

Jarosław Bąbka
University of Zielona Góra, Poland

Marta Nowicka
Jan Wyżykowski University, Poland

Educational policy towards children of immigrants in Poland

Introduction

This article discusses the problem of Polish educational policy to foreign students in the context of special educational needs. This issue has a particular importance for the increasing number of migration flows in the world. Among those who have decided to leave their homeland are both economic migrants, who want to find a well paid job in order to improve their economic status and standard of living of their families, as well as refugees who want to find a safe place to live. According to data from the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) entitled *Global Trends*, in 2015 the percentage of children from the world's refugee population was 51%. Thus, every second refugee is a child and is often deprived of parental care because in the last year the number of children without parental care who applied for refugee status was equal 98. 4 thousand. The consequences of resettlement, voluntary or forced, very often refer to the youngest generation¹.

Also Poland, as a one of the European countries, must solve a large number of problems connected with the influx of migrants, including the issue of education of children of foreigners. This article concerns the educations

¹ [Online] <http://www.unhcr-centraleurope.org/pl/wiadomosci/2016/653-mln-os%C3%B3b-przymusowo-przesiedlonych-kolejny-rekord-w-statystykach.html>, access 15.07.2016.

problems of foreign children, taking into account both economic migrants' student and refugees. Selected categories of students, despite the similarities related to the functioning of the distant cultural and linguistic environment, differ in the context of their legal status. The category of immigrants includes children of people voluntarily resettled with the intention to settle in Poland permanently or temporarily. For the category of refugees' children includes those who left their countries of origin because of well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, beliefs or membership of a particular social group, etc. To this category it is also possible to add those who emigrate for reasons related to the armed conflicts or natural disaster². Those categories of children, despite the differences in their legal status, experience a lot of similar and difficult situations associated with the adaptation to a new cultural and educational environment.

Education of migrants' children in Poland is not only an educational but above all social problem. Thus, it is assumed that the theoretical framework of this issue will be the concept of social development environment by Uri Bronfenbrenner³. Furthermore, there is also an attempt to present the possibilities and limitations of the implementation of educational policy towards foreign students on the basis of the opinions of headmasters, teachers and pedagogues from the schools in which are children of immigrants. The concept of special educational needs emerged in the seventies of the twentieth century in the United Kingdom due to the report of Mary Warnock. In the report is a division into two categories of children: those whose needs can be met in common schools and those who need to provide a special learning environment. Recognition of the rights of students with special educational needs to study in common schools was a milestone for the development of inclusive education. Initiated in Britain transformation on a student with special educational needs are reflected in the Polish educational policy. That was a gradual transformation of the school system and its transformation from the concept of matching the student to the school environment to the adaptation of the educational conditions to their individual needs⁴.

² [Online] K. Bleszyńska, *Dzieci obcokrajowców w polskich placówkach oświatowych – perspektywa szkoły. Raport z badań*, Warszawa 2010, p. 10–12, <http://www.ore.pl>, stan z dn. 07.17.2016; J. Boratyński, *Uchodźstwo we współczesnym świecie*, [In:] K. Koszewska (ed.), *Zrozumieć innych, czyli jak uczyć uchodźców*, Warszawa 2001, p. 7–14.

³ U. Bronfenbrenner, *The Ecology of Human Development*, Cambridge 1979.

⁴ P. Clugh, J. Corbett, *Theories of inclusive education: A student's guide*, London 2000, s. ix–xiii; A. Firkowska-Mankiewicz, *Edukacja włączająca – wyzwaniem dla polskiej szkoły*, „Szkoła Specjalna” 2004, No. 1, p. 19–26; J. Thompson, *Specjalne potrzeby edukacyjne*, translated by J. Bartosik, Warszawa 2013, p. 2–11.

The problem of education of foreign students in the light of the concept of social development environment by Uri Bronfenbrenner

According to Uri Bronfenbrenner, the social environment creates a system of interdependent systems such as micro-system, mezzo-system, egzo-system and macro-system⁵. The functioning of foreign students at school, as those with special educational needs, is related to their relations with teachers – implementators of a particular educational policy, arranged by the legal framework.

Analysis of the concept shows that the implementation by a teacher a particular educational policy depends on his direct and indirect experiences related to the category of students with special educational needs, as well as his individualized way of interpreting the reality. Regards the understanding of new ideas, changes in the approach to be different people, and the differences between them, as well as the need to comply with in connection with the applicable regulations, defining the scope of activities in the school. The complex network of relationships between humans causes that they share their views, experiences on topics related to immigrants in Poland and abroad, which corresponds with a mezzo-system. Policymakers of a particular educational policy towards foreign students and teachers as implementers of legal arrangements are a subject to direct and indirect effects associated with participation in the overlapping subsystems. On the creation of educational policy towards foreigners and its implementation affect significantly the experience, knowledge, stereotypes about immigrants, as well as social moods towards the phenomenon of migration in Europe. The analyzed area is not the direct environment of the functioning of the teacher, but the impact on it is so-called "private theory of education"⁶. Interpersonal relationships conducive to the formation of positive and negative attitudes, stereotypes and prejudice against people with a different appearance and a different culture. They have a significant impact on the legal system of education concerning the issues of foreign students learning in Poland, including the objectives and tasks of modern schools and requirements for teachers, which corresponds to the area, can be designated as egzo-system. According to Education policy in Poland to foreigners' students with special educational needs, which is reflected in the specific legal regulations, is an expression

⁵ U. Bronfenbrenner, 1979; [In:] A. Brzezińska, *Społeczna psychologia rozwoju*, Warszawa 2000, p. 187–188.

⁶ Private education theory is reflected in the conscious actions of educator, concerning eg. student with special educational needs, as well as attitudes, which is not quite aware of it (see J. Bąbka, *Prywatne teorie edukacyjne nauczycieli*, [In:] E. Koziół, E. Pasterniak-Kobyłecka (eds.), *Świadomość i samoświadomość nauczyciela a jego zachowania zawodowe*, Zielona Góra 2005, p. 369–376).

of broader European trends in thinking about this category of students. U. Bronfenbrenner narrower subsystems operate according to established patterns of culture, ideology, system of beliefs, which is independent of the procedural regulation and the effects of current events, which corresponds to macro-system.

