcomers" with a focus on education to show how they navigate different "axes" of "social division" in creating a place for themselves. However, what is unclear is the extent to which official state policy is aimed at integration where the newcomers/outsiders can find a place to "remain"; or is aimed toward repatriating them or resettling them elsewhere. Often, despite official proclamations, a state's material circumstances, ideological positions, or strategic interests limit the implementation of such policies. Navigating such a context is different depending on the status of the outsider, whether they are refugees, asylum seekers, IDPs, or members of a minority group, where each category is provided some degree of protection through international agreements or national policies. But the uncertainty limits the possibilities provided through education for outsiders/newcomers, where the question of "integration" becomes more complex.

An example is the case of Chile in Saavedra's practice narrative. The chapter discusses how the education system has more assimilationist tendencies, promoting Chilean culture through education. However, even if outsiders were to fully assimilate, the possibility of being accepted as equals is quite unlikely. In 2017, the re-elected Piñera government adopted the doctrine of "cleaning up the house," including, most notably, a law enacted in April 2021 that, despite guaranteeing "human-rights protections," gave the government more "power to expel migrants and restrict their access to protections, thereby maintaining the national security lens that has defined Chile's approach to immigrants since the 1970s" (Doña-Reveco, 2022). Anti-immigration rhetoric has become stronger in election campaigns, with immigrants constantly scapegoated, as was the case during the Covid-19

pandemic. In such a context, the opportunities created through education for outsiders continue to be limited.

This also brings in the question of "agency." Melissa B. Hauber-Özer's chapter provides an interesting point of introspection through Nasir, a Syrian refugee in Turkey. Hauber-Özer shows how Nasir fights prejudice in the classroom and outside and is successful in winning over even the most bigoted professor in his university. While she points to existing obstacles and Nasir's constant struggle, she nonetheless shows how he "draws on personal and community resources to navigate challenges, rebuild ruptured social networks, and create new identities necessary for more stable futures" (89), where his goal is not integration but "participation." However, Nasir as an "outsider" is expected to participate above and beyond anyone else, akin to a "model" outsider, who must constantly demonstrate his humanity in order to be considered equally human. As much as we need to recognize the constant struggles of refugees, IDPs, asylum seekers, and members of minority groups as illustrated in Part I, we also need to recognize the almost unrealistic expectations that are placed on these communities in their struggle to be accepted. Integration in these narratives is not permanent, but always conditional; it is conditional on being the model refugee, IDP, asylum seeker, or minority group member; it is conditional on geopolitical events; it is conditional on the political ideologies of those running for office, where those who manage to come in can be cast out yet again as outsiders. Education systems can similarly be used as political tools to further these agendas.

The case of Afghan refugees in Pakistan again echoes these sentiments. The official policy toward Afghan refugees is voluntary repatriation, where a registry of Afghan cardholders can be useful in monitoring such cases, with added instances of the state apparatus creating hostile conditions through harassment and profiling resulting in Afghan refugees leaving Pakistan (see Rashid 2019; Alimia 2022; 2019). It is worth mentioning that Pakistan is neither a signatory to the United Nations 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees nor to the 1967 Protocol. It does not have an "official refugee law" (Alimia 2019; Borthakur 2017). Officially, though, the support for Afghan refugees has been described as one in the spirit of Muslim brotherhood (interviews with representatives of the Commissionerate of Afghan Refugees, Balochistan, and Punjab), where according to Elena Baurer, first "by 'de facto tolerance' Pakistan has allowed Afghan refugees basic human rights without explicit legal backing" (Baurer 2012:572), while later refugees were "subject to the asylum framework established by UNHCR under its own Statute and the 1993 Cooperation Agreement between the Government of Pakistan and UNHCR" (Rashid

2019:31–32). However, as Alimia has highlighted, the presence of Afghan refugees and their treatment was also the result of strategic interests, where the precarious nature of their presence, dependent on a PoR card with an expiry date, that is mostly renewed after it has expired, whereupon refugees can be arrested or deported for possessing an expired PoR card, reflects both the uncertainty and the kind of power that is exercised over Afghan refugees, informed by wider geopolitical dynamics between Afghanistan and Pakistan (also see Alimia 2022). It is in this context that education and schooling for Afghan refugees exist in Pakistan. While schools in refugee villages that were previously teaching the Afghanistan curriculum have moved toward the Pakistan curriculum, there is no guarantee that students have a future in Pakistan, while an educational degree from Pakistan may not be recognized in Afghanistan. The kind of uncertainty that the Afghan refugee parents and students in my study had highlighted is the same sense that permeates the practice narratives, especially the case of the Sudanese refugees in Cairo. Sally Wesley Bonet highlights the importance of a holistic strategy for refugees that is not just about education but also future opportunities, expanding "future life chances" (Bonet, this volume). As we reflect on integration and its various meanings and the role that education plays in the process, we need to recognize the wider structures within and against which outsiders are fighting for survival.

