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Understanding Diversity in Local Communities: A Critical Reflection on an International Internet-based Project

SUMMARY

In this article the authors describe and critically assess an internet-based project designed by the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, The Netherlands together with the IICD in The Hague and the Global Teenager Project. The project focused on migration issues and involved twinning schools in various countries. Students in the schools collaborated via e-mail and internet and actively explored the diversity present in their local community – mainly through interviews and research. Many of those interviewed were immigrants and/or refugees. A critical analysis of the project shows that the experiences were mixed. Some schools reported that the project was the most interesting the students had ever been involved in and gave them deeper appreciation of migration issues, while others pointed to gaps in experience, frustrations and cultural misunderstandings. The authors point to ways that can make international ICT projects that focus on migrant communities more successful for all involved.

KEY WORDS: intercultural education, migration, youth exchange, internet youth projects, cooperative education, online-projects

Introduction

Though ethnic, religious and other types of diversity are not new in Europe, and people from various cultures have had to find ways to live together (or more often alongside one another) for centuries, the latter part of the twentieth century led to many new forms of diversity on European soil and the need to help people gain the knowledge and competences needed to function in multicultural contexts. As with all institutions in society, schools have had to adjust to the new multicultural situation. This has been highly challenging since, for the most part, European school systems have operated in mono-cultural ways.

Despite initial efforts to remedy the situation, studies continue to show that teachers and students are ill-prepared to deal with the diversity in and outside of their communities. For instance, a study by Hagan and McGlynn (2004) in Northern Ireland revealed that only 36 per cent of those in their final year of teacher training college felt that they were prepared for the diversity in the classroom.¹

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¹This is even the case in traditional multicultural societies. A review conducted for the American Educational Research Association revealed that pre-service teachers in the United States clearly lack intercultural competence. They tend to have negative attitudes and beliefs about other cultures, have only limited

In the last few decades, educational stakeholders across Europe have called for policies and practices that address increasing diversity. One of the most recent examples has been the initiative by the European Commission to declare 2008 the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. This initiative reinforced the efforts of many international organizations to promote educational policies that promote intercultural understanding, such as those initiated by the Council of Europe, the United Nations, the Fundamental Rights Agency and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.³

It has become evident that interactions between people with different national, cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds can enrich classrooms, but that such interactions, whether virtual or real, present new challenges to teaching and learning (Moore-Hart, 2004). A key approach in addressing cultural diversity in a positive way has been that of intercultural education. We would like to define *effective* Intercultural Education as follows:

Intercultural Education aims to develop, among people from different backgrounds, the knowledge, attitudes and skills that are necessary to communicate and collaborate with others who do not share that background. It starts from the philosophical assumption that human beings are interconnected, that diversity is a positive characteristic and that all humans benefit from being exposed to diversity.

This definition highlights the fact that intercultural education, as it is practiced at its best in Europe, is not only aimed at immigrant, refugee or minority students, but all students.⁴

Promoting intercultural and international understanding through the internet

As schools across the globe become connected to the internet it is becoming increasingly possible also to connect directly the students in these schools to their peers elsewhere. Once language issues have been resolved (students generally need a common language to communicate in), the possibilities seem unlimited. Increasingly, international organizations involved in the field of education, such as UNESCO, have been developing projects specifically intended for the internet. Electronic texts, together with the

experience with them and express hesitancy to teach in urban settings with high numbers of minority students (Hollins and Torres Guzman, 2005).

² The Council of Europe first adopted the strategy of what was termed "multiculturalism" and "multicultural pedagogy" in the 1970s.

³ Recent examples of this are the Council of Europe's *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* (2008), The EU *Green Paper on Migration and Mobility* (2008), UNESCO's *Guidelines on Intercultural Education* (2006), the UN's Alliance of Civilization's High Level Group Report in 2006 and the OSCE Permanent Council Decision 621 in 2004.

⁴ Portera (2008: 488) has identified the strengths of the intercultural educational approach in these terms: "it represents the most appropriate response to the challenges of globalisation and complexity. It offers a means to gain a complete and thorough understanding of the concepts of democracy and pluralism, as well as different customs, traditions, faiths and values. ... Moreover, the intercultural approach can help to identify new opportunities (e.g. fruitful exchanges between different people; new interactive forms of communication and relationship)... (it) offers the opportunity to 'show' real cultural differences, to compare and exchange them, in a word, to *interact:* action in the activity; a compulsory principle in every educational relationship".

use of internet for communication purposes require that students create new meanings through new types of social interaction.