Education of foreign students in the context of the concept of special educational needs

The direction of the development of the modern educational policy towards the students with special educational needs, both in Poland and in the countries of the European Union, concentrates on promotion of the inclusive education. Inclusive education is a non-segregative form of education of students with special educational needs. It is also called a model of the “one path”, which is aimed at inclusion in the mainstream of education children with diverse needs, capabilities, capabilities and pace of development⁷. This is associated with the allowing students with special educational needs to learn together with their peers who do not have this kind of needs in the public schools, located close to their home (according with their area of residence), where is implemented the compulsory education of their siblings and peers from the neighborhood. The essence of the inclusive education is based on the appreciation and support in the development of the process of educating and upbringing of every child, as well as the adjustment of the educational environment of the students with special educational needs by removing barriers inherent in the organization of school work, which can prevent or hinder education and upbringing of all students without exception. The system of the inclusive education is also associated with the idea of “school for all”⁸.

As it has been already mentioned, the term special educational needs (SEN) was firstly formulated in the Warnock Report in Britain in 1978⁹. The author of the report characterizes the term special educational needs as the individual needs of the student in the range of acquiring the knowledge and skills during his

⁷ A. Firkowska-Mankiewicz, *Edukacja – narzędziem przeciw wykluczeniu społecznemu osób niepełnosprawnych*, [In:] L. Frąckiewicz (ed.), *Przeciw wykluczeniu społecznemu osób niepełnosprawnych*, Warszawa 2008; D. Al-Khamisy, *Wstęp*, [In:] J. Bogucka, D. Al-Khamisy (ed.), *Szkoła dla Wszystkich. Uczeń niepełnosprawny w szkole ogólnodostępnej*, Warszawa 2009.

⁸ O. Speck, *Inkluzja edukacyjna a pedagogika lecznicza*, translated by Anna Grysińska, Gdańsk 2013, p. 71.

⁹ [Online] M. Warnock, 1978, *The Warnock Report, Special Educational Needs Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People*, <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/warnock/>, access 10.07.2016.

his learning process, due to his specific cognitive, perceptual and motoric functions¹⁰.

Children with special educational needs may experience difficulties in functioning in the role of a student and be exposed to school failure, and even social exclusion, thus they should be covered by the psycho-pedagogical assistance in the school environment. Determinants of special educational needs are complex and may result from their disability, social maladjustment, the risk of social maladjustment, special talents, specific learning difficulties, language communication disorders, chronic disease, crisis and traumatic situations, failures in education, environmental negligence related to the hard life situation of a student and his family, as well as the difficulties of adaptation related to cultural differences, or a change in the educational environment, including those related to his previous abroad education¹¹. In this sense, foreign children, as culturally diverse from the other students, belong to the ethnic minority they can also be regarded as students with special educational needs. Their insufficient knowledge about the Polish traditions and customs or even a total ignorance, especially incompetent use of the Polish language, can significantly hinder them, not only the implementation of compulsory education, but also the process of integration in the new social environment.

The problem of the presence of foreign students in Polish schools began to grow in the second half of the 90's, when more and more immigrants started to arrive to our country. This resulted with the need of searching for new legislative solutions, which enable of the implementation of compulsory education of foreign children. Thus, in 2000 there was an amendment of Act of the Educational System by adding a new article 94 a, under which from 1st January 2001 people who are not Polish citizens have an access to the education and care in the public kindergartens, schools and other educational institutions, under the same conditions as Polish citizens¹². Since then, there is observed the tendency of slower growth of the number of foreign students in the Polish educational institutions.

¹⁰ M. Warnock, 1978, see: M. Głodkowska, *Model kształcenia uczniów ze specjalnymi potrzebami edukacyjnymi – różnice nie mogą dzielić*, [In:] *Podniesienie efektywności kształcenia uczniów ze specjalnymi potrzebami edukacyjnymi. Materiały szkoleniowe*, part 1, Warszawa 2010, p. 47.

¹¹ *Regulation of the Ministry of National Education of 9th August 2017 on the principles of providing and organizing the psycho-pedagogical support in the public kindergartens schools and other educational institutions*, Journal of Laws of 2017, Item 1591.

¹² Act of 21st December 2000 on amending of the Act on the Educational System, Journal of Laws of 2000 No. 122, Item 1320.

In the school year 2006/2007 to Polish schools attended a total number of 3,618 foreign children. Their interest in the whole school population was equal only 0,06%¹³ 2010. On the one hand, four years later, in the school year 2010/2011, the number of students who are not Polish citizens has increased more than twice, and in the whole country was equal 7.850 children¹⁴. On the other hand, in the school year 2012/2013 the number of foreign students in Polish schools slightly decreased to 6.702 and it remained on a similar level in the school year 2013/2014 – 6.299¹⁵.

The macro-system changes in the frame of the education of foreign students

The functioning of the student – foreigner, with individual educational needs in school, should be recognized in the context of the transformations of macro-system. They force changes in the educational policy and transformations of the educational institutions. They are also connected with the changes relating to the values, attitudes towards the human's otherness, scientific paradigms, as well as the international documents, which are reflected in the educational policy of the state. According to experts the modern education should not ignore the differences between people. In educational process, it seems to be necessary to take into account the individual educational needs of children and adolescents. The model of education, which is presented in this article, is associated with the vision of experiencing and negotiating of the differences, in order to create the space of a common world. This is connected with the necessity of affirmation in the educational process of the difference, distinctness, and otherness of another human¹⁶. This vision of education is an expression of paradigm shifts and placing the emphasis from naturalism to culturalism¹⁷.

¹³ [Online] V. Todorovska-Sokolovska, *Integracja i edukacja dzieci imigrantów w krajach Unii Europejskiej – wnioski dla Polski*. Instytut Spraw Publicznych, 2010, www.isp.org.pl/uploads/pdf/1652675396.pdf, access 6.07.2016.

