

Establishing an Inclusive Psychology of Migration: An Alternative Model

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Abstract

Increasing pace of migration around the world have caused a variety of psychological reactions among migrants and host communities, ranging from distress and pity to empathy and positive regard. In contrast to theories and approaches which highlight a chaotic aspect of migration, the purpose of this conceptual paper is to evaluate the issue of migration from an inclusive psychological point of view. Acknowledging the potential difficulties it may cause unless it is handled competently, this paper suggests that migration can be a way of strengthening social inclusion and enhance positive psychological reactions among communities.

Keywords: *Migration, inclusive psychology, cohesion, multiculturalism*

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Bütünleştirici Bir Göç Psikolojisinin Oluşturulması: Alternatif Bir Model

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Öz

Dünya üzerinde artan göç olgusu göçmenler, mülteciler ve yerel toplumlar arasında, huzursuzluk, acıma ve olumlu kabul gibi farklı psikolojik reaksiyonlara neden olmuştur. Bu makalenin amacı, göçü kaotik, düzensiz ve olumsuz yanlarını öne çıkaran kuram ve yaklaşımların aksine, bütünleştirici bir psikolojik anlayış içerisinde değerlendirmektir. İyi yönetilmediği durumlarda göç hareketlerinin neden olabileceği muhtemel zorlukların var olduğunu kabul edildiği bu yazı, göçün topluluklar arasında olumlu psikolojik tepkiler verilmesi ve toplumsal bütünleşmenin güçlendirilmesine yönelik bir etkisi olduğunu göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, bütünleştirici psikoloji, uyum, çokkültürlülük

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Introduction

Migration has been a popular topic among researchers and scholars from various fields; and evaluated from different perspectives such as that of sociologists, politicians and economists. However, the focus it has received from psychological and behavioral sciences has been intensive. Especially for the past three decades, migration has attracted the interest of population psychologists and environment psychologists, leading to a production of numerous psychologically-oriented studies of migration behavior. These studies have usually taken into account the subjective correlates of migration behavior, such as underlying attitudes, values, perceptions and migration intentions (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013).

This paper embarks on the literature on migration psychology, as defined by Fawcett (1985), and investigates this topic in relation to the establishment of an inclusive and cohesive community. Psychological studies conducted on migration generally address two broad questions. First, they focus on the causes of migrant movement, whether they are voluntary and involuntary. These studies focus on the decision-making models and motivational constructs behind the migrant movement. The second question points to the consequences of the new environment for the migrants as they make changes in their locations. This question often focuses on issues related to attitudes, adjustment, acculturation and adaptation models. The latter question is the focus of this paper which aims to put forward the possibility of inclusive attitudes and behaviors in regards to migration.

Global international migration is increasing exponentially not only in scale but also in the types of mobility and the cultural diversity of groups involved in that movement. According to Jim Cummins (1996) cultural diversity is becoming the norm in both the domestic and international arenas, and around the world, we see unprecedented population mobility and intercultural contact. Migration is defined as 'the movement of a person from one location to another' (Fawcett,

1985). Migration can take several forms: it can be a movement from one location to another within the same city, a permanent departure from one city to rural area or another, and voluntary or involuntary mobility across different countries, which may be identified as refugee movements, immigration or international labor migration. Regardless of the type of migration or change in location, indicators show that individual and social psychological factors are affected by the movement. The impact on these factors may take several forms, from total social exclusion to favorable attitudes and behaviors leading to individual well-being and social inclusion.

Negative Psychological Traits Associated With Migration

Experience in some parts of the world suggests that it may be difficult to reconcile the increasing diversity with social harmony and social cohesion (Hugo, 2005). Recent statistics by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (<http://www.unhcr.org>, 2015) confirm the negative picture: the number of people displaced from their countries of origin increased from 37.5 million in 2005 to 59.5 million in 2015. What is more, and unfortunately worse, the individual attitudes towards people migrating are increasingly negative, and such attitudes impact large-scale social policy that restrict individual and social rights and thus, cohesion (Atasoy & Demir, 2015; Facchini & Mayda, 2008; Zimmerman et al., 2000). For example, Miriam George (2010) reports that many of the host countries' policies are highly egocentric and are not applicable to the diverse cultural, social, and political nature of refugees. While the traumatic experiences of pre and post-migration can be long lasting and shattering to both the inner and outer selves of migrants and refugees, the locals may struggle to give a steady reaction to the migration movement (George & Jettner, 2014; Steel et al., 2006).