Concluding Observations

In this analytical chapter, I have reflected on the degrees and different situations of inclusion/exclusion that exist in different contexts where refugees, asylum seekers, IDPs, and members of minority groups are supposed to find acceptance and belonging. These degrees of inclusion/exclusion depend on the host state and the host community, with outsiders/newcomers creating a space within confined structures as illustrated in Part I. Integration in such a context can take on different meanings, where terms of inclusion may oscillate between assimilation, acceptance, tolerance, and participation. Yet, as the preceding discussion has illustrated, such integration can be temporary. Despite the diversity of location and identities in the practice narratives, the parallels related to the behavior of the host state and host community are important in demonstrating the limitations of the modern nation-state. Attempts by countries in the Global North to contain the "migrant problem" within the Global South, in countries with limited resources, while countries in the Global South are managing these migrants through systems

of hierarchy informed by donor agendas, geopolitics, and their own history and ideologies, reflect a larger system in crisis. As families and communities are displaced through the climate crisis, war, and conflict, existing approaches to managing outsiders/newcomers will not be enough. The host communities also need to unlearn their own biases, and the host state needs to recognize the threat inherent in a borderless climate crisis that will impact everyone across the planet.

The purpose of my reflections was not to end on a pessimistic note, but rather to recognize the structures that need to change for an inclusive form of integration to be possible. It is also a point of reflection on the taken-for-granted structures that exist today, the nation-state being one such entity, whose borders are meaningless in the face of an environmental crisis that will displace all earthlings. As communities that are experiencing displacement negotiate these structures, and as education systems that should be providing the tools for such navigation but are themselves being politically instrumentalized, we need to recognize their strategies of survival while acknowledging that the problem of integration and belonging has more to do with the host communities and host states than with "newcomers" and "outsiders."

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Integration or Inclusion?

On the Diversification of Concepts of Integration in the Field of Education

Imke Rath

The concept of integration has been a subject of intense debate in the German educational context for more than twenty years (Banse and Maier 2013; Budde et al. 2020; Meyer et al. 2020). As a result of failures in pedagogical integration activities in schools, as well as the demand formulated in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities with which the United Nations addressed educational systems worldwide, the concept of integration has become increasingly questionable. Instead of speaking about integration, the Convention dealt with the idea of inclusion. This became more prominent in the educational debate in Germany as the concept offering solutions unattainable via the paradigm of integration, the latter ultimately being somewhat sidelined by the more recent notion. Even though the two terms themselves are, at times, used synonymously (see Hoffmann 2013: 79), this change of paradigm led to a differentiation of the concepts in the field of education with different attributes ascribed to each. In this understanding, integration has overtones of assimilation and integration measures are rather unilateral, for they address the individual or groups but not the system into which they are supposed to be integrated.[1] The approach of inclusion, on the other hand, understands that individuals or groups who are not included or even integrated into a system cannot achieve it solely on their own initiative because of power imbalances, other inequities, or barriers blocking them from participating. Hence, empowerment is necessary in order to provide everybody with their right to participation. Measures of inclusion primarily query systems—in this case the education system—which have to be changed in order to remove barriers and offer the opportunity to individuals or groups to be integral parts of these systems (see, for example, Münch 2013: 18).

With this in mind, reading the call for the Georg Arnhold Conference "The Potential of Education for Integration" the first question that came to my mind was: "Integration? Why not inclusion?" Since I know that the calls are thoroughly discussed by an international team, I came to the conclusion that the debate sketched above and the differentiation between the two concepts with their specific ascriptions might be circulating primarily in the German educational context while internationally integration would remain the prevailing term used for a concept that is developing further with the same implications that are ascribed to the term "inclusion" in Germany. Reading the narratives from practice in this volume, this suspicion was confirmed and reminded me that even in Germany, the term "integration" is consistently used with reference to migration, for example, where it often remains in the limited sphere of meaning as indeed it does in the educational field. My next question was then: "Does a differentiation add something to our understanding of integration?" I used the narratives from practice in this volume to respond to this question.