¹⁴ E. Pogorzala, *Aspekty instytucjonalno-prawne edukacji dzieci imigrantów w polskim systemie oświaty*, [In:] A. Paszko (ed.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa w Polsce wobec nowych wyzwań*, Kraków 2011, p. 75.

¹⁵ [Online] K. Kubin, E. Pogorzala, *Raport z badania systemu nauczania dzieci języka polskiego jako drugiego/obcego w szkołach w Polsce*, Warszawa 2014, p. 8, http://ffrs.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/FRS_Raport_JP2_Kubin_Pogorzala_2014.pdf, access 7.07.2016.

¹⁶ B. Śliwerski, *Współczesne teorie i nurty wychowania*, Kraków 1998, p. 313-321; R. Rorty, *Filozofia a nadzieja na lepsze społeczeństwo*, translated by J. Grygieńć, S. Tokariew, Toruń 2013, p. 289-298; T. Szkudlarek, *Pedagogika krytyczna*, [In:] Z. Kwieciński, B. Śliwerski (ed.), *Pedagogika*, Warszawa 2003, t. 1, p. 372.

¹⁷ T. Hejnicka-Bezwińska, *Paradygmat humanistyczny w pedagogice a pedagogika humanistyczna*, [In:] J. Rutkowiak, D. Kubinowski, M. Nowak (ed.), *Edukacja, moralność, sfera publiczna. Materiały z VI Ogólnopolskiego Zjazdu Pedagogicznego*, Lublin 2007, p. 462-466.

Right of a foreign child to education and respect for cultural identity is guaranteed by the numerous international documents, such as:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Paris, 10th December 1948);
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (New York, 19th December 1966);
- The Additional Protocol to the European Convention of Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Rome, 4th December 1950);
- The United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (20th November 1989);
- Salamanca Declaration and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education (1994).

In the Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), is covered the record about the fact that everyone “has the right to education”. In addition, the document calls for the universality, free of charge and obligatory primary education.

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) also, pursuant to the Article 14, obliged countries – as parties to the organization of the universal, compulsory and free of charges primary education.

On the one hand, in the Additional Protocol to the European Convention of Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950) there is a record which states that no one can be deprived of the right to education (Article 2).

Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) seems to be the most significant international document, which regulates the educational policy issues towards to the children. In the Article 28, countries – parties are obliged to recognize the children right to education, thus the primary schools will be obligatory and free of charges for everybody, those countries will also promote the development of free common education (general and vocational education); they will provide an access to the higher education and intensify their efforts in order to provide the regular school attendance, as well as they will prevent the reduction of the indicator of abandoning of school by students. Additionally, signatories of the Convention ensure that the school discipline will not violate the dignity of the child, as well as they will support and develop the international cooperation within the framework of education. However, in the Article 29, the countries – parties declare that the education of children will be directed on: the optimal development of their personality, talents, as well as mental and physical capabilities; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, the basic rules covered in the Charter of the United Nations, for their parents, their cultural identity, language, the values of the country of their origin, as well as the

values of the country in which a child temporarily stays; prepare a child to live in a free society, peace and tolerance, equality of gender and friendship between all nations, ethnic, religious and national groups, and also native people, as well as develop the respect for the environment.

Sources of changes in educational policy towards the students with special educational needs should be traced also in the Declaration of Salamanca and the Guidelines for Action on Special Education Needs (1994). The document justifies the necessity to ensure the access to common schools of children with special educational needs, which, due to the open nature are the most effective way of combating discrimination, as well as creating welcoming communities.

Consequences for educational policy resulting from the migrational crisis and the social attitudes of Poles – the perspective of mezo-system

The ongoing migrational crisis in Europe affects on the opinions of Poles about the refugees. According to the research of CBOS, which are conducted regularly since 2004, the current events related to the terrorist attacks influence on the attitude of Poles towards the issue of receiving of refugees. In this article are covered the empirical data collected after the bomb attacks in Brussels in 2016.

The level of openness of Poles towards receiving refugees from the countries affected by armed conflicts has decreased in comparison with data from 2015. Only one in three respondents (33%) believes that Poland should at least temporarily receive refugees from the countries affected by armed conflicts. More than 60% believe that Poland should not receive refugees. It is an almost threefold increase compared with the opinions from 2015 on this subject. The progressive negative attitude towards receiving of refugees is associated with a particular aversion to refugees from the Middle East and Africa, who came to European Union countries. Only every fourth respondent (25%) accept the relocation of some of these refugees to Poland. While 71% are against (an increase of 4 points compared to 2015). In the last months of 2016 the percentage of Poles who share the opinion that the migration crisis could lead to the disintegration of the European Union significantly increased (58%).

The attitude towards receiving of refugees is differentiated by the political preference, age, place of residence and a sense of the terrorist threat. The reluctance towards receiving of refugees is more often expressed by people who identify themselves with the right wing (61%) than the political center or the left wing (respectively 54% and 49%). The largest opposition is expressed by the respondents who are not able to declare their political views. Younger people

(from 18 to 44 years of age) more often than older declare their negative attitude towards to receiving of refugees¹⁸. The opposite trend was indicated by the research from 2015. The negative attitude towards refugees grew with the age of respondents. It means that the older generation of Poles the greater concern and more negative attitudes towards refugees¹⁹. The most accommodating towards receiving of refugees in Poland, until they could return to their country, are residents of cities with the population over 500 thousand. Against receiving of refugees are those who have the real sense of threat of terrorism²⁰. The attitude towards the refugees depends on the level of education and financial situation. The lower level of education and the worse material conditions the more often is expressed the opposition towards to refugees, both political and other²¹.

