Study on educational support for newly arrived migrant children

Annex 1: Literature review
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Education of newly arrived migrant students falls under a much broader research field with a considerable tradition, namely that of migrant education. Studies in migrant education are part of the overall inquiry of migrant integration addressing a wide range of settings where adjustment and cultural exchanges take place. Migration and integration research, however, has tended to often rely on the assumption that migration flows consist of adults pursuing their individual motivations rather than of families with children. Children’s experiences of the encounter with the host country can be very different from their migrant parents', although, like those of their parents', they are mediated by their gender, ethnic and other cultural affiliations, as well as other factors.

Mass immigration in modern times has had a longer record in the US, Canada and Australia than in Europe, and thus much of the literature originates from these areas. Although the industrialising economies of Europe (Britain, France and Germany) attracted relatively high levels of immigration from the mid-19th century onwards, these flows originated in other European countries (such as Poland, Italy and Russia) rather than other continents. The post-Second World War large-scale migration wave, mostly from the developing countries, coincided in the US and Europe, making it the latter's first encounter with huge racial and cultural diversity on its own soil. Since the start of these large-scale migrations, entire new generations have matured, and current authors in sociology have thus been more often interested in second-generation migrants and the persisting differences between them and the 'native', 'autochthonous' populations.

This chapter briefly outlines the aspects and spheres of migrant integration. It then summarises the main insights of the body of migrant education research. Finally, it discusses the specific needs of the newly arrived migrant children and ways of supporting them into, in and through education.

1. Migrant integration

Pirkko Pitkänen, Devorah Kalekin-Fishman and Gajendra K. Verma suggest that there exists a continuum of settlement policies – from those assuming an assimilationist mono-cultural view of the host society to those allowing a pluralistic vision. However, a state's approach may differ from one policy area to another. The classification devised by Stephen Castels and Mark J. Miller takes this variety into account. They argue that immigration countries tend to follow any of the three models of institutional response: multiculturalism, assimilation and differential exclusion. That is, some countries provide arrangements geared towards inclusion of migrants (citizenship rights can be attained without renouncing one’s cultural heritage), others make full acceptance conditional on assimilation into the host culture, while still others incorporate immigrants

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1 ‘Lone male migrant’ who is potentially going to seek family reunification later on has been assumed to be the typical migration experience modelled on the European ‘guest worker’ system. This model has been applied even to the more recent economic migration of Eastern Europeans to Western Europe in the 1990s and 2000s. See Devorah Kalekin-Fishman, Gajendra K. Verma and Pirkko Pitkänen, “Conclusions”. In Pitkänen, Kalekin-Fishman and Verma (eds.), Education and Immigration: Settlement Policies and Current Challenges. London, NY: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002, p. 173 (pp. 172-184).


4 See Pitkänen, Verma and Kalekin-Fishman, “Introduction”. In Pitkänen, Kalekin-Fishman and Verma, p. 3 (pp. 1-10).

5 See Devorah Eden and Devorah Kalekin-Fishman, “Multicultural education in Israel as a fulfillment of the national ethos and political policy”. In Pitkänen, Kalekin-Fishman and Verma, pp. 144-171.
into certain areas of society (employment) but not to others, thus maintaining clear boundaries between the native and migrant populations (in terms of citizenship rights, education etc.)\(^6\). Sweden is often cited as an example of the first group due to its early recognition of diversity, whereas German and Israeli ‘guest worker’ systems and Japan could illustrate the exclusionary approach\(^7\).

Richard Sigurdson offers a slightly more detailed classification of the modes of relationship between modern nation-states and immigrant minorities. He starts with outright **rejection of immigrant minorities** as advocated by the extreme right and still found in some countries in times of deep ethnic conflict (e.g. expulsion of Asians from East African countries after independence). A more accommodating possibility – adopted by West European countries to tackle the post-war shortage of labour or still pursued by Israel – is systems **restricting immigrant citizenship** (guest worker schemes – Castles and Miller’s “differential exclusion”) based on the assumption that migration is temporary and reversible.\(^8\).

### Assimilation and individualist integration

Further points of Sigurdson’s classification coincide to some extent with those proposed by the British sociologist Tariq Modood\(^9\). Like Castels and Miller, both authors identify an **assimilationist** model – an arrangement where naturalisation is relatively easy and equal rights are offered to all, but no ethnic groups are singled out\(^10\). From a sociological point of view, in order to achieve total assimilation into the host society, incorporation of immigrants should happen across all spheres of life and eventually no significant differences would be recorded between the ‘minority’ and ‘majority’ populations.

Roger Penn and Paul Lambert, authors of a large comparative study of children in migrants in Britain, France and Germany (EFFNATIS – see below), identify the following five spheres of immigrant incorporation\(^11\):

1) Linguistic incorporation, namely the use of either the host or the heritage language;
2) Structural incorporation, which Penn and Lambert operationalise as educational attainment, patterns of training and early labour market position;
3) Political and religious incorporation – political party support, levels of interest in politics of the host and heritage country, knowledge of political figures and religious affiliation;
4) Cultural incorporation – lifestyle, media and consumption choices;
5) Social incorporation – choice of friends and partners/ spouses.

Assimilation is a one-way process of the efforts of generations of immigrants to become part of the ‘mainstream’ without questioning or changing the existing structures and institutions. Early immigration countries such as the US and UK pursued policies aimed

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\(^{9}\) These authors are not the only ones to offer a possible classification. For instance, Agostino Portera proposes another, ‘historical’, overview: suppression, assimilation, segregation/ ghetoization, fusion/ melting pot, universalism, multiculturalism. His view, however, seems to be based not so much on the state policies, but on the actual ways of interaction of “different peoples and cultures” at a societal level. See Agostino Portera, *Intercultural and Multicultural Education: Epistemological and Semantic Aspects*. In Grant and Portera, p. 13 (pp. 12-30).