Many of the narratives focus on the situation of refugees and, by doing so, they offer researchers valuable insights into practice and real life, which is generally unavailable from books and theories. The majority of the narratives have in common that there are some means of integration (here I use the term "integration" in the sense of the outdated concept) implemented by a state that is offering some kind of service to migrants (such as access to schools or language classes). At the same time, the respective state expects that by using these opportunities, the migrants will be able to integrate themselves into society. In the majority of the narratives, different barriers are described that cannot be surmounted just by using these supposed opportunities, and the authors often conclude that providing access to education is not enough. This is visible, for example, in the narrative by Teshome Mengesha Marra on refugees in Ethiopia, who at best may adapt to the host society by learning social norms in public schools, if accessible, and visiting school events. None of the authors name it explicitly, but by emphasizing the aspirations of the students, as in Sally Wesley Bonet's narrative on Sudanese refugees in Cairo, something becomes apparent that migrants may experience as a "lie of education" (in German *Bildungslüge*): education is regarded (by state officials and members of society) as one of the crucial means for integration, but migrants experience in most countries of the world that education is no guarantee for a better future for them or for access to a good job and so on. Bonet therefore ultimately calls for continued work on the enhancement of educational opportunities for refugees, but also on their translation into future prospects in various contexts. This would certainly also

benefit the Rohingya of Myanmar in Jessica Gregson's narrative, which shows that education alone cannot dismantle structural racism.

Activities toward integration (unlike inclusion) are usually unilateral, addressing the migrants only. At the same time, they offer a blueprint of blame should integration not be regarded as successful. But as the concept of inclusion shows, the integration or—better—inclusion of a person or a group into the broader context can only succeed in multi-directional ways, and the major effort has to be to change the system, not the individual. Only a few authors of the narratives in this book are able to find good practice examples, such as the living-room events with the learning together community or the walking tour offered by a young Syrian in Berlin in Denise R. Muro's chapter, and the cultural activities organized by Syrian students in Turkey in Melissa B. Hauber-Özer's chapter. With a differentiation between integration and inclusion, these activities would undoubtedly fall into the sphere of inclusion, initiated either by the system (members of the host society) or the individuals. In the first case, a system represented by the organizers of the living-room events appears ready to become part of the process of inclusion. In the latter two cases, the migrants themselves attempt to change members of the society (system) around them by presenting themselves as humans with a history, culture, and so on just as the members of their host society do, drawing on common ground instead of differences. The participants have a strong will to participate and their surroundings enable them to empower themselves. Another example, but on a different level, is developed by Brian Van Wyck, who shows how the Turkish authors of language textbooks produced in Berlin participated in the integration debate in Germany in the 1970s and 1980s by presenting their own understanding of it in the textbooks.

As Bettina Lindmeier and Dorothee Meyer (2020) show, the concepts of participation, empowerment, and inclusion are closely interconnected. Even approaches that would be labeled integration activities consider empowerment and participation as helpful means, for example, language classes are intended to provide participants with the language of the host society as a precondition for interaction. The difference here lies in the attitude toward the system: In integration activities, the migrants themselves are expected to act (and, if "necessary," to change) so that they "enable themselves" to participate, while in inclusion processes, migrants would be regarded as personalities just as they are and the effort would be directed toward finding their place in the system by using their strengths and providing them with the necessary assistance.

One of the crucial factors seems to be the system to which we are referring as well as the level of integration that is intended. A system such as the school (the education sector) is an organizational entity that is governed by state officials. Even though there is a formal and technical as well as a social component, the state has a relatively high degree of influence on the work and may also provide the scope and means for changes to that system. When we regard schools as single entities, it is much easier to imagine the realization of an inclusive surrounding than to refer to a whole state and its society. Patricia Stošić, Anja Hackbarth, and Isabell Diehm (2020) demonstrate that approaches to the integration of migrants draw on the nation-state as a frame of reference and equalize it with "the society." It is not surprising, therefore, that even in Germany, the two concepts are usually only differentiated between in the education sector but not in reference to migration.

To ask whether or not the conceptual differentiation is rather a German phenomenon may sound misleading at first: UNESCO, for example, uses the term "inclusion" and not "integration" in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Looking at the narratives from practice, Denise R. Muro conducted fieldwork in Berlin. She does not strictly differentiate between the two terms but describes one typical integration activity as well as two activities that can be regarded as inclusive; indeed, she refers to one of them as inclusive in her text. This suggests that the German context may support the tendency to attend to the existence of two concepts instead of one.[2] Three further authors also use the term "inclusion": Melissa B. Hauber-Özer mentions the term as a part of a quotation without addressing it explicitly herself, even though she describes a process of inclusion when students use their own means of changing the image teachers and co-students have of Syrians by presenting their culture and rendering it more accessible for others. Bhasker Kafle uses the term "inclusion" several times, especially with reference to social cohesion, and describes it as an ideal objective for integrating society in Nepal without ignoring or suppressing diversity. Finally, Andrea Cortés Saavedra demonstrates actions and notions of Chilean teachers as opposing the idea of inclusion. Like me, these authors (with the exception of Hauber-Özer) felt the concept to be fruitful and gave it preference over the term "integration" when describing a meaningful process instead of a failed intention. Here, I also see one of the main advantages of the differentiation: It can help to focus on which type of integration—or in this case, inclusion—should be the final aim. Other authors rely on assessments of integration by adding terms such as "meaningful" or "true," referring to promising or successful examples of integration, which could, instead, be called inclusion.