Research shows that Poles have already feared of refugees in 2015: 73% of the population declared that the arrival of refugees will cause the increase of unemployment, and more than 2/3 of respondents (68%) stated that refugees will contribute an increase of criminality. Only 1/3 of the respondents in 2015 believed that the arrival of refugees enrich the country which receives them. This results of the research can be explained by the fact that the opinions of Poles about refugees are not the consequences of their own experience, but they are formulated on the basis of media reports, and interviews with other people, which conducts to the formation of negative perceptions and stereotypes about immigrants. The majority of Poles (91%) do not know any refugees personally. For several months the similar level is the conviction of Poles that firstly it is necessary to help our countrymen from the east (former exiles) (72%) and Ukrainian refugees (60%)²². The results of the research also indicate that the recorded further terrorist attacks may have a significant impact on the growth of negative attitudes towards immigrants, including the receiving of refugees by Poland. In the context of recent events and the subsequent attacks in Europe can be noted the stiffening of the Polish government, which in the current situation

¹⁸ B. Badora, *O kryzysie migracyjnym po zamachu w Brukseli*, Komunikat z badań, Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej 2016, No. 69.

¹⁹ K. Kowalczyk, *Polacy wobec problemu uchodźstwa*, Komunikat z badań, Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej 2015, No. 81.

²⁰ B. Badora, *O kryzysie migracyjnym po zamachu w Brukseli*, Komunikat z badań, Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej 2016, No. 69.

²¹ See: K. Kowalczyk, *Polacy wobec problemu uchodźstwa*, Komunikat z badań, Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej 2015, No. 81; B. Badora, *O kryzysie migracyjnym po zamachu w Brukseli*, Komunikat z badań, Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej 2016, No. 69.

²² [Online] *Poles about the refugees*, TNS 2015, http://www.tnsglobal.pl/wp-content/blogs.dir/9/files/2015/11/K.072_Polacy_o_uchodzcach_O10a-15.pdf, access 16.07.2016.

does not see the possibility of relocating to our country refugees who came to Italy and Greece. This situation raises many questions and doubts which are connected with the possible changes in the Polish educational policy towards children of immigrants, also refugees. The research on the attitudes of teachers towards the phenomenon of migration and education of students with the refugees' status would be worth of the scientific interests.

Education of foreign students in the light of Polish law—the perspective of egzo-system

The changes which have taken place in educational policy towards to a foreign student and the right to have an access to education, seem to be insufficient. However, they are an expression of the ongoing changes in favor of cultural pluralism, emancipation and equality. Among the documents which confirm the right of a foreign student to have an access to education, as well as respect the cultural diversity, it is possible to distinguish:

*The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2th April 1997*²³;

*Act of 7th September 1991 on the Educational System*²⁴;

*Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 9th September 2016 on the issue of education of the non-Polish citizens and Polish citizens who were educated on the schools operated in the other educational systems*²⁵;

*Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 9th August 2017 on the on the principles of providing and organizing psychological and pedagogical assistance in public kindergartens, schools and other educational institutions*²⁶.

In accordance with the Article 37 Item 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland everybody who is under the authority of the Republic of Poland benefits from the freedom and rights provided by the Constitution, thus the foreigner should be treated as the citizen on the territory of Poland, however, there are some exceptions²⁷.

²³ *The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2th April 1997*, Journal of Laws of 1997 r. No. 78, Item 483.

²⁴ *Act of 7th September 1991 on the Educational System*, Journal of Law of 2004, No. 256, Item 2572.

²⁵ *Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 9th September 2016 on the issue of education of the non-Polish citizens and Polish citizens who were educated on the schools operated in the other educational systems*, Journal of Laws of 2016, Item 1453.

²⁶ *Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 9th August 2017 on the on the principles of providing and organizing psychological and pedagogical assistance in public kindergartens, schools and other educational institutions*, Journal of Laws of 2017, Item 1591.

²⁷ *Article 37 Item 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2th April 1997*, Journal of Laws of 1997 No. 78, Item 483.

In accordance with the Article 94 of the Act 1 and 1a of the Education Act²⁸, students who do not have Polish citizenship can also have an access to the education in public kindergartens, primary schools, secondary schools, art schools and secondary schools on the same terms as Polish citizens, without any costs. This right is applied to the foreign children and adolescents during the initiation of the procedure for international protection, as well as they will be covered by it, under the condition that they parents will enroll their children to school.

On the one hand, Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 9th September 2016 on the issue of education of the non-Polish citizens and Polish citizens who were educated on the schools operated in the other educational systems²⁹ detailed specifies the conditions and procedures for admission to public kindergartens and other forms of pre-school education, schools and other educational institutions for non-Polish citizens, as well as the organization of additional learning classes of Polish language, additional compensatory, and the language and culture of the country of their origin classes. The headmaster of the school or other educational institution may decide about to conduct respectively: 1) language predisposition test, 2) directional competence test, 3) language competence test, if the degree of preparation for the education of a foreign student is not apparent from his documents. If a student who is coming from abroad is not able to submit the documents, can be qualified for an appropriate class and semester on the basis of an interview. The interview is carried out by the headmaster of a school or educational institution, and if it is necessary by one teacher or teachers. In the case of a student who is coming from abroad and does not speak Polish language, the interview is carried out in a foreign language, which is understood by the student. If necessary, it is important to ensure the presence of a person who speaks foreign language, which is understood by the student. The student is admitted to the public schools, as well as other educational institutions by the headmaster of a particular school at the request of student's parents or at the request of an adult student. For those people, who are not the citizens, as well as people who are the citizens of Poland, those who are a subject to the compulsory education, those who do not speak Polish language, or those whose language level is insufficient during the learning process, the headmaster of a school organizes education in accordance with

²⁸ Act of 7th September 1991 on the Educational System, Journal of Laws of 2004, No. 256, Item 2572.

²⁹ Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 9th September 2016 on the issue of education of the non-Polish citizens and Polish citizens who were educated on the schools operated in the other educational systems, Journal of Laws of 2016, Item 1453.

the core curriculum on the common education, as well as the additional and free of charges language course in the form of extra lessons of Polish language. Additional Polish language lessons are conducted individually or in groups in the dimension of time (not less than two hours per week), which is necessary to master Polish language at the level which allows to participate in the compulsory lessons. Teacher, who conducts lessons from a given school subject, may determine the need of filling gaps arising from the program differences of a given subject, and the headmaster may organize the additional classes from this school subject. The additional classes from a given subject are conducted individually or in groups in the form of extra lessons from this school subject in the dimension of time no less than one hour per a week. The total number of hours of Polish language lessons, as well as the additional classes cannot be higher than five hours per week for one student. For those people, who are not Polish citizens, but the area subject to the compulsory education, the diplomatic or consular post, as well as the cultural and educational associations of a given society, may organize the language and culture courses, if there are seven people who want to participate. The total number of the hours of language and culture lessons may not be higher than 5 hours per week. People who are not the citizens of the Republic of Poland may receive a scholarship of the Minister of National Education in the monthly amount which is equal to the amount of the Prime Minister's scholarship.

