

## Teaching New Immigrants in Estonian Schools – Challenges for a Support Network

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**Abstract.** *Modern school administration is more and more focused on teamwork and it is of utmost importance to find suitable cooperation formats along with different networks to support the education and adaptation of the new immigrants. The main goal of this research paper is to describe and analyze the experiences, opinions and expectations of school administration and support specialists about the ways of teaching and supporting the newly arrived immigrant pupils (refugees, asylum seekers and other immigrant children who lived in Estonia for less than five years). In the empirical part of the research, data is collected with semistructured interviews from the administrative or support team members of 12 Estonian schools which have had experiences with teaching new immigrants. Qualitative inductive content analysis is used as the method of data analysis. The results of the research show that the attitudes of the recipient school societies are rather positive. Language learning is set as a priority due to its being the main avenue for supporting integration and involvement. The shortage of adapted textbooks, lack of support specialists and limited resources to motivate teachers and compensate the extra work were brought out as the main bottlenecks in involving new immigrants.*

**Keywords:** *new immigrants, adaptation, teaching of refugees, support networks*

### Introduction

The European refugee crisis has led to a growth in the number of asylum seekers in Estonia. If five years ago there were only 33 asylum seekers per year, in 2015, the number increased to 231 (The Police and Border Guard Board, 2016). Over the past 15 years, Estonia received a total of 820 applications, and protection was granted to 172 persons, including 88 refugees and 84 recipients of complementary protection (Refugees in Estonia, 2017). It is important to highlight the origin of asylum

seekers, as the support services offered by the schools will depend on it. Throughout the years, Estonia has received the largest number of applications for international protection from Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Syria and Afghanistan (The Police and Border Guard Board, 2016). In 2016/17, Estonia received the first war refugees (120 persons) who were relocated within the European asylum relocation framework. The Estonian action plan and budget are prepared for the arrival of 550 persons in two years (Refugees in Estonia, 2017).

The selection of this study's topic was influenced by the recent alarm and concern in Estonia regarding refugees in terms of how to ensure providing high quality education that is suitable in terms of age and capabilities to students who are refugees or other new immigrants. Previous studies have shown that Estonian inhabitants have displayed skepticism, and conservative and hostile attitudes towards new immigrants (Ainsaar, Beilmann, 2016; Valk, 2015; Fomotskin, 2014). They are seen as a threat to the economic and national security of Estonians (Emor, 2015; Asser 2015; Fomotskin, 2014). However, certain interest groups have started to argue that the society would benefit from the arrival of migrant workforce, in the opinions of several politicians the refugees and new immigrants would mitigate the pressure on the aging population (Ainsaar, Beilmann, 2016; Valk, 2015).

When analyzing the research conducted regarding refugees and new immigrants in Estonian schools (Kasemets, Asser, Hannust, Rahnu, 2013; Soll, Palginõmm, 2011), it appeared that much attention has been given to mapping the perceptions of the teachers, while the viewpoints of school administrators and support specialists have not been studied. Therefore, the following research problem was formulated: how do school administrators and support specialists describe their experiences, opinions and expectations on supporting new immigrants. From previous studies it became evident that the support network for newcomers varies greatly among schools. According to the estimations of teachers, the main responsibility for offering supporting services lies on the

class teacher, while the teachers of subject and remedial teaching, psychologists, social pedagogues, special education teachers and speech therapists also contribute. As reported by the teachers, in nearly all cases there is somebody in the school who has an overview of new immigrants and supports their learning or who handles their issues specifically (Kasemets et al., 2013). Nevertheless, it is thought that supportive measures at schools are as important as involving parents and cooperating with organizations outside the school (cultural societies, language schools etc.). According to the UN Refugee Agency, the involvement of the Ministry of Education as well as of local municipalities have key importance in ensuring "opportunities for education for refugee students" (Education Strategy 2012–2016, p. 31). Based on this, the current study posed the following research questions: 1) What are the factors that affect the adaptation of new immigrants according to schools' administrations and support specialists? 2) Which positive experiences and which barriers have occurred at schools when teaching and supporting new immigrants? 3) What are the expectations and suggestion from the administrations and support specialists to the local municipalities and the state level in order to support new immigrants?