The idea of changing a whole system for relatively few disadvantaged people may seem like a high price to pay, but it is just a matter of perspective. The framework of diversity education makes us aware that the number of disadvantaged people is not as small as it seems, for there are various markers of diversity (such as culture, religion, or gender) that may lead to discrimination and disadvantage. Further, aiming at enabling every individual to fully develop their own potential not only has an individual effect but creates a society with powerful members who can support each other. Martina Münch, former minister of education in the German federal state of Brandenburg, additionally emphasizes the opportunities for solidarity, tolerance, and more democracy in a society by training inclusive thinking and action (Münch 2013: 23–4). Here, the double task of education becomes visible: (successful) inclusion in school or another educational organization is focused on the aim to strengthen opportunities for inclusion in society through education (Stošić, Hackbarth, and Diehm 2020: 53). This aspect plays a crucial role in Noé Abraham González-Nieto's narrative on the integration of communities in Mexico who have experienced forced displacement. He describes how engaged teachers use transformative pedagogy to prepare the students for their future lives and, via them, also obtain access to their families, at the same time integrating the communities through teaching. Here, integration or inclusion concentrates on the school and the communities, while the final integration of these communities into society remains an implicit task for the community itself; teachers have very limited power to influence this. As mentioned earlier, the wider functional system, the society, seems to be more complicated when it comes to the implementation of integration or better inclusion.

This is probably also one of the main reasons why, even in the German debate, the term "inclusion" is not commonly used with reference to migrants, and also the majority of narratives discuss integration (as in the title of this book) and not inclusion. It is difficult to grasp a complex system such as a society, and most of the observations around integration equalize the nation-state with the society (ibid, 51), neglecting the complete informal sphere. Here, the concept of belonging, as Melissa B. Hauber-Özer suggests toward the end of her narrative, seems to pinpoint a crucial factor which deals with the emotional level. As Dietrich Hoffmann (2013: 80) emphasizes from a socio-psychological viewpoint, integration is a process that works among humans based on daily group dynamics without any external intervention. It can therefore be expected but not prescribed; it can be planned and organized but not imposed. Integration, or in the described differentiation inclusion, can, finally, only be regarded as

successful when individuals (as part of groups) feel included.[3] This inclusion is effected when individuals participate in society or another system of reference and have the feeling of belonging to it. In the practice narratives, the sense of belonging can be observed in schools when teachers have the same backgrounds or experiences of refuge as the students—as is the case in Sally Wesley Bonet's description of religious private schools for refugees in Egypt. Lucy Hunt emphasizes the importance of belonging for refugee schools in Greece, which can be initiated by peers. Of course, even belonging may be equalized with assimilation, such as attitudes toward Chileanness described in Andrea Cortés Saavedras' narrative. Indeed, belonging also addresses the system itself, for an individual can only feel included in the long term when a society or another system of reference reflects this feeling by demonstrating that the individual is regarded as an integral part by others. Hence, belonging is multi-directional.

Although the differentiation between integration and inclusion may devaluate a concept that was developed or discussed in order to give individuals and groups space in systems and that has been further debated and refined to attack fundamental problems regarding the (successful) implementation, from my point of view, it would be worth undertaking a shift toward inclusion in theoretical discussions and an evaluation of practice in all fields. As all of the practice narratives in this volume show, there is a need for fundamental change, a change of paradigm. Changing the language with which we address these concerns may help to remind us of a fundamental change in approach and urge us to critically reflect on methods to remove barriers and address problems of social exclusion.

Notes

1   On a theoretical level, even before the introduction of the concept of inclusion to the education debate, some models also focused on the system, but in practice integration-related activities were directed at the individual. Further, the differentiation between the two concepts regards integration as (practically) unilateral.

2   Another narrative, by Brian Van Wyck, is also set in Germany, but here a historical understanding of integration is discussed in the context of a time when the debate around inclusion would not take place for a couple of decades.

3   This echoes the observation of Viviane Robinson (1998: 118), who defines successful integration, among other aspects, as individualized.