On the other hand, Regulation of the Ministry of National Education of 9th July 2017³⁰ allows to recognize a foreign child as a student with special educational needs who requires support in the educational environment. It also regulates in detail in the principles of providing and organizing various forms of psychological and pedagogical support in the public kindergartens, schools and other educational institutions. Under this regulation the foreigner student, the same as any other child, can have psychological and pedagogical assistance at school during the current educational activities or other forms of therapeutic classes, e.g. developing their talents, corrective and compensatory classes, logopaedics classes, physiotherapy classes, etc. Additionally, the foreigner student may also participate in additional workshops, has consultation with teachers, pedagogues and psychologists, as well as other specialists (pedagogical therapists, sociotherapists, logopaedics therapists, career counselor), and when he is a student of junior high school or secondary school, can also have a classes

³⁰ *Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 9th August 2017 on the on the principles of providing and organizing psychological and pedagogical assistance in public kindergartens, schools and other educational institutions*, Journal of Laws of 2017, Item 1591.

related to the choice of the direction of education and future occupation. This assistance is free of charges and provided on the initiative of a student, his parents, a headmaster, a teacher or a specialist, who has classes with the student, a school nurse, the assistant of the Gypsy family or a probation officer.

Education of children of immigrants in Polish schools – the perspective of micro-system

There are few empirical elaborations that are related to the problems of educating students with the status of refugee or immigrant in Polish schools. This is due to the fact that this problem affects only low number of schools in Poland and is considered by researchers as a niche. In this article will be presented selected results of research on various aspects of functioning of the schools where are taught children with the status of refugee or immigrant. The research by Krystyna Błęszyńska³¹ includes headmasters, teachers and pedagogues, which helped her to show the problem of educating students – foreigners from the three different perspectives. Most students were those with the status of immigrant and they represented all continents, except Australia, New Zealand and South America, which indicates the large cultural diversity of students. Among the categories of refugees' children were immigrants from Chechnya, and single cases of students from Georgia, Iraq, Congo, Nigeria, Somalia and Sudan. However, the research carried out by Katarzyna Kubin and Jan Świerszcz³² in schools where Chechen, Vietnam, Georgian, Ukrainian and Belarusian children were taught, helped to unmask the mechanisms which exclude students with the status of refugee or immigrant. An overview of researches presented in this article will be enriched with the opinions of educators from schools in Podkowa Leśna and Koniewo, where there is the largest number of foreign pupils in Poland.

It is difficult to overestimate the role of headmaster in directing the school in which are students with the status of refugee or immigrant. The research shows that only 5% of headmasters declare that they have a special preparation and competences to manage the school where are foreign students. Half of the headmasters which are covered by the research claim that they feel fully unprepared to carry out tasks related to the education of students with the status of refugee or immigrant. The research conducted among the headmasters

³¹ [Online] K. Błęszyńska, *Dzieci obcokrajowców w polskich placówkach oświatowych – perspektywa szkoły. Raport z badań*, Warszawa 2010, <http://www.ore.pl>, access 07.17.2016.

³² K. Kubin, J. Świerszcz, *Wyzwania dla szkoły różnorodnej. Wstępna analiza mechanizmów wykluczania dzieci i rodzin migranckich w strukturach szkoły w Polsce*, [In:] A. Paszko (ed.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa wobec nowych wyzwań*, Kraków 2011.

indicates that the presence of students from outside the Polish borders is treated more as a challenge than a threat. This is connected with the need to organize in the school extra-curricular activities, familiarize teachers and students with the culture of children coming to the Polish, as well as the organization of additional forms of care and assistance. Difficulties related to the organization of education for foreign students include: the establishing of mutual communication, the enforcement of compulsory education of children and adolescents affected by the school failures, the adaptation of schools to the cultural specificity, including religion, of pupils. The headmasters notice the impact of the presence of students - foreigners on social relations between children at school. According to the headmasters there are conflicts at schools because of the cultural differences, intolerant behaviour of Polish students and their parents towards to the foreign students, as well as the communication difficulties that arise from the lack of or poor knowledge of the Polish language. The headmasters positively assessed cooperation between their schools and psycho-pedagogical advisory centers, as well as institutions of social work in terms of the organization of education and support from foreign students³³.

Complement of deliberations on issues related to the education of students - foreigners represent the opinions of teachers and school pedagogues. The teachers who are covered by the research are characterized by the short period of working with foreign students (from 1 to 3 years). The lack of special preparation during their studies in the context of resolving educational problems of students with the status of refugee or immigrant caused that over 1/3 of teachers was not conscious about the specific of the work with this category of children with special educational needs. The presence of foreign children in schools where the teachers were working evoked the ambivalent feelings and attitudes. Teachers, in the opposition to the headmasters, clearly noticed negative aspects of the presence of foreign students. Among the negative aspects of the presence of this kind of students at school, teachers enumerate: communicative difficulties, connected with the social integration, problems with adaptation, distraction of other students in the classroom, slower pace of work, additional work connected with the preparation of lessons by teachers. Teachers recognize the need to work during the lessons with both foreign and non-foreign students. The attempts to undertake this kind of organization of classes are associated with a large number of difficulties which arises from the cultural and communicative barriers, as well as the lack of adequate preparation for such a complex task, which causes experiencing many difficult situations by teachers. According to the teachers,

³³ [Online] K. Błeszyńska, *Dzieci obcokrajowców w polskich placówkach oświatowych – perspektywa szkoły. Raport z badań*, Warszawa 2010, p. 25–47, <http://www.ore.pl>, access 07.17.2016.