### **Previous research on the topic**

#### ***Newcomer's barriers to participation in education and the role of support networks***

Many refugees have experienced displacement, family loss, and extremely high levels of exposure to political and eth-

nic persecution and war-related violence (Betancourt et al., 2014). Refugee families often grapple with resettlement stressors such as poverty and poor housing, as well as many acculturative stressors which pose additional threats to emotional and behavioral health for refugee children and adolescents (Beirens, Hughes, Hek, Spicer 2007; Betancourt et al., 2014). In addition to that, the literature on refugees and asylum seekers identifies a number of barriers to the development of social bonds. Many newcomers have found themselves isolated from other members of their community (Düvell 2005, p. 19) and are facing a number of interconnected problems, for example, limited opportunities to seek support, fear of their safety, stress and depression (Beirens et al. 2007, p. 224).

Barriers to full participation of refugee children in education include: schools' lack of information on the specifics of education and the educational history of the refugee children; insufficient home-school cooperation (parents are not involved in educational decision-making processes); insufficient support provision (refugee children without individual education plans or differentiated approaches); inappropriate grade placement (refugee children placed inappropriately for their age and educational history, often with much younger local children); lack of funding to support teachers working beyond normal contract with refugee children (Bačáková, Closs, 2013; Soll, Palginömm, 2011).

Hostility towards minority ethnic communities among some members of majority ethnic society constitutes an additional, sometimes overriding, barrier to building social bridges with members of other groups. Refugees and asylum seekers

are often treated with suspicion, fear or even violent harassment. Studies have shown that such negative reactions have often led newly arrived families to draw on existing or new social bonds (rather than bridges) and community-based refugee organizations for practical and emotional support (Beirens et al. 2007; Griffiths, Sigona, Zetter, 2005).

Refugee education at the global scale is still not successful due to its access limitations and low quality. Shortage of human resources, particularly of educational expertise, and lack of financial resources as well as their "inconsistency make global refugee education neither of high quality nor protective" (Bircan, Sunata, 2015, p. 228). There are also gender differences, as accessibility is more limited for girls because of risk of early marriage (ibid. 234)

The support network provided by the school and its smooth operation have a key role for ensuring the safety and adaptation of new immigrants. Previous research demonstrates the importance of support networks in providing both the practical and emotional support necessary to mitigate social exclusion and promote integration within receiving societies (Beirens et al., 2007). Research focusing on newcomers has found network building and connectedness to foster conditions for settlement in the host community and promote a motivation and sense of identity and confidence to combat feelings of isolation (Beirens et al., 2007; Bircan, Sunata, 2015; Linde, 1997; Kasemets, 2007; Gardner, 2001).

School-based networks can provide services to promote newcomer's positive engagement at school. This includes formal educational support (language learning to facilitate class participation, differentiated class work, individual curricula, adapt-

ing the learning materials for newcomers, consultation discussions with parents etc.). In order to improve children’s emotional well-being, therapeutic services (for example, art therapy sessions) can be provided by schools (Beirens et al., 2007). There are also many positive examples of schools which were able to involve refugee parents to decision making and home-school liaison (Andonov, 2009; Gardner, 2001).

## Method

### Sample

According to the data of the Ministry of Education and Research, new immigrants in Estonian are enrolled in 27 schools – in six towns and in ten municipalities (EHIS,

2016). The sample selection was based on the principle of the representation of the different regions of Estonia. The final sample consisted of twelve schools in four cities and eight municipalities.

Participants were selected using purposive sampling (Coyne, 1997) which enabled to interview schools’ administrations and support specialists who have had contact with new immigrants.

All respondents were contacted by the researchers and participated voluntarily. A total of twelve representatives of school administration and twelve support specialists participated (N=24). Table No. 1 shows the region and profile of interviewees, as well as number of new immigrant pupils in each school.