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Diversity at the Heart of Education Systems

Shifting the Paradigm to Build Something New

Giovanna Modé Magalhães

In spite of being from a range of contexts and regions, the beautifully and powerfully written set of testimonies in the first part of this book is witness to common critical questions of our present times. Fundamental concretion to the most contemporary social debates on how to live together and the role of education systems in pursuing a fairer and more egalitarian life for all is given by the authors' endeavors in naming their experiences and practices, transparently describing the possibilities, challenges, and tensions they see, think, and feel.

Several questions and multiple layers emerge from the narratives that have also been at the heart of educational policies, discourses, and international agreements, including the sustainable development goals (SDGs) and the most recent debates on inclusive education. The latest general comment from the UN on inclusive education reaffirms previous treaties in reminding us that "ensuring the right to inclusive education entails a transformation in culture, policy and practice in all formal and informal educational environments to accommodate the differing requirements and identities of individual students, together with a commitment to removing the barriers" (OHCHR 2016). It focuses on the full and effective participation of all students, especially those who, for different reasons, are excluded or at risk of being marginalized.

How to integrate whom into what or how to include the several historically excluded or marginalized populations in and through education have been the underlying questions beneath the assumption that meaningful participation in schools will allow for an ethical coexistence and a better life, making the school a key place for encounter that can thus properly prepare us to live together. Moreover, the testimonies compose a picture of our unequal and postcolonial contexts, further challenged by new forms of hate speech and racism, national

or identity-based violence and discrimination, the rise of authoritarianism and populism, the polarization of the political debate, and the spread of fake news as a power strategy. Amid contemporary uncertainties and inspired by the richness of grassroots narratives, this brief contribution seeks to unpack the several layers and questions involved, noting observations and reflections as well as related theoretical glimpses.

Coping with Diversity: Normality as the (Real) Problem

"What if the other weren't there?" Confronting such a provocative question, Skliar (2003) proposes a reflection pointing to the real problem, very much connected to the scenes described in the narratives and the need to frame the participation of a group other than the dominant within schools.

Education systems were themselves built on the idea of homogeneity, which was related, in turn, to the formation of nation-states and a certain national identity, excluding all others that did not correspond to the dominant one (Giroux 1995). As part of the legacy of a modern binary logic—in which everything that does not belong to the "standard model" is erased, eliminated, devalued, and excluded—education systems still have to struggle to redesign themselves in a way that denaturalizes this foundational exclusionary logic.

Since the beginning, a parallel has been traced between inclusion in education, homogeneity, and national identity (Saforcada and Baichman 2020), reinforcing a twofold process of fundamental exclusion. On the one hand, there is symbolic exclusion, which sets aside all culture, language, and aesthetics that are not part of the dominant identity. On the other, the literal exclusion of marginalized populations that did not belong to the dominant groups and social classes was noted. As a result, a tireless search for homogeneity has been clearly observed— once those who are "different" have entered the school building, languages other than the official one are erased, any mark of cultural traces deleted, any "deviation" is corrected. Indigenous populations, Afro-descendants, migrants, and people with disabilities, among many more, have been (and in many cases still are) systematically excluded, as fully documented in the literature of education history.

The model was fully connected to the predominant way of dealing with difference throughout the twentieth century, which can be summarized as a constant effort to erase, to physically and symbolically eliminate the other, a view of the "other as the source of all evil," particularly in a context in which

genocides, ethnic killings, apartheid, and dictatorships were recorded and the growth of racism, homophobia, sexism, and xenophobia observed on a daily basis (Duschatzky and Skliar 2001).

A key reference in this case is to Foucault's devices for constructing subjects and regimes of truth (Foucault 1981), or the many naming mechanisms used to create otherness. In other words, the binary logic invented by modernity, in which the negative component is named: marginal, indigent, crazy, foreigner, and so on, in opposition to a supposed "normal." "We need others to justify ourselves," say Duschatzky and Skliar (2001). The madman confirms our reason: the child, our maturity; the foreigner, our place. This is a discourse, therefore, that prohibits hybrid forms of identity and disallows the constitutive exchange of the entire social structure.

The challenge seems to be to epistemologically invert the problem of the existence of a normality, a normal, norms, and normalization. These are the problems that need to be understood and deconstructed. It is about all of us, not them and us, and a way to understand what we as a society have become.

Breaking the Cycle

Moving away from the heavily weighted foundational paradigm is part of the current disputes around struggles for the right to education from an emancipatory perspective. Diversity, instead of homogeneity, must be at the heart of the attempt to *build* something new to be shared, the ultimate purpose and hope of education in a world experiencing multiple crises. Nevertheless, the proposed discourses and policy responses so far to break this cycle have not been potent enough to represent a real rupture with the hegemony of normality. Coexisting with explicit exclusionary logics, new rhetoric and narratives of well-intentioned projects and initiatives of official educational systems still struggle with difference, despite a horizon of transformation and justice.