students with the refugee or immigrant status are mostly affected by the problems, such as: language, connected with the communication with the others (teachers and Polish students), understanding the teaching content, fulfilling the expectation of the school, understanding Polish culture. For the discussed issue significant are the opinions of teachers on the attitudes of Polish students towards abroad students. According to the respondents, foreign students encountered with kindness and interest, as well as a willingness to help by their Polish colleagues. There was not recorded the higher level of anxiety to the otherness of some students. However, there were the cases of manifestation of distance or indifference of Polish students towards to the foreigner colleagues. Behavior characterized by aggression and discrimination was considered to be rare or absent. Teachers also notice the positive aspects of attendance school of students – foreigners to Polish schools, which can be divided into four categories: (1) didactical benefits (for example: motivation of students to learn foreign languages); (2) educational benefits (for example: sensitivity towards culturally different people); (3) benefits for the development of teachers (for example: motivation to learn foreign languages), (4) general benefits (for example: integration between nations). The majority of teachers declare the insufficient preparation to work with students - foreigners³⁴.

The research carried out among the pedagogues shows that they do not have full information if among the students entrusted to them are refugee children. Therefore, the opinions expressed by them on the analyzed issues are declared. Pedagogues positively assess the situation of foreign students in Polish schools in the context of their relationship with teachers, classmates, as well as the possibilities to cultivate their own culture. However, the issue of their school achievements and social competences was worse assess by pedagogues. Among the problems related to the matter of functioning of foreigner students in Polish school, they enumerate: language difficulties, deficiencies in knowledge, which are a result of earlier education in the country of origin. Pedagogues declare insufficient preparation in the context of work with children - foreigners. It is not surprising because the majority of them have declared that they were not already covered by any form of training in this area³⁵. Current trends presented by those research allow to conclude that the problems of students with the refugee or immigrant status, as well as the possibilities of solving it are different recognized

³⁴ [Online] K. Błeszyńska, *Dzieci obcokrajowców w polskich placówkach oświatowych – perspektywa szkoły. Raport z badań*, Warszawa 2010, p. 48–81, <http://www.ore.pl>, access 07.17.2016.

³⁵ [Online] K. Błeszyńska, *Dzieci obcokrajowców w polskich placówkach oświatowych – perspektywa szkoły. Raport z badań*, Warszawa 2010, p. 82–96, <http://www.ore.pl>, access 07.17.2016.

from the perspective of headmasters, teachers and pedagogues. The headmasters emphasize the importance of foreign language courses for teachers, and training on the legal grounds for work with refugees and immigrants. The greatest importance was attached by teachers to the development of adequate ways of an individual work with foreign students, compensate their knowledge deficiencies, as well as create a friendly atmosphere in the class towards foreign students. Smaller importance was attributed to the tasks relating to the development of their own competence, social integration of students and cooperation with parents. However, pedagogues evinced interest in all possible forms of support and training, as well as access to the relevant methodological guides. For all those most was important to appoint a special support institutions and persons, such as: the coordinator working with refugee families, coming from the immigrant environment or the Parent Council consisting of the foreign students' parents. The most significant for headmasters, teachers and pedagogues was preparation in advance of schools to accept foreign students before they appear in their educational institutions.

Diagnosis on the functioning schools with foreign students, which is presented in this article, should be completed with the problems which are perceived by practitioners from the educational institutions in Podkowa Leśna or Koniewo, where is the largest number of foreigners with the refugee status. Headmasters and teachers negatively assess the fact that foreign students attend classes and realize the core curriculum, regardless of the degree of their knowledge of Polish language. Students are entitled to two hours classes of Polish language per week, however, it is not sufficient in order to acquire the appropriate language skills to study in Polish schools. There is a lack of special legal regulations which would allow promote students without an adequate Polish language skills. The role of the cultural assistant for foreign students in school was very positively assessed. Unfortunately, there is a lack of funds to employ the cultural assistants in order to fully satisfy the needs of students with the refugee or immigrant status³⁶.

Children of foreign parents experience different barriers and difficulties, which are the result of neglect their problems of acculturation by educational workers. Qualitative researches conducted by Katarzyna Kubin and Jan Świerszcz³⁷ provided the evidences that in the Polish schools, in which children of different nationalities were taught the culture of assimilation was dominated.

³⁶ E. Piechowska, *Obecność uchodźców w małych gminach. Doświadczenia Góry Kalwarii i Podkowie Leśnej w integracji uchodźców i edukacji ich dzieci*, Warszawa 2015, p. 20–30.

³⁷ K. Kubin, J. Świerszcz, *Wyzwania dla szkoły różnorodnej. Wstępna analiza mechanizmów wykluczania dzieci i rodzin migranckich w strukturach szkoły w Polsce*, [In:] A. Paszko (ed.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa wobec nowych wyzwań*, Kraków 2011, p. 127–150.

This means that the foreign children are expected to fully adapt to the Polish realities and culture. The research provided the evidence that foreign children are expected to participate on an equal footing with Polish students in national and religious holidays, obey behaviors corresponding to the European model of gender roles. What is more, in Polish schools, cultural and religious needs of children with the refugee or immigrant status are not noticed. This is due to the insufficient understanding of equality, as the identity requirements, not equal opportunities to acquire education. Analysis of the hidden program in the schools allowed to distinguish two models of education which subject are the foreign students. The first is related to the implementation of the curriculum requirements, which is applied to all students. The second model is based on the need to guess by the foreign students Poland cultural norms which are in force. The result of this kind of education is the lack of identification by the foreigner students with the school community, educational aims and attitudes, which the school wants to shape in their students³⁸. For example: the Chechen boy who refused to cleaning the classroom with other children is reprimanded for being lazy. Meanwhile, teacher is not aware that such behavior stems from assimilated by the boy cultural norms: Chechen men do not deal with cleaning up. The physical space of Polish school is dominated by symbols referring to Polish tradition and culture: emblems, crosses, maps, historical figures, etc. In this kind of situation, the foreigner student does not find symbols in the school, with which he could identify himself. Foreign children often form separate groups during the school breaks, which leads to isolation and exclusion. This situation is not a result of their bad will, but increased need for affiliation to each other by similar people. Become familiar with the school environment and space by foreign students in the school, for example: the school shop, canteen, coeducational class, toilet is connected with the necessity to obey the rules, which should be clear and understandable by them³⁹. Conducted research shows that the effort of educational workers is focused on implementation of the curriculum requirements and transferring of school knowledge and skills. However, there is neglected the problem of acculturation of children from different nationalities, who are experiencing many difficulties in the process of finding themselves in a new reality.