Nowadays, civil wars, shortage of food, torture and high risk of death bring about significant psychological risks for many refugees (Bhui et al., 2003). Those who can cope with the traumatic events

that occur before migration from their country of origin also often face challenging experiences during the resettlement period. Some of the frequently occurring incidences and feelings are loneliness, loss of own culture, anxiety, depression, anger, guilt and frustration. Sometimes, these incidences and feelings may be so severe that migrants and refugees may want to go back to their homeland, although they fear the violent consequences (George, 2012). On the other hand, in the regions migrated to, there are often struggles because of the uncertainty about how to adapt to the new migration movement and how to welcome migrants (George & Tsang, 2000). Unless the migration movement is handled well the ultimate result is often exclusion of individual migrants and their communities.

Factors Contributing to the Negative Traits Associated With Psychology of Migration

Most research has established that the negative traits associated with migration and leading to the emergence of feelings of threat and exclusion are related to misinformation and misperceptions regarding migrants and migration (Hugo, 2005). One of the perceptions leading to the emergence of a negative psychological state is that migrants are reluctant and often resist embracing aspects of the mainstream community. This misperception is exacerbated when migrants are forced to live together in spatially concentrated migrant communities. However research reports indicate that ‘such communities can be highly effective in assisting newcomers to make the transition from origin to host society and economy in a relatively painless and effective way without imposing costs on government and community support systems’ (Hugo, 2005:14).

Another factor contributing to the development of negative psychological perceptions regarding migrants is the fact that migrants and their needs are not addressed within the local and national policy. Especially in social, education and other policies, migrants are prevented from access to education, health and social security systems.

In addition, several job sectors in different countries are not always open to migrants and they are discriminated against by ignoring their qualifications and excluding them on the basis of background rather than qualifications or proven ability and experience.

Despite the existence of international refugee and migrant laws regarding the protection, accommodation and recognition of refugees and other migrants who move involuntarily, national laws including citizenship and residency qualification guidelines restrict access of immigrants and their children.

Negative attitudes towards migrants are often transformed to racist behavior that contain harassment and other unwanted behaviors. These views and behaviors not only cause enormous distress for migrants but they also constitute a substantial barrier to them adjusting to the host society. This is closely related to the fact that cultural and linguistic rights of immigrant groups are not always recognized in some host societies despite the international recognition of these as basic rights. State system and societies are not always aware of the fact that these rights are fundamental to the cohesiveness and meaningfulness of the lives of immigrants as well as the inclusiveness of the society. However, they can be seen by some destination groups as divisive, separate and other (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013).

Psychology of Exclusion

Abrams et al. (2005) summarize some of the negative psychological effects of migration associated with exclusion from the community, whether defined in broad terms such as the loss of important parts of the self, or in more specific terms such as the particular negative emotions or defensive reactions that follow. They list contraction of self, self-concept threat, lowered self-esteem, anger, frustration, emotional denial, and cognitive impairment as common psychological reactions to migration and isolation from the community. Being isolated from an unexpected and undesirable relationship or group mi-

ght seem positive in the first glance. However, even though isolation from unwanted conditions might free someone from a stigmatizing and exclusionary association, the positive aspect is always accepted as the removal of exclusion and inclusion in a more positive set of relationships. Furthermore, it is unlikely that most people engage in counterfactual thinking about all the negative relationships they could have been excluded from.