The multiculturalist discourse, as Skliar and Duschatzky (2001) have noted, tends to reinforce the other as part of a cultural group, fixing subjects to single anchors of identity as if they could not be anything else. In this conception, the alert is to the false premise that cultures represent homogeneous communities of beliefs and lifestyles, without space for the constitution of plural identities. It thus becomes a discourse permeated by traps when the question about difference is not accompanied by how such fragments are articulated, especially considering the dimensions of exclusion and inequality.

Pedagogical translations of multiculturalism have been observed in many ways, particularly fostering the presence of symbols that are representative of others through festivities and celebrations, but running the risk of exacerbating a certain exoticism and emulating isolated cultures. Another very common expression is the reduction of certain groups to a deficit discourse, defined by the lack of something, or a particular need. Furthermore, this translation can be seen through the efforts of including usually excluded populations in the curricula, with photographs and descriptions of these groups, but without any real interaction with such diversity. "It is taught, but it is not lived," synthesize the authors.

From the point of view of a certain ethical positioning, says Skliar, we are facing a truly dramatic question: the separation between "us" and the "others" does not work, neither theoretically nor politically. On the contrary, we must presuppose the idea of responsibility when considering the existence of other persons in relation to our own lives.

Curricula and Plurality

The discussion, therefore, goes far beyond the presence of the other in schools, as confirmed by the narratives. Similar questions can be asked about different types of knowledge and curricula, including the multiple representations of diversity: What knowledge qualifies as worthy of being made available to everyone and taught in schools? Curricula have become among the most relevant social territories of the dispute about what is meaningful and validated knowledge, again a question of power and domination. Such debate has been historically present in the struggle for the realization of the right to education from an emancipatory perspective, along with recent claims for epistemic justice and decolonization of the curricula at national, regional, or global levels. It implies conflicts and negotiations around the worldviews to be taken into account.

Curricula and textbooks can counter stereotypes, reduce prejudice, and develop a strong sense of belonging when reflecting on diversity to support teachers. At the same time, and by contrast, inappropriate textbook images and descriptions can make students from different cultures feel excluded or misrepresented (UNESCO 2019). Curricula and textbooks transmit and promote a society's explicitly and tacitly valued perspectives, principles, social aspirations, and identities. Being social and political constructions, educational media reflect the disputes around the ultimate purpose of education systems (Ball 2001; Apple 2019).

Official curricula have systematically excluded several kinds of knowledge that not only better represent diversity but can also effectively contribute to alleviating some of the most contemporary societal challenges. Undoubtedly, many aspects of Indigenous knowledge would improve our ways of dealing with nature, forests, the climate, and living together. In his provocative book *Ideas to Postpone the End of the World*, the author and Brazilian Indigenous leader Ailton Krenak reminds us that the environment, rather than a "development resource," is part of us, our families and lives (Krenak 2020). In the same way, Afro communities in different parts of the world can share other visions of the African diaspora, in which Africans see themselves as protagonists of the world, building and transforming, as active citizens and actors of globalization (Mbembe 2017). The false idea that there is only one single way to live and understand the world is part of the same colonial ambition. There are manifold knowledges that have never entered schools and would be more than helpful in teaching us new ways to coexist and share the planet.

Beyond School Walls

The richness of testimonies shows additional complexities which go far beyond educational systems, including topics that have been challenging social studies from a justice and rights perspective over the last decades. In our unequal and postcolonial societies, marked by a claim for justice, it is no surprise that some testimonies clearly speak to the connection between the identity debate and social inequalities, the lack of opportunities when looking at a family's income, or a student's narrow perspectives of getting a decent job even after having completed their schooling.

How to articulate these dimensions? A key contribution comes from political philosophy, particularly the framework proposed by Nancy Fraser. She seeks a strategy to combine the historical claims for "redistribution," more than just the allocation of resources and goods, historically present along the struggle for social justice, with the battle for "recognition," the latter widely referenced in the history of Western thought and present in the vocabulary of new movements working contrary to colonialism, racism, and sexism.

"Justice today requires *both* redistribution *and* recognition; neither alone is sufficient," notes Fraser (2007), proposing a helpful strategy of recognition with ethics, treated as a matter of *social status*. "Recognition is not group-specific identity but rather the status of group members as full partners in social

interaction. Misrecognition, accordingly, does not mean the depreciation and deformation of group identity. Rather, it means social subordination in the sense of being prevented from participating as a peer in social life."