\(^{10}\) Sigurdson, p. 153-154.

\(^{11}\) See Penn and Lambert, Chapters 5 to 9. The above spheres are not an outline of governmental integration policy framework, but dimensions of societal exchanges between the ‘native’ and immigrant populations.
at assimilation until the 1960s. As an acculturation strategy for the children of migrants, assimilation implies acquiring the language and skills of the new culture and rejecting that of their parents. It is often argued that the French model is still based on the assimilationist premises, and assimilation may still be the ultimate aim in other cases.

**Multiculturalism**

Two remaining modes are usually popularly addressed as ‘multiculturalism’ – a heavily used, but barely explained concept. **Cosmopolitanism**, according to Modood, is the mixing of people from various cultures, recognising their differences and acknowledging that persons and groups integrate in different ways, but without granting any political status to the minority groups. Both Modood and Sigurdson identify another mode characterised by formal recognition of cultural communities – **ethno-religious communitarianism** (Modood) or **active multiculturalism** (Sigurdson). Many authors point out that the US, Canada, Australia and UK all switched to multiculturalism in this sense of the word in the 1970s.

Policies open to diversity can enable children of migrants to have a positive relationship with the host culture and those who manage to combine it with elements of their own heritage can become **bicultural**. This phenomenon is popularly called ‘hyphenated’ nationalities/ ethnicities (e.g. African-Americans, American-Chinese, British-Pakistanis, etc.). Still, their **acculturation** in contact with the host culture can work in an **additive** or **subtractive** fashion, that is, minority children may enrich themselves through adopting additional skills and competences or lose some of the original ones in the process of ‘replacement’. In particular, some anthropologists argue that schools work in a way that encourages subtractive rather than additive acculturation of minority children.

However, multiculturalism’s emphasis on distinct cultural communities has also been criticized for allegedly allowing **separation** or **segregation** when immigrants see maintaining their own culture as more important than integration. Divisive policies of the state that see group identities as fixed and involuntary encourage this process. Such policy is conducive to the emergence of pillarised structures as in the Netherlands or Belgium where different linguistic/ religious communities have separate parallel institutions. Therefore, **intercultural** rather than **multicultural** education is preferred in European usage, emphasising not just the existence of different cultural groups, but also their intersectionalities and interaction.

Migration and cultural diversity have shaped and characterised societies for centuries, but new forms of migration have diversified and paths of migration are less predictable now. Currently available modern technologies and transportation possibilities enable

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12 Tariq Modood, "Multiculturalism, Ethnicity and Integration: Some Contemporary Challenges". p. 42-43; Penn and Lambert, p. 23-26; Sally Tomlinson, "The education of migrants and minorities in Britain". In Luchtenberg, p. 88 (pp. 86-102).
14 Penn and Lambert, p. 40; Castles and Miller, p. 205.
17 E.g. Tomlinson, p. 88; Dietz, S. 16; Sigurdson, p. 156; Portera, p. 22. However, Castles and Miller contend that USA follows a 'laissez-faire' approach, that is, it accepts the cultural difference and existence of ethnic communities, but does not see as the role of the state to ensure social justice or to support maintaining those ethnic communities. Castles and Miller, p. 252.
19 Dietz, S. 12, 18; Portera, p. 20.
20 Adams and Kirova, p. 2.
immigrants to resist assimilation,\textsuperscript{21} and more fluid forms have become common, allowing migrants a wider choice in terms of identity. In the case of transmigration, for instance, the persons concerned do not see the process of migration as complete\textsuperscript{22}. If they continue moving between countries, keeping their social networks, their situation can be conceptualised as \textit{transnationalism}, as in the case of highly skilled and mobile professionals\textsuperscript{23}.

As a recent article by Allen White et al. suggests, migration research as well as policy (as probably many other spheres of social research and policy) are usually \textit{adult-centric} and overlook the presence of children, let alone their perspectives of their situation\textsuperscript{24}. In terms of empirical analysis, relatively little has been conducted in Europe specifically on children of migrants as a distinct group – such research tended to be concentrated on the US\textsuperscript{25}.

The next section presents the developments on diversity in education, as one of the important aspects of migrant integration.

\subsection*{1.2. Migrant education: variables}

In most countries, education is considered to be a core domain of the nation-state crucial for transmitting national values. In the EU, this was especially evident in the opposition the European Commission encountered when trying to introduce the Erasmus exchange programme for higher education – its adoption was even challenged at the European Court of Justice\textsuperscript{26}. Diversity approaches in education are thus rather late and recent\textsuperscript{27}.

For decades, the debate about migrant education tended to revolve around the levels of educational achievement of ethnic minorities\textsuperscript{28}. At the outset of this academic debate in the US and UK of the 1960s and 1970s, even racist claims with ‘geneticist’ arguments about the causes of differences in attainment of various ethnic groups were used in the academic debate\textsuperscript{29}.

\textbf{Migrant groups specificities}

The difference and gaps in educational attainments and participation of migrants can be due to the following group specificities: different ethnic origin of migrant groups and destination effects; socio-economic situation of migrant family; time of arrival and entering education system; language used at home; gender; generation of migrants.