One way of characterizing post migration exclusion from a local community and answering the question of why migrants are excluded is to think about the causes and targets of exclusion. Migrants are clearly one type of target of exclusion because they are often referred as minorities, unfamiliar, and likely to pose potential threat. Therefore, they are put into social categories and groups and become powerful agents of exclusion. The locals where migration occurs, by their very nature, have the capacity to include and exclude people, and often think they have to do so to exist as categories or as groups. At the individual level, each individual migrant is highly likely to be the target of exclusion, particularly if they do not possess adequate skills to fit with a group. In addition, individuals may be excluded from relationships often because they belong to an excluded group, identified as migrants in this case (Abrams et al., 2005).

The question of whether inclusion and exclusion are based on individual or collectivist sources is debated. Abrams et al. (2005) claim that individuals are unlikely to exert exclusionary behaviors unless they have an unusual level of personal power, are supported psychologically by a group, or can draw on a principle of exclusion that is defined at a more abstract level of relationship. This supports the conclusion that the control over the processes of inclusion and exclusion is often asymmetric. In cases where exclusionary views and behaviors exist, generally, the group possesses more power over individuals than the individuals do over one another or over other groups.

An Alternative Model: Inclusive Psychology of Migration

Despite an increasingly negative perception of global migration as a threat (D'Ancona, 2015), and reports of negative impact of migration on human psychology, the question of whether the negative psychological effects of migration can be prevented and migration can be a source for the cultivation of cohesion and individual well-being is contested. Classical incorporation approaches towards migration have often failed to offer a model where the psychosocial stability of both migrants and hosts can be preserved. As Castles (1998) describe, the following three approaches have often been offered as incorporation models:

Assimilation refers to the 'incorporation of migrants into society through a one-sided process of adaptation in which migrants are expected to give up distinctive linguistic, cultural and social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population' (Castles, 1998: 247). This model was massively implemented in the early postwar years in the countries that experienced mass migration. The approach is based on the roots of the human capital approaches to migration which aim to freed the state from any intervention towards migrants and leave all matters relating to migration to market mechanisms (Castles, 1998). However, assimilation lost legitimacy both as a policy and as a theoretical and analytical framework (Freeman, 2004). However, the current global wave of migration and developments in the contemporary era has led to the reconsideration of the assimilationist model to account for these developments (Alba & Nee, 1997), while Brubaker (2003) and Freeman (2004) have located signs and evidence of a return to assimilation policies in some Western democracies.

Integration refers to 'a process of mutual accommodation involving immigrants and the majority population' (Castles, 1998: 248). This approach assumes that migrants stop over time to be different from the mainstream society in terms of culture and behavior and start

acting alike. Castles (1998) states that in Australia, Canada and the United States, the policy which adopted assimilationist approaches was rejected and aspects of the integrationist approach were followed.

Exclusion refers to a state where incorporation of migrants to some sectors and areas of society (especially the labor market) but not to others (for example, citizenship) occurs. Indications of exclusion are observed especially when it comes to the welfare system, political participation and citizenship (Castles, 1998).

Thus, several approaches and guidelines have been used by governments to respond to the issue of integration of migrants in several ways. However, approaches that are discussed above have been considered as inadequate as they fell short of providing a sustainable model of an integrated society embracing diversity and multiculturalism. Castles and Miller (1998) and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal (1994) argue that in their efforts to incorporate migrants, governments need to consider not only government policies but also a range of social processes such as incorporation into social, economic and political structures, the degree and nature of migrant participation in societal institutions, and the emergence of various forms of inequality.