When adding the dimension of participation expressed by "full partners in social interaction" or "a peer in social life," she also sheds light on the educational debate around inclusion. Are there sufficient conditions for meaningful participation? To what extent are populations being discriminated against and not allowed to have a say on equal terms? If schools want to strengthen our fragile democracies, a plurality exercise is needed: to listen attentively to the voices of its political subjects, in singular from individuals and in plural from collectives, narrating their experiences, worldviews, proposals, and resistance strategies.

School walls are absolutely permeable to our social logics and contemporary challenges. The claim for educational rights must be framed within a broader political struggle, one of transformation, and one that has as its horizon more just and egalitarian societies. A shift in direction toward promoting democratic and transformative education depends on a clear intention to foster a real rupture with the processes that come from and have still been blended with colonial, racist, and patriarchal logics and their exclusionary projects. Far from a single blueprint, each local experience will find a different path and, if based on such principles, there will be hope and a way ahead.

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Conclusion and Outlook

Bringing Together and Rethinking Diverse Strands around a Troubled Concept

Tania Saeed and Marcus Otto

The contributions to this volume display and demonstrate from multiregional grassroots perspectives, and literally from the ground up, how the rather abstract, discursively imperative, politically obsessive, and even phantasmatic concept of integration becomes a troubled concept in the framework of educational practices and discourses. They also critically reflect upon and challenge the concept of "education for integration" within the institutional and discursive frameworks of peace and human rights education. Centering the polyvalent concept of integration in relation to education, the practice narratives in Part I illustrate the lived realities of refugees, IDPs, asylum seekers, and minority groups who navigate structural and social spaces of education and "integration." The analytical pieces in Part II, reflecting on these practice narratives, demonstrate the possibilities and limitations of refugee and migrant integration in relation to education. The chapters in this edited volume thus offer a meaningful intervention within the field of critical peace studies.

In the conclusion to this book, it is imperative for us to reflect on the larger implications of these chapters for integration in education policy, practice, and academic discourse. As we write this final chapter, communities continue to be displaced across the "Global North" and "Global South," and borders are being reinforced against people escaping persecution, violence, and catastrophes in search of refuge. The chapters in this book provide insight into how structural and social integration can take on the meanings of inclusion, acceptance, pluralism, or belonging through education and beyond but can also be limited to assimilation and lead to exclusion.

Questioning Framing Discourses of Integration in Education

"Integration" in general serves less as an analytical concept than as a normative governmental discursive strategy with its corresponding (re-)production of power relations within society, the nation-state and education. This is true in particular for concepts of education for integration. The contributions of this volume have demonstrated from a variety of local, emic, and embedded perspectives how this materializes in different discursive practices. By critically reflecting on the concept and its materializations on the ground, the contributions have explored the potential to move beyond the concept of integration.

The narratives and analysis have clearly shown that the concept of integration remains stuck in the framework of societal self-descriptions defined by the nation-state and its respective education system, largely failing to address the concrete realities of migrant subjects from a (trans-)local, transnational, and world-society perspective. Indeed, it seems that the concept of integration and its discursive use in education reveal more about the unresolved ambiguities within a society defined by the logic of the nation-state and national borders than about the concrete realities of migration.

The discourse of "integration" in general and on the "education for integration" of migrants in particular is highly instructive regarding the persistence and reproduction of methodological nationalism and nation-states as dominant institutional frameworks for migration and education within the social reality of a diverse world society. Despite the emergence of transnational and international institutional perspectives from and on education, such as in the fields of peace education and global citizenship education (GCE), the "integrationist" politics and governmentality of education still largely remain within the discursive and institutional framework of the nation-state, including the discursive distinction between the "Global North" and "Global South."

The contributions to this volume have, therefore, explored alternative concepts by reflecting different actors' perspectives and subject positions. They have thus essentially contributed to the diversification and deconstruction of dominant discourses of "integration" and "education for integration." They have explored potentials for the transformation of education and its ascribed institutional integration function, and offered corresponding perspectives on its diversification into different modalities of inclusion, participation, belonging, self-empowerment, encounters, local embeddedness, community building, bottom-up agency, pluralism, and intersectionality, to name but a few. With

this diversification and deconstruction, they critically reflect upon and question dominant discourses of "education for integration."

Education and Integration: A Troubled Concept

In the introduction to this book, we outlined the aspects of education and integration that had guided the contributions in this volume. With regard to these, we have noted the following major perspectives from the contributions to this volume.