\textsuperscript{21} Modi, "Multiculturalism, Ethnicity and Integration: Some Contemporary Challenges", p. 56; Adams and Kirova, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{23} Penn and Lambert, 31; Tomlinson, p. 88.
\textsuperscript{24} Allen White et al., "Children's Roles in Transnational Migration." \textit{Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies} 37(8), 2011, p. 1160-1162 (pp. 1159-1170). The article was published in the special issue of the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies that built on the conference ‘Children and Migration: Identities, Mobilities, Belongings’ organised 9-11\textsuperscript{th} April 2008 at the University College Cork in Ireland. The College had conducted a Marie Curie funded Migrant Children Project concluded in 2009, which provided a major push in generating research both aware and defying the described stereotypes.
\textsuperscript{27} Dietz, S. 7.
\textsuperscript{28} Dietz, S. 17; Claire Dwyer et al., "Educational Achievement and Career Aspirations for Young British Pakistanis". In Modi, Salt, p. 178 (pp. 177-204); Françoise Lorcerie, "Discovering the ethnicized school: the case of France". In Luchtenberg, p. 110 (pp. 103-126).
It has been noted early on that **different ethnic groups perform differently** within the same educational framework. In Britain, the relative underachievement of African-Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils in national examinations for the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) has been widely analysed and discussed. On the other hand, it is not the pupils of white background, but those of Chinese and Indian heritage that have been found to be the highest achieving group (see Figure 1)\(^\text{30}\). Already in the 1980s Gajendra K. Verma’s research in West Yorkshire revealed that factors behind the different levels of exam success among British adolescents were not the same for each ethnic group\(^\text{31}\). For instance, Hermione Harris argues that social invisibility of Somali people is one of the main reasons\(^\text{32}\) for continuous underachievement of Somali children compared to native students and other ethnic minority groups\(^\text{33}\).

**Figure 1: Percentage of pupils in United Kingdom achieving 5 level in Key Stage 3 Mathematics test by ethnicity, 2006**

![Percentage of pupils in United Kingdom achieving 5 level in Key Stage 3 Mathematics test by ethnicity, 2006](http://www.education.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/SFR/s000708/)

In the US, black and Mexican pupils underperform, while Asian-Americans – those of Vietnamese and Chinese origin – excel in education. To explain the success of the latter group, Min Zhou points out to the impact of social capital of East Asian immigrant communities\(^\text{34}\). East Asian parents are said to have very positive attitudes towards education as an avenue for social mobility.

In Ireland, immigration is a recent phenomenon so most immigrant students are of the first generation. On average, they achieve education outcomes similar to their Irish-born peers.

\(^{30}\) Tomlinson, p. 94-95.

\(^{31}\) Verma, p. 109-110.


\(^{34}\) Min Zhou, "Ethnicity as Social Capital: Community-Based Institutions and Embedded Networks of Social Relations". In Glenn Loury, Tariq Modood and Steven M. Teles (eds.), *Ethnicity, social mobility, and public policy: comparing the USA and UK*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 133 (pp. 131-159).
peers and this can be partly explained by the socioeconomic background of these students, which is similar to or higher than those of their Irish-born peers\(^35\).

In Germany, research on the educational achievement of ethnic minority groups has often emphasised their educational disadvantage vis-à-vis the native German population\(^36\). Regression analysis has established that **ethnic origin is not the only and sometimes not even the main cause of migrant children's underperformance at school**. For instance, Thorsten Schneider found that pupils from families with the lowest income levels were the most likely to be recommended to go to a *Hauptschule* upon completion of primary education (*Grundschule*), but almost as likely were those who did not or hardly spoke German at home\(^37\). Thus **linguistic incorporation** is deemed important for the overall integration.

Now that PISA (*Programme for International Student Assessment*)\(^38\) provides reasonable pools of quantitative data for statistical inquiry, analysis has become more sophisticated. Oliver Walter, in comparing Germany's results of the three rounds of PISA, concluded that, although the children of Turkish, former Yugoslavian and Italian (former countries with some regional discrepancies) outperform only \(^3\). Thus **linguistic incorporation** is deemed important for the overall integration.

These differences remained after controlling for factors common to both immigrant and non-immigrant families, such as gender, socio-economic status and socio-cultural factors. Levels and Dronkers\(^40\) argue that macro-level factors such as education systems, policy measures and immigration laws likely account for cross-national differences in performance between native and immigrant students in different contexts. Through analysis of the PISA data, they found that origin and destination countries also had a significant effect on scholastic performance. As regards **origin effects**, emigrants from Western Europe, Southern and Central America, Northern Africa and Western Asia often underperformed compared to native populations. **Destination effects** showed that immigrants to countries with longer-standing histories of receiving immigrants, such as Germany and Australia, often performed better than those in countries without significant immigration history, such as Denmark and Switzerland. These origin and destination effects also combine to advantage or disadvantage groups in certain cases.

Different effects were also evident in first- and second-generation immigration, with first-generation immigrants performing similarly to their native counterparts, whilst second-generation immigrants tend to (with some regional discrepancies) outperform

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\(^{38}\) For background information on PISA see OECD website: [http://www.pisa.oecd.org/pages/0,3417,en_32252351_32235907_1_1_1,00.html](http://www.pisa.oecd.org/pages/0,3417,en_32252351_32235907_1_1_1,00.html)


their native counterparts. While the authors admit these findings are preliminary, they point out the importance of macro-level political and policy factors in determining education performance of migrant children. Further research highlights, in particular, the importance of developing a nuanced understanding of the role of educational systems in determining the success of migrant students. In particular, sorting mechanisms such as track levels in schools have a considerable effect and must be taken into account to accurately reflect individual and systemic effects of migration.41

Migrant pupils’ educational experiences are also mediated by their gender. In a study of first to third generation migrants in German primary schools, Leonie Herwartz-Emden et al. argue that, regardless of immigrant or other background, children of different gender evaluate themselves differently, and immigrant girls tend to perform better than boys42. When interviewing in the ethnically mixed Bradford and Slough, Claire Dwyer et al. found that young British Pakistani women had more positive views towards education and higher levels of motivation to achieve a conventional career (including good grades at school, getting a degree and finding a good job). Meanwhile, alternative role models of masculine success (e.g. in the illegal economy) seen in their community appealed to some of their young male counterparts who left school with few qualifications 43. Similarly, ethnographic research has argued that the sub-cultural male black identity clashed with male African-Caribbean students’ identities as learners and schools’ expectations from them44.