³⁸ K. Kubin, J. Świerszcz, *Wyzwania dla szkoły różnorodnej. Wstępna analiza mechanizmów wykluczenia dzieci i rodzin migranckich w strukturach szkoły w Polsce*, [In:] A. Paszko (ed.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa wobec nowych wyzwań*, Kraków 2011, p. 149.

³⁹ K. Kubin, J. Świerszcz, *Wyzwania dla szkoły różnorodnej. Wstępna analiza mechanizmów wykluczenia dzieci i rodzin migranckich w strukturach szkoły w Polsce*, [In:] A. Paszko (ed.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa wobec nowych wyzwań*, Kraków 2011, p. 127–150.

Presented researches revealed a large scope of venerable areas of functioning of schools, which in the face of the influx of students with the immigrant or refugee status require changes in the range of educational policy, development of educational workers' competences, as well as development of educational solutions in order to enable educational work and teaching in the classroom diverse ethnically and culturally graduates.

Conclusion

The concept of social development environment by U. Bronfenbrenner, which provided the theoretical framework for the article, allowed us to present the problem of Polish educational policy towards children of immigrants, including refugees, in view of macro-systems, mezo-systems, egzo-system and micro-systems.

Poland is facing the challenges of respect for cultural diversity of humans through departure from the strategy of cultural domination and marginalization in favor of cultural pluralism, emancipation and equality. Important question is what role in this process may play an education and what should be in the field of education policy of the state?

The result of the research presented in the article on attitudes of Poles towards the phenomenon of migration and receiving of refugees are not optimistic. It could be speculated that the negative attitude towards refugees will be increasing, which will favor the hardening of the policy towards immigrants and existing solutions for the education of their children by government. The current educational solutions in Poland, under the law of the education of children of immigrants, are not sufficient. One the one hand, this opinion results from the cited statements of the headmasters, teachers and pedagogues, who emphasize the need to address such issues as: enabling children to benefit from additional courses of Polish language and culture, individualization of the educational process of foreign student, regulation of the employment of the cultural assistant, cooperation with foreign parents through, eg. the appointment a person to work with immigrant families. On the other hand, education policy towards immigrant students as those with special educational needs cannot be limited only to the legal framework concerning formal issues related to the organization of their education. It is extremely important to allow debate on educational policy towards immigrants also with the scientific community in order to develop educational concepts to counter the marginalization and exclusion of culturally different people. Terrorist attacks in France, USA and Belgium testify to the fact that in multicultural societies cannot count on the fact that social relations resolve spontaneously, without the state help.

Bibliography

1. Al-Khamisy D., *Wstęp*, [In:] J. Bogucka, D. Al-Khamisy (ed.), *Szkoła dla Wszystkich. Uczeń niepełnosprawny w szkole ogólnodostępnej*, Warszawa 2009, Centrum Metodyczne Pomocy Psychologiczno-Pedagogicznej.
2. Badora B., *O kryzysie migracyjnym po zamachu w Brukseli*, Komunikat z badań, Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej 2016, No. 69.
3. Bąbka J., *Prywatne teorie edukacyjne nauczycieli*, [In:] E. Kozioł, E. Pasterniak-Ko-byłecka (eds.), *Świadomość i samoświadomość nauczyciela a jego zachowania zawodowe*, Zielona Góra 2005, Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego.
4. Boratyński J., *Uchodźstwo we współczesnym świecie*, [In:] K. Koszewska (ed.), *Zrozumieć innych, czyli jak uczyć o uchodźcach*, Warszawa 2001, CODN.
5. Bronfenbrenner U., *The Ecology of Human Development*, Cambridge 1979, Harvard University Press.
6. Brzezińska A., *Społeczna psychologia rozwoju*, Warszawa 2000, Wydawnictwo Naukowe „Scholar”.
7. Clugh P., Corbett J., *Theories of inclusive education: A student's guide*, London 2000, Sage.
8. *Deklaracja z Salamanki oraz Wytyczne dla działania w zakresie specjalnych potrzeb edukacyjnych przyjęte przez Światową Konferencję dotyczącą Specjalnych Potrzeb Edukacyjnych: Dostęp i Jakość*, UNESCO, Salamanka, Hiszpania, 7–10 June 1994.
9. Firkowska-Mankiewicz A., *Edukacja włączająca – wyzwaniem dla polskiej szkoły*, „Szkola Specjalna” 2004, No. 1, p. 19–26.
10. Firkowska-Mankiewicz A., *Edukacja – narzędziem przeciw wykluczeniu społecznemu osób niepełnosprawnych*, [In:] L. Frąckiewicz (ed.), *Przeciw wykluczeniu społecznemu osób niepełnosprawnych*, Warszawa 2008, IPiSS.
11. Głodkowska J., *Model kształcenia uczniów ze specjalnymi potrzebami edukacyjnymi – różnice nie mogą dzielić*, [In:] *Podniesienie efektywności kształcenia uczniów ze specjalnymi potrzebami edukacyjnymi. Materiały szkoleniowe*, part 1, Warszawa 2010, Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej.
12. Hejnicka-Bezwińska T., *Paradygmat humanistyczny w pedagogice a pedagogika humanistyczna*, [In:] J. Rutkowiak, D. Kubinowski, M. Nowak (eds.), *Edukacja, moralność, sfera publiczna. Materiały z VI Ogólnopolskiego Zjazdu Pedagogicznego*, Lublin 2007, PTP, Oficyna Wydawnicza „Verba”.
13. Kowalczyk K., *Polacy wobec problemu uchodźstwa*, Komunikat z badań, Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej 2015, No. 81.
14. Kubin K., Świerszcz J., *Wyzwania dla szkoły różnorodnej. Wstępna analiza mechanizmów wykluczania dzieci i rodzin migranckich w strukturach szkoły w Polsce*, [In:] A. Paszko (ed.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa wobec nowych wyzwań*, Kraków 2011, Stowarzyszenie Willa Decjusza.
15. Piechowska E., *Obecność uchodźców w małych gminach. Doświadczenia Góry Kalwarii i Podkowy Leśnej w integracji uchodźców i edukacji ich dzieci*, Warszawa 2015, Rzecznik Praw Obywatelskich, Stowarzyszenie Interwencji Prawnej.