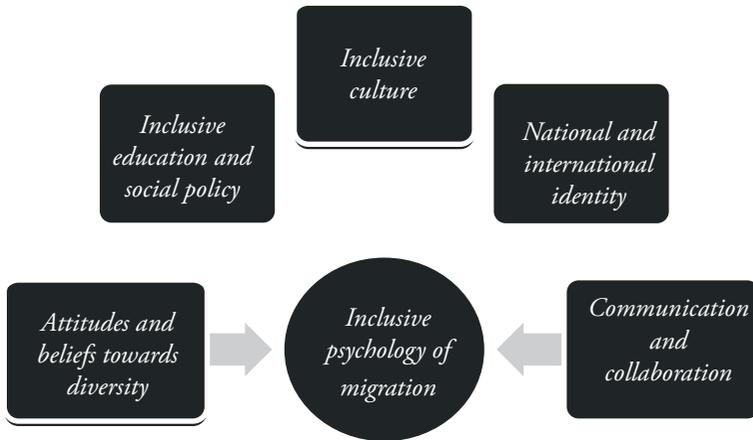
With the above approaches and their insufficiency in mind, inclusion is now proposed as an innovative model which proposes a chance for social cohesion and well-being. Inclusion covers the process by which immigrants are incorporated into the receiving society. It includes the idea of multiculturalism, a popular concept in the twenty-first century that has taken different forms in different societies, mostly with an emphasis on egalitarian models. Multiculturalism refers to the development of migrant populations into ethnic communities that can preserve their language, culture, social behavior, and are granted more or less equal rights. As Castles (1998) remarks, in regions where multiculturalism is adopted and practiced, the majority group is eager to accept or even welcome cultural differences and adapt institutions accordingly.

There several basic principles of inclusion. For example, according to James Jupp (2002), inclusion requires that (a) all members of society to have equal opportunity to maintain their culture without prejudice, (b) people should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures, (c) people should have an equal opportunity to realize their full potential and get equal access to programs and services, (d) needs of migrants should be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services are necessary to ensure equality of access and provision, and (e) services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients and self help and self reliance encouraged.

Elements of an Inclusive Psychology of Migration

In this section, elements which are thought to be associated with the establishment of an inclusive psychology of migration are presented (Figure 1). These elements, which can separately be located in the literature, constitute the theoretical framework of this paper.

Figure 1. Elements associated with the establishment of an inclusive psychology of migration



Attitudes and Beliefs Towards Diversity

A key element in the development of a cohesive community and enhancement of the social and emotional well-being of both migrants and hosts is the need to possess positive attitudes towards diversity and especially migrants. The literature clearly indicates that the inclusion of migrant families and their children can only become a reality if there are favorable perceptions and attitudes towards themselves and their inclusion (Vijver et al., 1999). Barnes and Mercer (1997) state that individuals and communities need to possess positive attitudes towards diversity to work collaboratively, build an inclusive culture and perform inclusive behaviors. Therefore, all legislative attempts that target inclusion need to consider the need to cultivate positive attitudes towards diversity and inclusion among individuals, families, and the community (Gash, 1996).

However, when individuals possess negative perceptions and attitudes towards diversity, inclusion and migrants, developing inclusive attitudes and behaviors among people and implementing social policy that target the inclusion of migrants can become very difficult (Miles & Thränhardt, 1995). If individuals do not believe in the usefulness and effectiveness of the cohesiveness and inclusiveness within society, the development and implementation of inclusive policies might not produce the expected positive outcomes. It is established that effective social policy can impact the perceptions and beliefs of individuals (Mittler, 2012). Individuals within societies often model each other and they are influenced by the interaction they have with each other. This is a reason for prioritizing positive attitudes towards diversity as part of the community programs and policy content (Morrison & Ursprung, 1987).

National and International Identity

Migration and identity are often perceived as related concepts which might determine how attitudes towards diversity, and particularly migrants, are constituted within societies at both theoretical and pra-

tical spheres. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) assumes that separation of individuals within a community as in groups (which include the self) and outgroups (different from the self) helps to develop a sense of positive group distinctiveness and attachment to the ingroup. A strong sense and achievement of radical group distinctiveness, however, may also lead to discrimination against outgroups by enhancing the image, prestige, or resources available to one's own group (Esses et al., 2005). As a result, it can be concluded according to Social Identity Theory that the exclusion of members from perceivably diverse groups (e.g., migrants) will strengthen the ingroup composition and exclude outgroups and that high levels of national attachment may be especially associated with derogation of immigrants (Mummendey et al., 2001).