Another division in the migrant student body and one important for the scope of this study is the difference between the generations of migrants. Again, the preoccupation with eventual results of integration has meant that little research has been done on first-generation migrants as opposed to those of further generations (second or third)45. In some other cases, generations of migrants are not differentiated, simply labelling children born abroad, those whose parents (or one of the parents) were born abroad and those whose grandparents (or one of the grandparents) were born outside the host country as ‘children with a migrant background’ – this is seen in German research46 and some surveys.

Host country variations

Migrant integration in formal secondary education is not just about the attributes of the migrant populations that either enhance or hinder their academic success. Differences in host country education systems may also influence the performance and integration of migrants. The possible variables here could be: choice system (free schools choice or catchment area requirement); type of school system; age of first ability tracking; ‘school’ tracking; teaching methods, etc.

While immigrants underperform on average in some, in others they are on a more equal standing with the ‘autochthons’, while elsewhere they actually scored even better than

42 Leonie Herwartz-Emden, Dieter Küffner and Julia Landgraf, “Acculturation and Educational Achievement of Children with an Immigrant Background in German Primary Schools”. In Adams and Kirova, p. 48 (pp. 35-51). Children with an immigrant background have a lower self-esteem (except when it concerns family), but they are more aware of their identity (because of the differences from the majority population) – ibid.
43 Dwyer et al., p. 188-195.
44 Deborah Youdell, “Identity traps or how black students fail: The interactions between biographical, sub-cultural and learner identities”. In Gloria Ladson-Billings and David Gillborn (eds.), The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education. London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004, p. 85-86, 94-100 (pp. 84-102).
45 White et al., p. 1161.
46 See, for instance, Birgit Becker, “The Transfer of Cultural Knowledge in the Early Childhood: Social and Ethnic Disparities and the Mediating Role of Familial Activities”. European Sociological Review, Vol. 26, No. 1, 2010, pp. 17–29. The author studies the cultural knowledge of Turkish and German children of 3-4 years living in Germany so she only considers child’s parents’ and grandparents’ country of birth to establish if the child has Turkish migration background – ibid., p. 22.
the ‘natives’ – for an example, see PISA 2009 reading performance results in Figure 2. Ever since the first PISA study was presented, it received increased attention in Germany where, the findings suggested, the immigrant pupil population was significantly less skilled than their German peers or comparative immigrant groups in other countries researched.\(^{47}\)

Another large-scale study, ‘The Integration of the European Second Generation’ (TIES), looked at specific second-generation immigrant groups across eight European countries. Namely, TIES analysed the integration of students of Turkish, former Yugoslav and Moroccan descent in 15 cities in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.\(^{48}\) Researchers found that the same ethnic groups performed differently in different institutional settings: for instance, more Turkish students born in the Netherlands, despite having higher early school-leaving rates, enter tertiary education than those in Germany, hinting at the impact of Dutch and German national models of integration.\(^{49}\)

**Figure 2: Reading performance by immigrant status, 2009**

![Figure 2: Reading performance by immigrant status, 2009](image)

This confirmed earlier claims that the overall frameworks countries provided for adaptation did matter and the differences in their education systems were the most likely explanation. If surveys like PISA, *Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS)* and *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS)*\(^{50}\) made the achievements of students comparable at an international level, other research projects have shed light on the education system arrangements in different countries. Such projects include the Eurydice Network\(^{51}\), “Ethnic differences in education and diverging

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47 Mannitz, p. 66.
50 For background information on TIMSS and PIRLS see TIMSS and PIRLS International Study Center at [http://timss.bc.edu/](http://timss.bc.edu/)
prospects for urban youth in an enlarged Europe' (EDUMIGROM)\(^{52}\) and 'Migrant Integration Policy Index' (MIPEX). As for migrants specifically, 'Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies for Children of International Migrants' (EFFNATIS)\(^{53}\), TIES and 'At Home in Europe' (on Muslim integration in 11 European cities\(^{56}\)) explore the integration of certain immigrant groups (beyond education as well).

Research findings show that **free school choice** is more likely to produce unequal results, namely, school segregation by social class, race and ethnicity, disability and special needs\(^{55}\). A comparison between school choice and students' educational paths in the French case shows that school choice – opting out from attending the geographically prescribed state school\(^{56}\) in the catchment area system – was beneficial for students from economically and culturally privileged families. Meanwhile, students from working class backgrounds were further disadvantaged as school choice contributed to growing inequalities and achievement gaps\(^{57}\).

In choice-oriented systems, most desirable schools compete for the brightest students\(^{58}\) as their good results further increase a school’s prestige. Children that need more attention and support to achieve their potential lose out in a system oriented towards immediate results. In addition, immigrant parents often lack the 'inside' knowledge to navigate around the system for their children’s benefit: due to language barriers, resource constraints, lower levels of education, lack of knowledge of the host country’s school system they may fail to enrol their children in the most appropriate schools\(^{59}\).

Also, **type of school system and educational choice** – ranging from performance-based approaches to choice-based systems to mass education – have an impact on levels of disadvantage. In a study of England and Sweden, it was shown that performance-based effects tend to disadvantage ethnic minorities. In contrast, choice-based effects, whereby differences in educational choice are offered based on performance, generally increase the transition rate of ethnic minority children, which also carries the risk of permanent social exclusion\(^{60}\).

The inequalities in the achievements of adolescents in Germany are usually attributed to the **early tracking of students according to levels of ability**. Until recently, students from around the age of 10 usually enrolled either in a *Hauptschule* (vocational track) preparing for education as a tradesman, *Realschule* (technical orientation) or a *Gymnasium* (academic) graduation of which paves way to university\(^{61}\). The traditional German system, now set to gradually change in some federal states (Ländern) by fusing *Hauptschulen*, *Realschulen* and *Gesamtschulen* (comprehensive schools that do not follow one designated track), was criticised for differentiating students according to social class early on and leaving almost no prospects for the graduates of

\(^{52}\) For more information see [http://www.edumigrom.eu/](http://www.edumigrom.eu/)

\(^{53}\) Penn and Lambert’s book is based on the EFFNATIS project. For more information, see Penn and Lambert, p. 4-22.