Developments in ICT, along with the use of new technologies known as Web 2.0 (i.e. Weblog, Wikipedia, Facebook, to mention a few), can be regarded as a new social tool for online collaboration and communication, which have also provided new opportunities for students to gain insight into migration issues and immigrant communities and to learn from each other. There are already many ways for students to gain more understanding about immigrant communities, such as:

- reading books, articles and first-hand accounts
- conducting research on particular migration histories
- conducting interviews
- watching and discussing videos and DVDs
- through the arts
- inviting speakers into the school and classroom
- visits to communities
- visits to asylum centres
- community service learning.

All of these, if handled appropriately, can lead to an empathetic understanding.

The main aim of the project discussed in this article was to promote empathy and deeper understanding for migrants and their communities through a project that attempted to integrate the various sources of understanding mentioned above, with an emphasis on readings, research, personal interviews and ICT. A related aim was to promote intercultural understanding in two linked countries.

Understanding other cultures through information exchange projects

A key issue when developing any type of international school-based exchange program is how to develop activities that truly promote (intercultural) understanding, rather than confirm stereotypes or develop among students a superficial and false sense of understanding "the other". Do students become more culturally sensitive or empathetic if they gain a "tourist" view of another culture or community? Does it help Ghanaian students to know that their American peers eat hamburgers, hot dogs and pizza or that they tend to have about 8 weeks of summer vacation? Does it help majority students develop empathy and understanding if they pity communities and individuals who have victimization experiences? Schwartz, Xiaoding and Holmes (2003) have shown, for instance, that students who gain a tourist view of another culture tend to be much more inclined to think in stereotypical ways about people from that culture than when they are helped to develop a more "humanistic" approach (focusing on social and personal issues) to the other culture.

Gorski (2001: 9) points to the importance of sound teaching practice when employing education technologies for projects that relate to immigrant communities:

"Too often, education technologists, in a rush to understand and employ new technology, do so for its own sake with little thought to effective or theoretically sound teaching practice. ... new technologies must be understood in the context of the educational and societal framework in which they are to be employed.

In this case, a push for positive and contributive educational employment of the internet calls for both a deeper understanding of multicultural education (theoretically and pragmatically) and a closer examination of the new opportunities and challenges presented by this new set of technologies."

Global Teenager Project

In 2000, the Anne Frank House started to collaborate with the Global Teenager Project, initiated by the IICD (International Institute for Communication and Development) in The Hague (The Netherlands) and Mindset South Africa. The initial Global Teenager Project promoted discussion through a learning circle approach, developed by Margaret Riel on information exchange among global schools. Global Teenager started as an exchange project between Dutch and South African students regarding issues that concern young people, such as AIDS prevention and environmental protection. By the early 2000's, hundreds of schools from around the globe, particularly Eastern Europe and Africa, were part of the network. Using this approach as an inspirational source, a new project was initiated on a topic considered to be critical by all partners – diversity. The new project was more demanding than traditional learning circles in terms of the activities, level of interdependence among participants (both within and between schools) and the final product.

For instance, internal classroom dynamics are often ignored in international ICT exchange projects. Since schools tend to have a limited number of computers at their disposal, how can we assure that projects involve *all* the students from a particular classroom, not simply the "best performing students"? This implies that international ICT projects, if they are to move towards deeper understanding, also need to address local classroom dynamics and be sensitive to status differences. This particular project made a conscious effort to address the various ways in which the students process information by focusing on their "multiple intelligences" (Gardner and Hatch, 1989).

Focusing on diversity and migration

The choice in this particular project was to focus on the diversity we can all find in our communities, with special attention devoted to migrant communities. A key rea-

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⁵ A Learning Circle is created by a team of 10–12 teachers and their classes – joined in the virtual space of an electronic classroom. The groups remain together over a 3–4 month period, working on projects drawn from the curriculum of each of the classrooms, organized around a selected theme. At the end of the term, the group collects and publishes its work. Then, just as any class of students does, the Learning Circle comes to an end. Each session begins with new groupings of classes into Learning Circles. (http://www.globalteenager.org)

⁶ Howard Gardner identifies 8 independent intelligences: bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal, linguistic, logical-mathematical, naturalistic, intrapersonal, spatial and musical.

son for this choice was that few majority group students have much insight into the lives of refugees, immigrants or other minorities, who often live in close proximity (some attend the same school). On the other hand, students do tend to have opinions about such individuals and communities — and too often these opinions are based on lack of information, misconceptions and stereotypes.