In contrast to the assumptions derived from Social Identity Theory, alternative ideologies have developed whereby cultural diversity is viewed as a key to inclusion and supportive of the gains of the entire population. According to O'Hanlon and Holmes (2004), eradication of the idea of categorization (for example, as ingroups and outgroups) can lead to the development of a diverse and productive community, based on the richness that different individuals can bring. A multicultural and inclusive approach aims to eliminate external prejudice by encouraging knowledge and respect of migrant cultures and languages, so enhancing mutual understanding. This cycle of learning about diversity and living together embraces the value of cultural diversity and develops individuals' self-esteem. It is stated that when individuals' own experience and culture are respected and validated, and their experience is drawn on within the community, conditions for social cohesion are optimal (Macpherson, 1999). Research and policy reports indicate that awareness among many countries regarding the importance of maintaining migrant characteristics and cultures and their recognition within society is promising (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Around the world, arguments that migrants should be encouraged to maintain and develop their own cultural resources within the

community have slowly replaced explicit assimilationist approaches (O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004).

There is considerable research indicating the practical aspect of the relationship between national identity and the attitudes of individuals towards diversity and migration. However, the question of how exactly national attachment and identity relate to attitudes toward 'outsiders', especially migrants who are trying to enter the national ingroup, is contested. The research carried out in naturalistic and laboratory settings indicate the connection between threat and group identification (Doosje & Ellemers, 1997). However, national boundaries are different from the laboratory settings; they are often formally open to international access (e.g., through migration) and, therefore, can contain a range of emotional and cognitive connections and involve unique and complex dynamics in people's relations to others. On the other hand, the implication of 'internationalism', an idea that evokes concern for the welfare of other nations and develops identification with an international community, in regards to the development of positive attitudes towards migrants is an emerging phenomenon (Feshbach, 1990; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). This idea is often perceived as a motivator to develop positive attitudes among individuals.

Considering attachment to one's own national identity and internationalism, one needs to ask whether these two phenomena necessarily represent opposite ends of a continuum, or whether they represent different types of identities, reflecting different aspects of an individual's overall set of multiple social identities (Brewer, 2000). In addition, it is yet to be researched whether or how factors such as social deprivation, threat, and anxiety interact between the different forms of identities. For example, is there a relationship between the socioeconomic status of a community and their perceptions and attitudes towards migrants? Does an increase in the national attachment in times of external threat (e.g., terrorism) necessarily bring about a decrease in concern for the welfare of others, including migrants? Investigation of

these questions might produce different answers in different contexts and social situations, while definitions of national and international identity might affect the answers to these questions.

In a society, individuals need to be made aware that attempts concerning inclusion of migrants should be based on the assumption that the dissemination of accurate information about migrants and their characteristics will lead to increased favorable attitudes and reduction of prejudice, stigmatization, and social rejection. Turnbull et al., (2006) say that it can be challenging to deal with mass movements of individuals with diverse needs, particularly when there are more individuals in need of more help. However, governments, non-governmental organizations and community leaders can address these issues and work towards building a culture that is committed to inclusion, and support individuals to develop favorable attitudes towards communities that are getting more diverse.

An Inclusive Culture

Culture is a complex phenomenon and understood differently by various disciplines. In its basic form, culture is defined as the 'complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Tylor, 1974:1). In the context of this paper, the concept refers to the set of customs, traditions and values of a society or community, such as an ethnic group or nation. Culture is based on the beliefs, values, and personal experiences that each individual brings to the society as well as the organizational arrangements within the society. There is close association between culture and the nature of the behaviors that individuals conduct because the goals, traditions, and philosophies which each individual and community possesses, impact the way in which these are translated into daily practices (Holliday, 1999).

From the perspective of an inclusive and cohesive society, multiculturalism is a concept that values the peaceful coexistence and mutual respect between different cultures inhabiting the same territory (Wil-

liams, 1976). Edgar Schein (1985) argues that cultures are related to the practices of members of a community or organization who share basic values and assumptions through which they define themselves and their working contexts. Therefore, inclusion and participation of all individuals, including migrants, within the community increase when culture contains values, norms and rules that address inclusive principles. Underlying enablement of all individuals to participate in society is the fact that these values are shared among the whole population that celebrate the idea of difference and acceptance, and have a commitment to offering equitable and equal opportunities to all individuals.