\(^{54}\) For more information on this project see [http://www.soros.org/initiatives/home/about](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/home/about)


\(^{56}\) French state schools have a defined catchment area that they draw their pupils from.

\(^{57}\) Choukri Ben Ayed, «À qui profite le choix de l’école? Changements d’établissement et destins scolaires des élèves de milieux populaires» Revue française de pédagogie, No. 175, avril­mai­juin 2011, p. 34­58.

\(^{58}\) Tomlinson, p. 91.


Given the fact that many immigrant children are often also from a socially disadvantaged background, they tend to be overrepresented in Hauptschulen. Meanwhile, almost three times as many native German students attended a Gymnasium in the school year of 2006/7 (27.7 percent versus 11.7 percent of immigrant children). On the other hand, Gesamtschulen that allow postponing tracking or avoiding it altogether are more diverse and offer better options for immigrant students.

A study of the French system also examined choice-based approaches to schooling. They found that student tracking from lower to secondary schools tended to disadvantage ethnic minorities at an early age, who were often tracked to vocational schools. By tracing primary (performance-based) and secondary (cost-benefit considerations regarding education attainment) effects, they found that almost all disadvantage arose from primary effects, whilst secondary effects could actually aim to bolster educational attainment of ethnic minorities. However, this was hampered by the fact that the parents of ethnic minorities were more likely to be conservative regarding the perceived chance of success in the more prestigious secondary schools. A similar study undertaken of students in Greater Manchester also found barriers for ethnic migrant parents in choosing schools for their children. These difficulties were a result of migrant parents who were often marginalised from the information and knowledge necessary to choose a school for their child.

The above factors are quite obvious as the structure of the schooling system results from intentional government policies. However, there are less obvious influences at play in migrant education that are not noticeable from the dominant (ethnic, racial, linguistic etc.) group perspective. For example, school ‘tracking’ may also be more subtle. An American study showed that high school composition and educational processes have a different effect on migrant students, and this in turn affects expectations regarding higher levels of education. High performing schools tend to have a positive association in encouraging non-immigrant children to pursue higher education, but this linkage was much weaker with immigrant children, suggesting that the effect is not limited to tracking systems, but also present at a more entrenched level. Likewise, dropout rates from vocational upper secondary education are higher for migrant children, as was found in a study in Denmark. Family background, but other factors – such as inadequate language proficiency, inadequate early-childhood education and discrimination in the apprenticeship market – also negatively affect immigrant populations more than native ones.

Although there is little research on how they affect migrant students' achievements, teaching aids and teaching practices themselves may entrench inequalities by being insensitive to differences and attaching higher status to certain groups and not others.

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64 Andell, p. 25.


January 2013
Textbooks permeated with nationalist imaginings that are assumed to be shared by all members of the ethnic or political nation are going to create difficulties for migrant students brought up with different images. Likewise, certain arrangements allow popular stereotypes that may be held by teachers or other school staff about certain ethnic groups or about ethnic minorities in general to affect education outcomes more than others. The German or Dutch practice of teacher recommendation determining the educational track the student is allocated to is a case in point.

Hierarchy of factors

To use Gundara’s words, pupils’ cultural backgrounds constitute just one variable in the equation of migrant education. As we have seen from the above discussion, the complex relationships between pupils, their families, their teachers and schools are also part of this equation. In fact, Leah D. Adams and Anna Kirova argue that “school and home are inextricably linked for all students, but they are especially so for immigrant children”. At the same time, the two spheres may be in relative opposition if different languages are spoken and different rules apply in each of them, with the student’s family not having direct access to their child’s teachers and other school staff.

To dissect the levels of factors influencing the integration of migrant students into formal education in their host countries, the following typology can be used:

1. **Structural factors** include features of the education system in question (such as standardisation, ability tracking, resources allocated, ethnic majority bias in textbooks and teaching practices); legal framework for enrolment (based on the legal status of migrants in the country, parental choice or residential catchment area); integration policies; and national discourses on migration and integration in general that may be or may be not conducive to the successful integration of migrants and their learning outcomes.

2. **School-level factors** include features of an individual school such as teacher expectations; learning environment; teaching capacity; support structures available at the school (mentors, bilingual teaching assistants and school-home mediators); the required level of parental involvement; interaction with peers; and teacher-student relationships. Feeling comfortable and secure at a particular school shapes positive attitudes towards education and lays down conditions for success in formal education.

3. **Individual factors**—individual student (teacher or parent) characteristics such as psychological traits and experience, gender, socio-cultural background, socio-economic situation, knowledge of the host language, language spoken at home, previous schooling experience (or attendance of a pre-primary education facility), parents’ educational background, attitudes and motivations.

At the theoretical level, structural factors of migrant students’ educational integration have been studied in the most depth. As seen from PISA-inspired regression analysis (e.g. see article by Thorsten Schneider), two main approaches emerge: one prioritises cultural influences and the other emphasises the importance of socio-economic conditions. The first one broadly argues that migrant students face disadvantages in schooling because they are “culturally different” from the majority population: they come from another country, they may speak another language at home and they may not be...
proficient in the host language. Depending on their time of arrival, they may already have schooling experience in their country of origin and they may have different attitudes regarding education and place different value in it compared to the native population. Finally, their parents may hold different expectations towards their achievements and may not always be able to be involved in their education, especially if they lack skills in the host language.