Table No. 1. *Research participants*

	Region	Research participants	Nos. of new immigrants in school
School No. 1	Southern Estonia, municipality	School principal, social pedagogue	3
School No. 2	Southern Estonia, municipality	Head teacher, speech therapist	4
School No. 3	Southern Estonia, town	Head teacher, special education teacher	2
School No. 4	Eastern Estonia, municipality	Head teacher, special education teacher	3
School No. 5	Eastern Estonia, municipality	Head teacher, school psychologist	4
School No. 6	Northern Estonia, town	School principal, special education teacher	6
School No. 7	Northern Estonia, town	Head teacher, remedial teacher/support person	5
School No. 8	Northern Estonia, municipality	Head teacher, special education teacher	7
School No. 9	Northern Estonia, municipality	School principal, remedial teacher	1
School No. 10	Northern Estonia, municipality	School principal, social pedagogue/support person	2
School No. 11	Western Estonia, town	Head teacher, special education teacher	2
School No. 12	Western Estonia, municipality	Head teacher, school psychologist	3

### **Data collection**

The study was carried out using a qualitative research method. The authors chose semi-structured interviews as the method of data collection (Kvale, 2007). The interview-guide consisted of series of topics to be discussed, each by a series of open-ended questions. The interviews were conducted in 2016 (12 interviews by first author and 12 interviews by second author).

During the interviews research participants were asked, based on their previous experience, to describe their opinions and expectations regarding teaching and supporting newly arrived immigrant pupils. The interview guide included four main themes: (1) factors that affect the adaptation of new immigrants; 2) school personnel experiences of working with new immigrants; 3) challenges and barriers in supporting of new immigrants, and (4) expectations for policy (suggestions to the local municipalities and the state). The interviews were recorded and then transcribed using the program *Express Scribe*.

In order to ensure confidentiality, the names of the interviewees were replaced with pseudonyms. The whole transcribed text amounted to 172 single-spaced pages.

### **Data Analysis**

The initial stage of data analysis included mapping of the key subjects covered in the interviews. First, transcripts were initially analyzed using “open coding” approach that inductively abstracts patterns and themes in the data related to the central research questions (Betancourt et al., 2015). During the second stage of analysis thematic text coding was done, using the QCMap software (QCMap, 2016). QCMap is an open access web application for systematic text analysis based on the techniques of qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2014). Finally, the codes were clustered into categories, which were then reorganized into four central/core categories and then condensed further into the study’s key themes (Saldana, 2016). The example of development of the core categories can be seen in Table No. 2.

*Table No. 2. The development of core categories*

<b>Subcategory</b>	<b>Core category</b>
Motivation Language learning Life history Parents support Individual learning plan Attitudes of receiving school community Support specialist	} Factors affecting adaptation
Lack of study aids Involving parents Cultural differences Gender stereotypes in families Shortage of support specialists	} Barriers in supporting new immigrants

## Results and discussion

The results are presented in accordance with the research questions, illustrated by quotes from the interviews. First, the schools' administrations and support specialists were asked what, in their opinion, affect the adaptation of new immigrants. The following factors were named: the refugees' wish to adapt, the attitudes of the receiving school community, language learning opportunities and the support to the individual development of the refugee student.

The interviewees emphasized that the initial adaptation of new immigrants depends on their own outlook and motivation. The higher the new immigrants' wish to remain in the destination country, the smoother the adaptation process. Those students, whose parents promote and support settling in the new country and who support their children's participation in extracurricular activities (hobby clubs, language camps), have higher motivation. In addition, adaptation is also dependent on children's age – the older the children, the more difficult it will be for them to get accustomed to the destination country and its living conditions.

In the adaptation of new immigrants, the preconceptions and attitudes of the receiving school community are essential. Although the Estonian society as a whole is characterized rather by skepticism, conservative and hostile attitudes towards new immigrants (Ainsaar, Beilmann, 2016; Valk, 2015; Fomotskin, 2014), the experiences of the interviewees have been positive so far in terms of the attitudes of the community. People have been looking forward to the new immigrants' arrival with excitement. In none of the cases did the

participants of the study point out opposition or negative prejudices from students or their parents. It is likely that this has succeeded thanks to the preparatory work of the teachers and school administrations who have managed to mitigate any fears from the very start.

Regarding language learning, the approach to the new immigrant students has been individual and dependent on the child's previous experience and talent for languages. Individual curricula at varying levels have been applied, and additional Estonian lessons have been offered. In the case of individual lessons as well as the adaptation of the curriculum, the expectations of parents in addition to the assessments of the school's support staff have been taken as the basis.