In order to establish inclusive cultures, Barnes and Mercer (1997) argue for participation of all stakeholders within a community. Also, stakeholders need to possess positive attitudes towards working with each other, which can help them collaborate effectively and develop an inclusive culture. Establishing cultures inclusive of migrant families and children requires a range of policy making activities which target community awareness and participation and meet the needs of vulnerable individuals, including migrants. This can be utilized as an opportunity to explore ways of communication and collaboration with other members of society, resulting in the removal of barriers to participation and development of all individuals.

Building an inclusive culture is a product of the negotiation of ideas by whoever has a role within the community in ways that diversity in thinking is respected and means of working together are sought for by everyone. Developing and maintaining an inclusive culture depends on the process of collaboration, dialogue and learning. This conceptualization requires that ideologies of communication and multiculturalism should transform the hitherto discriminative and individualistic tendencies in societies into collective attempts that consider the current social context and can sustain individual and social development.

Communication and Collaboration

Increasing diversity in societies has brought about the need to live together, and furthermore, a demand for effective communication among individuals from different backgrounds (Cook & Friend, 2010). Recently, there has been an emphasis on creating ways of communication and collaboration between communities in order to meet the expectations of all individuals and overcome the challenges of the twenty first century society (Maher et al., 2010). These concern all individuals who inevitably and directly have contact with each other.

Several theories support the power of communication in the establishment of cohesive communities. For example, the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Hewstone & Brown, 1986), in its simplest form, argues that bringing together individuals from different backgrounds or groups ‘under optimal conditions’ (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000) can improve intergroup relations by reducing prejudice and discrimination. Allport (1954) proposed that the positive effects of communication can become a reality if four conditions were met. First, the groups who meet, or at least the individuals that come together from different groups or backgrounds should possess or equal status among the groups who meet, or at least among the individuals drawn from different groups. Second, the conditions in which groups communicate should involve co-operation between groups or offer shared goals to both groups. Third, co-operation between the groups involved should be encouraged. Finally, there should be institutional support to legitimize the contact situation and conditions (Dovidio et al., 2005). Allport’s ideology has had a profound impact on the creation of inclusive social policy in many countries (Schofield & Eurich-Fulcer, 2001).

Dovidio et al. (2005) report that, more recently, there has been an emphasis on understanding how aspects of intergroup contact *mediate* (‘how’ does contact work?) and *moderate* (‘when’ does contact work?) (e.g., Hewstone, 1996; Voci and Hewstone, 2003). Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) provide an optimistic review of recent research on

co-operative intergroup contact, indicating that contact can reduce prejudice. Pettigrew (1998) & Islam and Hewstone (1993) showed the importance of positive affective processes in explaining what makes contact effective, and that contact is closely related to reduced 'intergroup anxiety'. Stephan and Stephan (1985) argue that anxiety among groups mainly results from the assumption that contact with the outsider will result in negative consequences for oneself. Some factors such as limited previous contact with outsiders, status differences, and a high ratio of outgroup to ingroup members may account for this assumption.

However, research findings show that having contact is strongly related to reduced levels of intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Dovidio et al. (2005) have also indicated that communication and friendship with individuals with different backgrounds can promote empathy, trust and forgiveness while enhancing positive attitudes towards outgroups. They have also found that contact is associated with greater willingness to take the other community's perspective on the conflict, and this perspective taking makes a unique contribution to the prediction of prejudice, trust, and forgiveness.

In establishing effective communication between migrants and host communities and enhancing their participation, their perspectives need to be understood (Olivos et al., 2010). Reactions of migrants to migration might vary when they focus on different positive and negative factors. These reactions depend on several factors such as culture, severity of their living conditions, available support to them and how the system attempts to include them. Some reactions of migrants might be minor, whereas some others might develop strong emotional reactions towards the difficulty they experience.

Including migrants, therefore, should be viewed as a holistic process involving all related stakeholders in a community. Migrants comprise a portion of the community and they should be viewed as an integral part of the community. Their attitudes and perspectives matter, and therefore, their support and involvement for inclusion and voluntary participation in this processes is needed to establish inclusive cultures.