The other approach insists that migrant students’ disadvantages can be explained by their families’ socio-economic characteristics: low socio-economic status, parental levels of education, type of occupation, income levels, family composition and place of residence. Accounting for the socio-economic factors makes the situation of migrant pupils, especially those who come from guest worker families, comparable with that of the working-class native pupils. Indeed, a big part of the migrants who settled in post-war Europe come from rural areas in developing countries and have had little education so they have little cultural, economic and social capital to start with75. However, the socio-economic approach does not take into account the disadvantages experienced because of language barriers or ethnic and religious discrimination.

Both these broad arguments are incorporated in the theoretical edifice of the US programme Head Start initiated in 1965 to address the educational disadvantages of minority groups, mainly African-Americans. The programme works by intervening early on, during preschool years, and targets young children and their parents. Its theoretical framework accounted for two groups of factors: cultural and environmental vs. structural and institutional. Cultural factors fall into the first cluster: parental support and expectations, teachers’ expectations, students’ expectations towards themselves and cultural bias in tests disadvantages the minority students. The second group contains some factors discussed as socio-economic conditions: segregation in education due to residential segregation, family’s wealth along with segregation in education due to ability tracking76.

To conclude, several levels of diverse factors are at work in migrant education, impeding or helping migrant students to succeed. As seen in the migrant achievement discussion, group specificities (ethnic and social origin, gender and migrant generation), host country education system design (free school choice or catchment areas, early, late or no ability tracking), the quality of teaching in a particular school (teacher qualifications, expectations, facilities etc.), dynamics in a particular family (language use, parent expectations and involvement in children’s education) and individual traits (e.g. perseverance or resignation) all play a role. Although most of the debate has revolved around educational attainment, it should not obscure the fact that achievement is closely related to two other components of migrant pupils’ integration in education, namely access and participation. The next part will show how the above factors affect all three components of migrant education.

1.3. Migrant education: access, performance, participation

As seen above, getting into good schools helps immigrant students to achieve more, while leaving school early gives them limited qualifications to build upon later – in further education or career. Further examining all three aspects will allow for a more


detailed picture of migrant pupils’ pathways in formal secondary education in the host country. Hence the three sections below look into these aspects of education.

**Access**

The first challenge that migrant students and their parents face is accessing education that could give better chances of succeeding later on. There are two aspects to access: **access to education in general** - as an exercise of the universal human right despite one’s status in the host society - and **access to quality education, which** could mean both enrolling into schools providing high-quality teaching and those leading onto more promising educational tracks.

The two aspects may not always be easy to distinguish but it is clear that one is dealing with **access to education in general** when migrant children are turned down by schools due to their (il)legal status in the country. Implementation of this right is not as universal as the principles expressed in UN, CoE and EU documents would require. For example, a Greek regulation entitles migrant children to the minimum compulsory schooling even if they cannot prove they are legal residents or provide sufficient documentation for enrolment. However, Soula Mitakidou and Georgios Tsiakalos argue that cases of school principals refusing to enrol children of illegal migrants – on the pretext that they cannot prove they live within school’s catchment area – are not rare. In 2003, the Greek Ministry of Internal Affairs and Public Order even tried to make parents’ documentation check an obligatory condition for migrant children’s enrolment.\(^{77}\)

As for migrants’ **access to quality education**, it depends on the characteristics of a country’s formal education system, namely the age of first **ability tracking** and the level of **school segregation**. For instance, although they are not declined education while in the country, in Denmark, asylum-seekers’ children are put into special schools managed by the Red Cross. As seen already, statistical evidence exists that supports the claim that immigrant students fare worse in systems with early ability tracking and school segregation.

Ability tracking is the selection of students according to their abilities, which results in concentration of brighter students in certain tracks. Although ability tracking is done for the benefit of the brighter students, it may further disadvantage immigrant children, e.g. when the language barrier comes in the way of identifying their abilities adequately. OECD survey data reveals that immigrant students are more likely to go to vocational schools and non-academic tracks of education programmes than their native peers in the countries with early selection and vocational tracks.\(^{78}\)

School segregation can also result from other processes, namely:

1) **Residential segregation** – the geographic concentration of people with similar socio-economic background and especially urban ghettos of immigrants can make newly arrived migrant children overrepresented in some schools and underrepresented in others. In countries where schools have a fixed catchment area and immigrant communities cluster in certain neighbourhoods, school segregation is a likely outcome. However, research from the UK shows that children are *more segregated in school than in their already highly segregated neighbourhoods*.\(^{79}\)

2) **Native flight** – research shows that native parents are more likely than migrant parents to opt out of schools with a high concentration of migrants and choose more

\(^{77}\) Mitakidou and Tsiakalos, p. 136-137.  
\(^{80}\) Nusche, p. 11.
‘prestigious’ schools instead. School segregation can thus be higher in urban areas where parents have a wider choice of schools.\(^{81}\)

3) **Accumulation of migrant students in schools for children with special needs.**

Some migrant groups are more likely to be diagnosed as having ‘special needs’ which results in them being placed into separate education institutions. This can partly be explained by factors such as language difficulties, culturally different behaviour, lack of early childhood support and negative stereotyping.\(^{82}\) In Eastern and Central Europe, especially Czech Republic and Slovakia such a ‘targeted’ group have been Roma children.\(^{83}\) Although in most societies they are not migrants, their level of integration into the society is comparable to that of second-generation migrants.\(^{84}\) In Western Europe, pupils with a migrant background (e.g. black pupils in the UK) are more likely to end up in special educational facilities.\(^{85}\)

**Participation**

Once access to quality education is ensured for migrant children, it is important that students stay at school and complete their education rather than leave school early. Over 70% of early school leavers in the EU complete lower secondary education and around 17% have completed only primary education. This latter group is especially large in Bulgaria (38%) and Portugal (40%). In 2009, only 48% of early school leavers in the EU were in employment, while 52% were either unemployed or outside the labour market. The percentage of young people who had abandoned education but were in employment was highest in Malta (74%), Cyprus (74%), Portugal (71%), and the Netherlands (71%).\(^{86}\)

Early school leavers are more likely to be from a lower socio-economic background, vulnerable social groups or groups at risk, and thus affects migrants relatively more often than native students.