The chapters generally identified and analyzed the concrete potentials, challenges, and problems of "integration" in education from an emic rather than an abstract institutional perspective. They demonstrated to what extent the abstract governmental and educational concept of integration in fact discursively frames practices, degrees, and situations of inclusion and exclusion in education. This implies that it is not "integration"—in and by education—which can be empirically studied or evaluated but the corresponding practices, degrees, and situations of inclusion and exclusion. The contributions thus elaborate and critically reflect on implicitly underlying understandings of integration in order to explore alternative conceptual perspectives. Overall, the chapters vigorously demonstrate the characteristic and formative discrepancies between top-down and bottom-up approaches to integration, which frame political, societal, as well as educational discourses of integration. Rather than these well-known and oft-reproduced discourses, the contributions present data, descriptions, events, participants, and voices in the narratives which tell us different stories of "integration" from an emic perspective. These have sometimes offered surprising insights into unexpected effects of "integration," as well as its failures. By elaborating on emic perspectives from the ground and empirically based bottom-up approaches, the chapters have revealed in particular the inherent power relations unfolding in these educational contexts of integration policies and practices. They self-critically reflect on their own respective positionalities and the methodological as well as theoretical limitations of their research. They discuss productive insights for practitioners as well as scholars in peace and human rights education or integration research in order to learn from what is really happening "on the ground," as well as offering alternatives with regard to current integration discourses.

The chapters have also illustrated the complexity of the concept of integration in relation to education for refugees, IDPs, and migrants—

essentially communities considered "outsiders." The importance of vocabulary and conceptual clarity, as highlighted in Part II, is central to any policy related to education and integration. For Rath, Gräfe-Geusch, and Okroi, integration as a concept has its limitations. Rath makes the case for inclusion, rather than integration, to be the defining factor for refugees and migrants. As she argues, integration may slip into assimilation, as the concept of integration does not necessarily allow for a critical questioning of the structural limitations of the existing system. Inclusion recognizes individuality and difference while creating the possibility of change within the host community. Gräfe-Geusch and Okroi question the top-down nature of integration as it exists in host societies— in their case, Germany. Drawing on the experiences of the protagonists of the practice narratives in Part I, they argue for a more bottom-up approach to integration, where the "positionality and agency of refugees" is central. In unpacking this complexity, Gellman situates "integration" within pluralism in democratic societies. Arguing against approaches that center on "tolerance," which presents a "lack of hostility to difference but not an embracing of it," the author shows how integration, in comparison, creates the possibility of groups being considered "equal" when driven by the ideal of a pluralist democracy. In education, such pluralism may be compromised without addressing material limitations related to the politics of the curriculum—or the hidden curriculum—language barriers, and teacher training. These power imbalances become central for Saeed in her chapter, which focuses on how degrees of inclusion and exclusion—as defined by the host state—determine the extent to which integration is possible in relation to education. These experiences are located within the larger political discourse that determines the level of agency, sense of belonging, and therefore integration of refugees and migrants in host communities.

There is a social and psychological element to the concept of integration that comes through in the practice narratives, which provides important lessons for practitioners, policymakers, and academics working in critical peace studies. A top-down structure that defines "integration" without considering the lived realities of refugees and migrant communities, their cultures and heritages, languages and beliefs will fall into an assimilationist trap. The actors in the practice narratives do have agency, but their possibilities and agentive potential are limited by an approach to integration that denies their very diversity.

A Future Outlook

For practitioners and scholars of critical peace studies, this means that "real" integration can only be rendered a possibility for refugee and migrant communities via a re-evaluation of the taken-for-granted meanings of integration that define the workings of the formal education system and social spaces in the host communities. Whether students are "submerged" in an existing system, sent to a "parallel" system, or an "integrated one" as Annett Gräfe-Geusch and Johanna Okroi highlight, integration will remain an obsessional phantasma of a governmental discursive norm that, as we argue in the introduction, is inherently destined to fail by becoming assimilationist and exclusionary.

In a world where governments across both the "Global North" and "Global South" have increasingly been moving toward more exclusionary, anti-immigrant policies, the arguments put forward in this book have become even more important. They provide an understanding of the day-to-day lives of refugees, IDPs, migrants, and essentially those considered outsiders, their social and individual struggles, and the reality of the structural obstacles that they encounter. By reflecting on the lessons learnt around inclusivity, pluralism, belonging, and integration through this book, practitioners, policymakers, and academics can not only create inclusive spaces that center the refugee and migrant community in relation to education but also provide the possibility for the host community to embrace diversity and change. This would eventually also imply breaking the vicious circle between abstract governmentalized imperatives of integration on the one hand and the successive, concrete, factual effects of manifold exclusion of migrants on the other.

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