16. Pogorzała E., *Aspekty instytucjonalno-prawne edukacji dzieci imigrantów w polskim systemie oświaty*, [In:] A. Paszko (ed.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa w Polsce wobec nowych wyzwań*, Kraków 2011, Stowarzyszenie Willa Decjusza.
17. Rorty R., *Filozofia a nadzieja na lepsze społeczeństwo*, tłum. J. Grygieńć, S. Tokariew, Toruń 2013, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.
18. Thompson J., *Specjalne potrzeby edukacyjne*, translated by J. Bartosik, Warszawa 2013, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
19. Speck O., *Inkluzja edukacyjna a pedagogika lecznicza*, przekład Anna Grysińska, Gdańsk 2013, Harmonia Universalis.
20. Szukdlarek T., *Pedagogika krytyczna*, [In:] Z. Kwieciński, B. Śliwerski (eds.), *Pedagogika*, Vol. 1, Warszawa 2003, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
21. Śliwerski B., *Współczesne teorie i nurty wychowania*, Kraków 1998, Oficyna Wydawnicza „Impuls”.

Provisions of law

1. *The Constitution of the Republic of Poland* of 2th April 1997, Journal of Laws of 1997 r. No. 78, Item 483.
2. *Regulation of the Ministry of National Education* of 9th August 2017 *on the principles of providing and organizing the psycho-pedagogical support in the public kindergardens, schools and other educational institutions*, Journal of Laws of 2017, Item 1591.
3. *Regulation of the Minister of National Education* of 9th September 2016 *on the issue of education of the non-Polish citizens and Polish citizens who were educated on the schools operated in the other educational systems*, Journal of Laws of 2016, Item 1453.
4. *Act of 7th September 1991 on the Educational System*, Journal of Laws of 2004, No. 256, Item 2572.

Online sources

1. [Online] Bleszyńska K., *Dzieci obcokrajowców w polskich placówkach oświatowych – perspektywa szkoły. Raport z badań*, Warszawa 2010, Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji, www.ore.pl, assess 07.17.2016.
2. [Online] <http://www.unhcr-centraleurope.org/pl/wiadomosci/2016/653-mln-os%C3%B3b-przymusowo-przesiedlonych-kolejny-rekord-w-statystykach.html>, access 15.07.2016.
3. [Online] Kubin K., Pogorzała E., *Raport z badania systemu nauczania dzieci języka polskiego jako drugiego/obcego w szkołach w Polsce*. Warszawa 2014, Fundacja na Rzecz Różnorodności Społecznej [http://ffrs.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/FRS_Raport_JP2_Kubin_Pogorzala_2014.pdf, access 7.07.2016.
4. [Online] *Poles about the refugees*, TNS 2015, http://www.tnsglobal.pl/wp-content/blogs.dir/9/files/2015/11/K.072_Polacy_o_uchodzcach_O10a-15.pdf, access 16.07.2016.

5. [Online] Todorovska-Sokolovska V., *Integracja i edukacja dzieci imigrantów w krajach Unii Europejskiej – wnioski dla Polski*. Warszawa 2010, Instytut Spraw Publicznych, www.isp.org.pl/uploads/pdf/1652675396.pdf, access 6.07.2016.
6. [Online] Warnock M., *The Warnock Report, Special Educational Needs Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People*, 1978, <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/warnock/>, access 10.07. 2016

Streszczenie

Polityka oświatowa wobec dzieci imigrantów w Polsce

W opracowaniu podjęto problem polskiej polityki oświatowej wobec uczniów cudzoziemskich w kontekście specjalnych potrzeb edukacyjnych. Kwestia ta nabiera szczególnego znaczenia wobec wzrastającej liczby przepływów migracyjnych na świecie. Wśród osób decydujących się na opuszczenie swojej ojczyzny znajdują się zarówno migranci ekonomiczni, pragnący za granicą znaleźć dobrze płatną pracę, dzięki której podniosą standard życia swoich rodzin, jak również uchodźcy, którzy opuszczają swój kraj w poszukiwaniu bezpieczeństwa i schronienia.

Kształcenie dzieci imigrantów w Polsce to nie tylko problem oświatowy, ale przede wszystkim społeczny. Dlatego przyjęto, że teoretyczne ramy omawianego zagadnienia stanowić będzie koncepcja społecznego środowiska rozwoju według Uriego Bronfenbrennera. Ponadto podjęto próbę ukazania możliwości i ograniczeń dotyczących realizacji polityki oświatowej wobec uczniów obcokrajowców na podstawie opinii dyrektorów, nauczycieli i pedagogów szkół, w których uczą się dzieci imigrantów.

Słowa kluczowe: uchodźca, cudzoziemiec, imigrant, edukacja, specjalne potrzeby edukacyjne.

Summary

Educational policy towards children of immigrants in Poland

This article discusses the problem of Polish educational policy to foreign students in the context of special educational needs. This issue has a particular importance for the increasing number of migration flows in the world. Among those who have decided to leave their homeland are both economic migrants, who want to find a well-paid job in order to improve their economic status and standard of living of their families, as well as refugees who want to find a safe place to live.

Education of migrants' children in Poland is not only an educational but above all social problem. Thus, it is assumed that the theoretical framework of this issue will be the concept of social development environment by Uri Bronfenbrenner (1979). Furthermore, there is also an attempt to present the possibilities and limitations of the implementation

of educational policy towards foreign students on the basis of the opinions of headmasters, teachers and pedagogues from the schools in which are children of immigrants.

Keywords: refugee, foreigner, migrant, education, special educational needs.