As the Education and Training Work Programme 2020 progress report noted, the probability of a young migrant leaving school early was more than double that of a national – 26.3% versus 13.1% - in 2009 according to Eurostat data.\(^{87}\) There are substantial differences between Member States: In Greece, Spain and Italy more than 40% of young migrants are early school leavers. A few countries such as Portugal, the UK and Norway show lower rates of early school leavers among migrants compared to

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\(^{85}\) See Tomlinson, p. 91 about the exclusion of African-Caribbean pupils in Britain; about migrant students in Germany – Sigrid Luchtenberg, "(New forms of) migration: challenges for education". In Luchtenberg (ed.), p. 51 (pp. 40-63).


natives. In several Member States early school leaving is especially high among disadvantaged minorities such as the Roma population\textsuperscript{88}.

There are many factors influencing young people’s decision to leave school. Besides schools-related factors, Canadian studies identify several non-school related ones. They include macro level variables such as: low socio-economic status/social class; minority group status; male gender; and certain community characteristics. Meso level variables include: household stress; family process/dynamics; limited social support for remaining in school; home-school culture conflict; assumption of adult roles (for example, high levels of employment or pregnancy/childrearing). Micro level variables include: problematic student involvement with education (both the academic and social aspects of school); physical, mental and/or cognitive disabilities; youth with high degrees of autonomy; experimenting with risk (e.g. drug and/or alcohol use, disregard for parental rules and/or civil laws); and finally, discrimination and identity\textsuperscript{89}.

However, school related factors may also be important for a decision to leave education. The most commonly cited reasons offered by early school leavers for dropping out were related to school risk factors, rather than external influences. Leavers are more likely to perceive their school environment as discouraging, have negative interactions with their teachers and experience social and academic problems\textsuperscript{90}. School related factors associated with early school leaving include: ineffective discipline system; lack of adequate counseling; negative school climate; lack of relevant curriculum; passive instructional strategies; disregard of student learning styles; retentions or suspensions; streaming; and lack of assessment and support for students with disabilities\textsuperscript{91}.

Participation in early childhood education and care institutions tend to facilitate the integration of immigrant students into education and prevent their early school leaving. In some countries, however, participation gaps between native and immigrant children are the largest specifically in early childhood education. Furthermore, first-generation migrants are less likely to participate than second-generation and native students, which is why many countries aim to increase the participation levels of children with immigrant backgrounds in early childhood education and care institutions\textsuperscript{92}.

Grade retention is another education system characteristic that influences students’ participation in schooling. In some education systems, a grade retention system is almost seen as a tool to prevent early school leaving. A certain level of development is expected from the child for him/her to be ready to progress to a certain education level\textsuperscript{93}. In France, Germany, and the Netherlands, immigrants as well as native students commonly repeat a grade, while in other countries, this practice is very rare\textsuperscript{94}. In countries where grade repetition is more widespread, immigrant students are significantly more likely to repeat a grade in either primary or lower secondary education than native students (e.g. 25% of immigrant students vs. 12% of native students in primary education in Switzerland)\textsuperscript{95}. Despite its use as a ‘prevention’ measure, grade retention might lead to low teachers’ expectations and low self-esteem among the pupils, eventually leading to complete loss of motivation to continue education.


\textsuperscript{90}Early School Leavers: Understanding the Lived Reality of Student Disengagement from Secondary School, Community Health System Resource Group, Canada, 2005.

\textsuperscript{91}Ibid., p. 60.


\textsuperscript{93}Ibid., p. 60.

\textsuperscript{94}Ibid., p. 60.

\textsuperscript{95}OECD, “Closing the Gap for Immigrant Students: Policies, Practices and Performance”, p. 33.
Performance

As seen in the discussion of migrant education variables, once in school, migrant students still usually score worse than their peers. According to many studies and statistical data, although there are groups above the average, students of immigrant backgrounds are usually behind their native-born peers.\(^96\)

The performance gap is more common for immigrant students who speak a different language at home (other than the language of instruction) and for those in a disadvantaged socio-economic situation.\(^97\) However, in many countries, the performance gap between immigrant and native students remains even after accounting for language and socio-economic background. This implies that the performance disadvantage of immigrant students cannot be attributed solely to the background characteristics of immigrant students.\(^98\)

There are several international databases that monitor the achievement gap of migrant students:

- PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) is an international study which began in the year 2000. It aims to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students in participating countries/economies. Since the year 2000 over 70 countries and economies have participated in PISA.\(^99\)

- The TIMSS and PIRLS International Study Centre is dedicated to conducting comparative studies in educational achievement. It serves as the international hub for the IEA’s mathematics, science and reading assessments. First conducted in 1995, TIMSS reports every four years on the mathematics and science achievement of fourth and eighth grade students worldwide. First conducted in 2001, PIRLS reports every five years on the reading achievement of fourth grade students worldwide.\(^100\)

- National governments can also collect information on students’ performance; however, this data can be used only on national scale, for it is not comparable on the wider scale. E.g., in the Netherlands, data are available by individual students and ethnic group. Results from national tests such as the longitudinal study COOL (formerly PRIMA) and the national standard assessment at the end of primary education (the CITO test in grade eight for 11-to-12-year-olds) used by 85% of primary schools are a rich resource and demonstrate improved education outcomes for certain ethnic groups over the last 20 years.\(^101\)

As mentioned, teacher expectations and stereotyping can contribute to the difficulties encountered at school. For example, Maresa Sprietsma explored if teacher expectations in Germany were biased by the names of their pupils. The authors systematically changed the names of essays written by fourth year primary school students, and found that a small group of teachers graded the essays submitted by allegedly Turkish students significantly lower, and also issued fewer recommendations for a Gymnasium if a student had a Turkish name.\(^102\) Thus systemic factors such as existing stereotypes and discrimination towards particular groups, including newly arrived migrant children, also play an important role in their performance in education.