The title of the project became "Understanding Diversity". In early 2004, the daily management of the Global Teenager Project shifted from IICD, an organization located in The Hague, to Mindset, an organization based in South Africa, in order to improve exchange and dialogue and to build capacity in the South.

Initial decisions regarding use of complex technology

During initial talks with the project partners, various decisions needed to be made regarding the complexity and technological aspects of the project. Some project partners felt that cutting edge technology should be used, such as flash animation, short video clips, web cams, chat rooms etc. Several reasons were given for this: (1) not to ignore technological developments; (2) to make the project more interesting to the "Nintendo generation"; (3) make the project results visually interesting; and (4) provide the next best thing to face-to-face interaction. Eventually, a decision was made to keep the project simpler for one main reason: internet connections were slow and untrustworthy in most of the target schools, especially in the developing nations of the world. This would put students from those schools at a disadvantage. The project organizers wanted to prevent students from feeling inferior due to access to only older technology. As our evaluation of the project showed, this was a wise decision.

Project supervision

The organizational set-up of the project was multi-layered. There was a steering committee composed of various individuals representing the Anne Frank House, IICD and the Global Teenager Project. Each country had a project coordinator who was trained in the Netherlands. The country project coordinator had the task of staying in touch with the schools in his/her country on a daily basis to assist with every step of the project. Most importantly, the project facilitator, based in Amsterdam, stayed in touch with the national project coordinators on a daily basis and monitored the progress of the schools.

All country project coordinators were given a teacher manual. The manual described in detail all the steps to be taken in the project. It also went into detail regarding (inter) cultural issues (e.g. how to conduct respectful interviews) and how to provide access to the project for all students in the classroom. Classroom activities were structured according to cooperative learning strategies, and were inspired by the work of Aronson and Patnee (1997), Cohen (1993) and Johnson et al. (1984).

Goals and objectives

The goals of the project included the following:

- To promote insight into migration issues and especially to create more understanding and empathy regarding experiences of migrants in one's own community
- To connect schools in various nations that were concerned with issues connected to central themes of work at the Anne Frank House
- Going beyond traditional international on-line exchange projects
- Encourage student-based work that was challenging and engaging
- Ensuring that all students in the classroom were involved in the work, not just the brightest or most motivated
- Cross-curricular work

The concrete objectives of the project included:

Improving Knowledge of:

- Various migration experiences
- Other cultures
- Diversity in one's own community
- Research methodology
- Group work and collaborative learning

Developing positive attitudes towards:

- Migrants
- · Other cultures
- Student partners abroad
- Fellow students in the classroom through collaborative learning
- On-line learning
- Education in general

Skills regarding:

- Research, especially interview techniques
- Communicating effectively on-line
- Communicating with people from another culture
- Collaborative (group) work in the classroom
- Problem-Solving and Critical Thinking
- Collecting, interpreting and presenting information to others
- Synthesizing different types of information (text, documents, images, etc.)

How the project worked

The general theme of the project was cross-cultural understanding and one of the key features of the project was interdependence. The partners needed each other to successfully complete the project. Students gained insight into the migration experience through different activities such as preparing a class letter, reviewing migrant stories, various classroom presentations, developing a research plan to interview migrants, developing a questionnaire, conducting interviews, analyzing the data and creating an on-line exhi-

bition. The end result was placed on the virtual campus of the Global Teenager Project: www.globalteenager.org. Since the project's inception, more than 30 schools from 17 countries⁷ have joined the initiative.

The educational approach of Understanding Diversity was based on the "twinning concept", where schools from various countries are first twinned and then encouraged to learn with and from each other's culture, enriching the exchange of ideas, knowledge and experiences. Communication is virtual but as interactive as possible.