The teacher or the support person has the main role in teaching the language. Solutions that would help students learn languages effectively have been searched for and found (e.g., participating in lessons voluntarily to hear the sound of Estonian before starting to learn the language). The following people were pointed out as support persons: the class teacher, psychologist, social pedagogue, speech therapist, special education teacher, assistant teacher and peers. However, this study did not find any attempts to involve any of the new immigrants' compatriots as support persons, who would have the experience of living in Estonia and would take on the role of so-called cultural mediator as Gardner (2001) has suggested. When taking other countries' experiences into account, Estonia could also start training support persons who would be bilingual and could act as a "cultural bridge."

The heads of schools who participated in this study assessed the teachers' skills of using various methods and adapting learning materials to be high. The following was emphasized:

"It is not enough to take language classes [...] language learning should be continuous and related to daily life: cultural evenings, project days, summer language camps [...]" (head teacher).

Cooperation was an important keyword in the success of these activities – communication with homes, colleagues, local municipality and sister schools.

Within the second research question, the positive experiences as well as barriers and bottlenecks that schools had encountered when teaching new immigrants were studied.

The study revealed that dealing with newcomers had improved the collegial relationships among school personnel. Joint challenges have stimulated the staff to collaborate more, which is not typical to the Estonian school culture. According to the TALIS survey, Estonian teachers are active in exchanging daily information, but higher level professional cooperation, including visiting each other's lessons, occurs much less frequently (Übius, Kall, Loogma, Ümarik, 2014). Thus, it can be concluded that the common goal of adapting with the new immigrants has had an encouraging effect on cooperation within as well as between schools. The following was also mentioned:

"[...] not always are huge resources required, but rather entrepreneurial spirit and teamwork, in order to develop a school environment suitable for newcomers through pictures, welcoming words and information leaflets" (remedial teacher).

As a positive aspect, the favorable attitude of school communities was highlighted. In-service teacher training regarding the support of refugees has helped to mitigate the fears of teachers. The contacts created during the training with other schools were highly appreciated.

"Exchange of experiences between the schools is the best way to cooperate. And it would be good if this takes place within the framework of in-service training, because mutual complaining only may not lead to positive solutions" (school psychologist).

On the basis of the results, it could be highlighted that the most efficient form of cooperation with refugee families are consultation discussions with parents. Consultation discussions are usually held annually and give parents access to more detailed and personal information about the pupils' future performance and progress (Andonov, 2009). During those meetings, the support staff and the refugee family also discuss adaptation problems and learning difficulties. The participants of the study explained that in real life only the support mechanisms initiated in cooperation with parents actually work. In addition to consultation discussions with parents, organizing joint events and language camps were emphasized as these create a sense of community as well as synergy between children and families.

What was named as a barrier in supporting new immigrants was first and foremost the lack of study aids. Teachers have used the learning materials of language immersion programs and those meant for students with special educational needs who are learning on a simplified curriculum.

At the same time, translating the existing study aids and adapting them linguistically is highly time-consuming.

“There is a continuous need for simplification and translation of work instructions. For example, in math we should deal mainly with the simplification of the text, but in science and history we have to translate” (remedial teacher).

In this respect, assistance is sought from the state level – Ministry of Education and Research and local municipalities. There are clear financial expectations to compensate teachers’ extra work when adapting the learning materials.

Schools feel insecure, especially in situations where there are students from several nationalities and with different home languages learning in the same classroom.

Another barrier mentioned was a failure to involve parents in the school life. Additionally, the interviewees admitted the presence of conflicts deriving from cultural differences in terms of expectations and behavior. For instance, it appeared that the participants of the study were disturbed by the gender stereotypes upheld by some new immigrant families, e.g. that the father handled the matters related to the son and the mother handled the matters related to the daughter. In addition, cases were mentioned where some parents distanced themselves from the school since in their culture, teachers are considered to be experts who have to solve problems at school themselves. Gardner (2001, p. 82) has referred to the same tendency, stating that there are cultures where teachers are considered to be “solely responsible for teaching and educating in schools.” The shortage in support specialists was

also mentioned as a shortcoming. In some schools in Estonia it would be financially possible to hire support specialists, but there are no suitable people with the necessary professional qualifications. The greatest shortage is in speech therapists who speak Russian.

When attempting to answer the third research question, the expectations of the school administrations and support specialists became evident, as did their suggestions to the local municipalities and the state. The necessity to receive specific feedback from the state level was pointed out, in terms of if they had handled teaching new immigrants in the right manner and what the guidelines are on which to rely. This is especially important in cases where some new immigrant students leave school at the age when compulsory school attendance ends without having completed basic education.