Inclusive Education and Social Policy

Education is seen as reflection of the wider society. The composition of the increasingly diverse society is shown in schools and classrooms, while practices of schools have a great impact on society (Villa & Thousand, 2005). For more than three centuries, it has been recognized that good education was based not on one culture but on valuing diversity (O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2005). In addition, many findings and reports have suggested that the inappropriateness and inflexibility of the education system, together with racism, discrimination, and stereotyping have a great influence the structure and practices of the community (Brown, 1998). Therefore, to make a meaningful progress schools need to take into account the recommendation that in order to reflect the needs of a diverse society schools must value cultural diversity (Macpherson, 1999).

At that point, inclusive education is proposed as an effective method where there is an effort to increase the participation of all students in, and reducing their exclusion from, the cultures, curricula and communities of schools whilst acknowledging the right of students to education in their locality (Booth & Ainscow, 2002). In its definition of inclusion, UNESCO (2009) highlights aspects of inclusion such as equity, access to mainstream education regardless of background, equality, participation, and a curriculum responsive to the needs of all learners. Inclusive education assumes that mainstream education is a human right, and inclusion, participation and diversity are ingredients of schools of our age. The increasing emphasis made on inclusive education around the world is promising to contribute to the establishment of an inclusive and cohesive society where all individuals, including migrants, are viewed as main members of society.

Establishment of an inclusive society requires that all educational, political and social steps should be taken in ways that ensure respect towards basic rights of migrants. Among these steps are access and participation within mainstream communities, and enhanced levels

of independence and self-esteem. Inclusive projects need to be implemented that using a rights-based approach, including empowerment, awareness-raising and community participation. Communities with high inclusive knowledge, together with accurate and extensive policies can produce better opportunities to improve individuals' lives (UNESCO, 2009), including migrants and hosts.

Despite the importance of policy, it is difficult to achieve real, sustainable, and collective improvement in individuals' behaviors and thinking patterns only through policy-making activities (Lawson, 2005). Real improvement at societal level can be achieved via communication and collaboration between governments, non-governmental organizations and related private institutions. At this process, advocacy organizations and universities may boost awareness raising activities, monitor improvements and implementation of legislation, and facilitate interaction between governments, migrants, hosts, and other organizations. There is a need for a change in the mentality of these institutions to think beyond principles of physical placement, and start to place true emphasis on the inclusion of migrants.

Bateson (2000) argues that short-term strategies that focus on individual persons as seen in isolation are less likely to be effective, and suggests that relationships among actors in the society should be established. This strategy can help to replace inefficient habits and theories of mind with non-isolation and reflective reasoning that can serve as a long-term solution. The current views and practices, which marginalize migrants and do not give agency in their own matters, should trust them to become productive and independent members of society.

Conclusion

Encouraging inclusive representations is a promising and effective avenue; however the desire of some individuals and groups for being distinctive has to be addressed, too. An effective way of achieving

this can be to promote close individual relationships across groups, schools and communities, and produce strategies that work against simplified and stereotypic beliefs and behaviors. In addition, the planned framework to encourage more inclusive relationships has to avoid harm for one group and, if possible, provide gains for all participants. In some cases exclusion can be unavoidable; however it is likely that the negative consequences can be eliminated by finding alternative relationships within which inclusion can be established (Abrams et al., 2005).

In dealing with exclusionary practices in societies, migration should be viewed from the perspective of social justice and equity, which emphasize human rights and implies participation at multiple levels of society through developing relationships and ethical values. Dyson et al. (2004) believe that stereotyping people based on the characteristics they possess is against equity and human rights. The emphasis should be on empowerment of people, enhancing their capabilities and providing them with meaningful and long-term opportunities (Sen, 1999). In recent decades, the international commitment towards the social inclusion of vulnerable individuals has been accelerated, rather than limiting their access with assimilation or physical integration (UNESCO, 2009). It is believed to be a more genuine move to the recognition of diversity because this can allow for participation and connection in the social, educational and cultural aspects of the community (Barton & Armstrong, 2007).

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