Evaluating the project

Two separate evaluations (one internal and one independent) took place to gain a further understanding of how the project was experienced by the participating teachers and students, and also to identify project strengths and weaknesses.

The first evaluation (internal) took place shortly after the completion of one project year (2005), using semi-structured questionnaires. The second evaluation (independent) took place a year later by means of interviews with the teachers.

The project as a whole was experienced as something very positive by the majority of participants. However, we can identify a series of both positive and more critical aspects associated with the project.

Positive aspects

By 2008, 32 schools had participated in the project -60% of them accomplished the program and created the final product: an online exhibition.

The external evaluation conducted in 2006 revealed that all the participating teachers affirmed that their students learnt something about migration and/or the experiences of people living abroad. Furthermore, some teachers reported examples of how their students' research on migration carried over into their thinking about diversity in their own schools and communities. Part of understanding diversity is seeing how issues that affect others also affect us as individuals. Overall, the activities presented many opportunities to develop students' critical thinking as well as computer skills. In cases where this was less pronounced, it was related to a lack of time for discussion or accessibility to computer facilities. Though it was not the intention of the Understanding Diversity project, some teachers reported that the activity was useful in developing language skills (using new vocabulary, asking questions that are culturally-sensitive, etc.).

Within the classroom, the co-operative learning methods worked, though new to many. Reservations voiced by a few teachers seemed to stem from a common perception that group work benefits only a handful of students, particularly those who are already high achievers. The flip side of this idea is that low-achieving students take advantage of the situation by taking credit for work done by students who take the lead. This points to a need for teachers to be better trained in group work to avoid such nega-

⁷ Austria, Romania, Ghana, The Netherlands, Uganda, the United States, Egypt, South Africa, Ukraine, Bolivia, Canada, Latvia, Chile, Kenya, Macedonia, Serbia, Argentina.

tive experiences, since co-operative learning is intended to address such status differentials, with teachers playing a role of being facilitators in a learning process.

The extent to which students collaborated with their peers abroad varied widely due to the ease or difficulty with which the partner schools could engage in dialogue. The evaluation showed that it was scheduling issues and technical difficulties rather than a lack of cross-cultural understanding that placed limitations on the correspondence between students.

For many teachers, the project represented one of the most interesting experiences that their students had ever had. For instance, in the case of a Bolivian school, the students did not only learn about different standards of living in Bolivia and The Netherlands (confirming impressions of a wealth gap between North and South), but also learnt what foreigners appreciated about living in Bolivia. Students gained respect for, and learned to appreciate, their own culture through the eyes of others. In non-English speaking countries, self-esteem was enhanced when students managed to communicate in English in order to interview the migrants in their community.

The teachers indicated that after participating in the project, students gained a better understanding of migration and experiences of living abroad. In the case of a school in Latvia, the students were shocked to hear about the negative reception immigrants were being subjected to in their community. In the case of United States, a teacher explained that [the experience] opened the students' eyes to the plight of people in Africa, for example, through the correspondence with the other school. Other students were surprised by the myriad of reasons people gave for their migration, ranging from political persecution to economic opportunities.

Some teachers mentioned that students became more motivated to explore different cultures present in their own community. For instance, in the case of a US school, the students took initiative to talk to the ESL (English as a Second Language) students in their school. In the case of a school in South Africa, the students started to think about immigrants in their own country – for example, their own teacher was from Uganda. They discussed the popular belief that "Whites are tourists and Blacks are illegal immigrants".

When the teachers were asked if they noticed any changes in student attitudes, many teachers mentioned that the students had become more tolerant and open to new people. They had broadened their own perspective and had become more familiar with the lifestyle and problems of immigrants. On many occasions, the students felt important to actually be conducting interviews. They also improved their intercultural communication skills and became more sensitive to the needs of others.

For those being interviewed it meant an opportunity to tell their story and to have their voices heard. It also connected them to the wider community and in some cases reduced their isolation. It was also interesting for them that the students conducting the interview were connected to school children in their country of origin.

There are some specific North-South issues that are worth mentioning. For many in the South, the context in which migration was framed related to "push factors" –

what makes people leave their community to try their luck elsewhere. Many students in the South had family members or relatives who had migrated in search of a better life. These personal experiences enhanced the program by adding first-hand accounts. For students in the North, on the other hand, the context was one of "reception" – looking at why migrants had come to their community and how it related to them.