“We have today a fifteen-year-old girl, what will happen to her if she does not finish basic education, what is the next option for her? Is it the prevocational program or adult gymnasium or is there a third option, so she will not be left entirely without basic education?” (special education teacher).

Therefore, a suggestion was made to implement transitional or remedial learning for such new immigrants who have not completed basic education. Another proposal mentioned was to create the opportunity for apprenticeship training in vocational schools which would enable new immigrants to get by despite poor language skills. What was mentioned as an expectation to the local municipalities was the need to map and exchange other schools’ experiences and examples, also

those gathered during informal learning trips. Several suggestions touched upon organizing translation services – how to assist new immigrants with translation matters better.

On the basis of the experiences of the interviewees, when choosing schools newcomers in the future, it would be reasonable in terms of resources and skills to teach them in schools that have previous experiences already. However, these schools should not become so-called refugee schools. In all schools, the ratio of new immigrants and Estonian students should be in balance to enable mutual adaptation.

## Conclusions

Despite the many challenges that school support networks face, it is clear that there are many forms of cooperation to support new immigrants. It became clear that supportive measures at schools are as important as involving parents, families and cooperating with organizations outside the school (cultural societies, language- and hobby-schools). Different cooperation formats were highly appreciated: internal, between schools, and joint activities with local authorities. The common goal of supporting the adaptation process of new

immigrants has had an encouraging effect on cooperation inside as well as between schools.

The results of the research show that the attitudes of the recipient school societies in Estonia are rather positive. Language learning is set as a priority due to it being the main avenue for supporting integration and involvement. Other educational support measures highlighted by respondents are: individual curricula, consultation discussions with parents and adapting learning materials for newcomers.

The main barriers in supporting newcomers are the shortage of adjusted textbooks, lack of support specialists and limited resources to motivate teachers and compensate the extra work. There are also examples of failure to involve new immigrant parents in the school life because of conflicts deriving from cultural differences in terms of expectations and behavior.

As a recommendation to the local municipalities and to the Ministry of Education and Research was highlighted the need to map and exchange other schools' good practices and to reorganize translation services. A suggestion was made to implement transitional or remedial learning for such new immigrants who have not completed basic education.

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## NAUJUJŲ IMIGRANTŲ MOKYMAS ESTIJOS MOKYKLOSE – IŠŠŪKIAI PALAIKYMO TINKLAMS

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### S a n t r a u k a

Modernių mokyklų administracijos yra vis labiau susitelkusios į darbą komandose. Ypatingas dėmesys yra skiriamas tinkamiausių bendradarbiavimo formų ir įvairių tinklų, kurie galėtų paremti naujų imigrantų ugdymą ir adaptaciją, paieškai. Pagrindinis šio straipsnio tikslas yra aprašyti ir analizuoti mokyklų administratorių ir ugdymo pagalbos specialistų patirtis, nuomones ir lūkesčius, susijusius su naujai atvykusių imigrantų (pabėgėlių, prieglobsčio prašytojų, kitų imigrantų, kurie Estijoje gyvena mažiau nei penkerius metus) vaikų mokymu ir ugdymo pagalba. Empirinės tyrimo dalies duomenys surinkti atliekant pusiau struktūruotus interviu su administracijų ir ugdymo pagalbos specialistų komandų nariais

iš 12 mokyklų Estijoje, kurie turi patirties mokant naujuosius imigrantus. Surinkti duomenys buvo analizuojami atliekant kokybinę indukcinę turinio analizę. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad mokyklų bendruomenių požiūris į naujuosius imigrantus yra pozityvus. Kalbos mokymas įvardijamas prioritetu, nes tai yra pagrindinis kelias norint pasiekti integraciją ir įtraukimą. Pritaikytų vadovėlių, ugdymo pagalbos specialistų trūkumas bei riboti išteklių mokytojams motyvuoti ir kompensuoti papildomas darbo valandas buvo nurodyti kaip pagrindinės kliūtys įtraukiant naujuosius imigrantus.

**Pagrindiniai žodžiai:** naujieji imigrantai, adaptacija, pabėgėlių mokymas, palaikymo tinklai.

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