Critical aspects

Since we feel that one learns the most from critical discussions, we will focus here on some project drawbacks we identified in the evaluations.

The requirement of interdependency that was built into the project had both advantages and disadvantages. Students had to work "together" to accomplish the tasks and this increased the importance of listening to each other, getting advice, sharing findings, etc. Certainly, interdependency was one of the most important aspects in the learning process. However, it also created frustration and barriers to further work when the internet connection of the "twinned group" was not functioning properly.

Communication between the local coordinator and the facilitator helped resolve various issues, but the majority of problems occurred because teachers did not fully comprehend the time requirements and responsibilities and their own roles in the project. Though some teachers knew in theory what was expected of them, lack of experience led them to underestimate the actual time commitment. Moreover, co-operative learning is about guiding the students through a learning process. It is about guiding where the students have the opportunity to lead the discussions and processes. As Holt, Chips and Wallace (1991) mention, one of the most powerful, long-lasting effects may be in making school a more humane place to be by giving students stable, supportive environments for learning. The division of tasks (group work) among students was very much appreciated by teachers, but there were cases where teachers, as mentioned above, lacked the experience to work with small groups effectively.

The majority of the schools that dropped out of the project did this during the last phases – while conducting interviews (phase 5 and 6) or developing the online exhibition (phase 7). Our evaluation showed that this was due to different reasons:

- difficulties finding migrants to interview;
- lack of time to conduct the interviews and process the data (often after school);
 and
- lack of skills developing an online exhibition.

In recent years, the development of an online exhibition became less problematic with the introduction and use of Web 2.0 (in particular, the Weblog). However, teachers needed to learn to use this new social technology and many of them lack the time to do so.

There were also structural causes for drop-out such as the lack of connectivity (expensive internet connection) in developing countries, the lack of teacher expertise in the use of ICT projects as well as the compatibility of the program with respect to the standard curriculum. Not all the directors of the schools were aware of the time and resources needed by their teachers to complete the project. In some cases, the director of

the school was unaware the project was even taking place in the school. In the majority of drop-out cases, participation in the program took place as an "extra-curricular activity", which ended up being "very demanding" and "less appealing" for both teachers and students. In some cases, the lack of facilities in the school, the extra-cost involved in travelling to do the interviews in another town or the lack of time applied in the program caused drop-out.

Communication across continents was also not without problems and revealed deeper cultural issues. Misattributions were not uncommon among some twinned classrooms, due to expectations about communication processes. This can be illustrated by two twinned schools from the United States and Uganda. The US students, accustomed to project-based group work, sent a barrage of e-mails from sub-groups to their counterparts in Uganda. Each sub-group would send personal information about their lives and also ask direct questions of their Ugandan peers. The Ugandan students, not accustomed to small group work or project-based activities, felt overwhelmed and felt they had had no time for reflection. They also did not know what to do with the very personal nature of some questions asked by the US students. In their culture and especially in a school context, they could easily be perceived as intrusive. The US students became disappointed with the limited responses from Uganda. The failure of the Ugandan internet from time to time made matters worse. In the end, the American students became convinced that they had insulted the Ugandan students. The Ugandan students, inundated with messages and struggling to manage a failing internet, eventually decided to leave the project.

The fact that the students conducting the interviews were twinned with other students who shared the same culture as the interviewee most likely eliminated some of the bias that would traditionally seep into such projects. How successful this approach actually was in eliminating bias is unclear.

Discussion

Many intercultural projects still seem to operate on the assumption that putting others into contact with each other will automatically lead to more understanding. Though contact, whether face-to-face or through ICT, may indeed be an important factor in removing stereotypes and prejudice, it is not a sufficient condition (see e.g. Pettigrew, 1986). The first author's frequent discussions with US teachers who have employed the highly touted "Mix it up" program (see: http://www.tolerance.org/teens/index.jsp), designed by the Southern Poverty Law Center, demonstrates this. Teachers and schools that did extensive work in conjunction with this program, which requires students to sit next to somebody they do not know during lunchtime, gave anecdotal accounts of positive effects. Those that implemented the program without such additional work commented often that the program did not work or that negative attitudes towards students from other backgrounds were even strengthened.

In a similar vein, simply putting students from different countries, nations, cultures, etc. in touch with each other by means of the internet will not necessarily lead to

more understanding. When misunderstandings occur (this is to be expected in all type of communication, and especially in communication with individuals from different cultures with very different life experiences) students can quickly make inappropriate attributions due to cultural biases. There is also little opportunity to clarify issues and talk things through by means of face-to-face interactions. The demands on teachers, as facilitators of the internet project, are therefore high. If teachers do not guide the interaction process carefully and if they themselves are not culturally sensitive, students run the risk of having their cultural, ethnic and racial stereotypes confirmed.

Though co-operative learning strategies such as those used in Understanding Diversity tend to work well in Western nations as a means to promote equal access to the educational process, they are more problematic in non-Western settings. This is partially due to lack of experience and training on this approach, though some recent research shows that such strategies might be culturally inappropriate and have a negative impact on classroom dynamics (see e.g. Nguyen, Terlouw and Pilot, 2006). More thought needs to go into the kinds of classroom management strategies that are effective vehicles to promote equity in non-Western classrooms.

Finally, the project results show that some students changed their attitudes about migration and migrants and, more importantly, that in some cases they were motivated to learn more about the diversity in their community. It would be good to explore in the future why and how some students changed their attitudes while others perhaps did not (and remained negative towards migration and migrants). An understanding of these processes could lead to a more effective project design in cross-cultural understanding.

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Razumijevanje različitosti u lokalnim zajednicama: kritički osvrt na međunarodni projekt temeljen na internetu

SAŽETAK

U ovom radu autori prikazuju i kritički ocjenjuju projekt temeljen na internetu koji je osmislila Kuća Anne Frank u Amsterdamu u Nizozemskoj u suradnji s IICD-om (Međunarodnim institutom za komunikaciju i razvoj) u Haagu i Globalnim tinejdžerskim projektom (Global teenager project). Projekt je usmjeren na migracijska pitanja, a uključio je bratske škole u različitim zemljama. Učenici u školama surađivali su putem elektroničke pošte i interneta te aktivno istraživali različitosti u svojoj lokalnoj zajednici, uglavnom putem intervjuâ i ispitivanjâ. Veliki broj intervjuiranih bili su imigranti i/ili izbjeglice. Kritička analiza projekta pokazuje da su iskustva mješovita. Neke su škole izvijestile da je to najzanimljiviji projekt u kojemu su učenici dotad sudjelovali te da im je pružio dublje razumijevanje migracijskih problema, dok su druge upozorile na praznine u iskustvu, frustracije i kulturne nesporazume. Autori pokazuju na koji način međunarodni ICT-projekti koji se bave migrantskim zajednicama mogu biti uspješniji za sve koji u njima sudjeluju.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: interkulturno obrazovanje, migracija, razmjena mladeži, internetski projekti mladih, kooperativno obrazovanje, mrežni projekti

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Comprendre la diversité au sein des communautés locales : une réflexion critique sur un projet international reposant sur l'internet

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, les auteurs décrivent et évaluent de manière critique un projet international basé sur l'internet, mis sur pied par la Maison Anne Frank à Amsterdam aux Pays-Bas en collaboration avec l'Institut international pour la communication et le développement (IICD) à La Haye et le projet Global Teenager (GTP). Le projet est axé sur les questions migratoires et le jumelage d'écoles dans différents pays. Les élèves ont communiqué par courriel et par internet et ont exploré activement la diversité présente dans leur communauté, essentiellement au moyen d'entretiens et de recherches. Bon nombre des personnes interrogées étaient des immigrants et/ou des réfugiés. L'analyse critique du projet montre que les expériences étaient variées. Certaines écoles ont indiqué que le projet était le plus intéressant auquel leurs élèves avaient participé, soulignant qu'il avait donné aux enfants une meilleure compréhension des questions relatives à la migration. En revanche, d'autres établissements ont noté des écarts d'expérience, des frustrations et des malentendus culturels. Les auteurs ont indiqué quelques pistes qui pourraient permettre d'assurer un plus haut niveau de succès à tous les participants aux projets TICs relatifs aux communautés de migrants.

MOTS CLÉS : éducation interculturelle, migration, échanges entre jeunes, projets internet jeunesse, éducation coopérative, projets en ligne