\(^97\) Ibid.


\(^99\) OECD Programme for International Student Assessment. \texttt{http://www.pisa.oecd.org/pages/0\_3417\_en\_32252351\_32235907\_1\_1\_1\_1\_1\_1\_00.html}

\(^100\) TIMSS and PIRLS International Study centre \texttt{http://timss.bc.edu/}


In a different form of teacher expectations, Theodorou claims that integration of migrant children in Cyprus is hampered by ‘difference blindness.’ Here, colour blindness, where all students are treated as one homogeneous group, means that real issues faced by migrant children that may not be faced by the group as a whole are ignored, denying the ethnic and class issues that statistically affect migrant children at a higher rate. Therefore, teacher perception should also not ignore the differences within its student populace.

A similar study of an American school found that the school applied a limited idea of diversity that equated to equal treatment, whilst ignoring specific needs of its English language learning (ELL) students. This approach can keep ELL students normalised into everyday school practice, but also hamper them by not providing services that meet their specific needs. However, a differentialist approach also failed to adequately address the needs of ELL children, as this teaching did not always fit well into the mainstream curriculum with which they engaged. This calls for a need for increased capacity of teacher educators to prepare teachers for diverse environments, and a clear fit and complementarity between specialised and mainstream programmes, to ensure that ELL students are not segregated from regular programmes.

There are many other factors that shape gaps in achievement between native and migrant pupils. While not looking strictly at migrant pupils, a 2009 study on White and Hispanic students in the United States highlights differences in ethnic populations. It found that significant achievement gaps exist between the populations, and these gaps are likely a result of family background and socio-economic status, language proficiency and school quality. At the start of schooling, the gaps in math and reading were largest, but the gap in math narrows by grade five. In both subjects, the gap narrowed significantly in the first two years, but then levelled out. This study did not only look at non-English speaking Hispanic populations, although foreign-born students showed a more significant reduction in the gap between them and White populations than did many other Hispanic groups.

Another study looks at the connection between integration and generation of migrants and their level of language and math skills in the Netherlands. The work looks not only at the child’s integration, but also the level of integration of the parent in determining school performance. The study found correlations between literacy and numeracy and generation, the degree of integration of the parents (notably education and command of the Dutch language) and home country, with Turkish and Moroccan immigrants especially vulnerable.

School-level factors also come into play as all students are more likely to succeed if they can benefit from good teaching. Therefore, class size, educational staff and services available at school such as homework or counselling centres count in facilitating migrant students’ educational success. In fact, teacher effectiveness is an increasingly studied factor.

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School-level factors in migrant students’ performance take the discussion back to where it started – with access to (quality) education. It shows that the same factors are at play in each of the education aspects, although in different and interrelated ways and at different times. Structurally, migrant pupils opportunities are to a great extent shaped at the moment of entering host country education and more so in systems with higher levels of segregation and stratification or where the universal right to schooling is not effectively implemented. Attending preschool, comprehensive schools without separate tracks and using host country language at home increases their chances, whereas practicing grade retention diminishes them. Characteristics of particular students, their families, teachers and resources available to them also matter.

1.4. Newly arrived migrant children as a distinct category

Existing research evidence on migrant education and integration sometimes makes a distinction between first-generation and second-generation migrants and comparative research usually reveals a gap in integration indicators between the two generations. The specificity of newly arrived or first-generation migrants, in comparison to the second generation, lies in higher language barriers, culture shock, educational baggage collected in their country of origin, etc. Research evidence shows a link between the age at the moment of migration and later educational achievements of migrant pupils – children who attended kindergarten and primary school in the host society have higher opportunities to end up with higher education degrees.

On the other hand, there are also studies demonstrating that first-generation migrants do better at school. Petra Stanat and Gayle Christensen interpreted the PISA survey results of 2003 with significant differences in academic achievements between immigrants who were born abroad and who were born in the host country. According to the authors, first-generation immigrants performed much better because they were motivated learners and had favourable attitudes towards school, whereas second-generation immigrants were less positive.

This fits in with the idea of an ‘immigrant paradox’ where newly-arrived migrants actually show a slight strength in academic performance, but that this reverses the longer that the migrants are in the country. A 2009 US study found that newly-arrived migrants’ academic performance tended to start dropping after 2-3 years, and registered another large drop at 4-5 years. This drop was more significant in cases where English proficiency were lesser, socio-economic factors and family factors, but was mitigated by factors such as relational engagement within schools, which led to higher academic engagement and higher performance. This points out a clear immigrant paradox, where the academic performance of the migrant child does drop over time.

Palacios, Gutmanova and Chase-Lansdale address the immigrant paradox by examining first-, second- and third-generation young migrant children (kindergarten through grade 3) in reading performance. This showed substantial differences between the generations, with higher generations showing higher levels of early English comprehension and kindergarten attendance, although first- and second-generation children were more likely to attend urban schools with high minority populations. However, these differences diminished over time and even flipped, with first-generation children scoring higher on reading comprehension by the time they reached grade3. However, many of these


differences had strong associations with other factors, such as race/ethnicity and maternal education.\(^\text{110}\)

Such discrepancies in data may signal **difficulties in evaluating the academic performance of first-generation migrants**. The language barrier experienced by first-generation immigrants poses difficulties both for assessing their abilities and placing students into the right level of education. Consequently, it could also raise doubts about the reliability of survey results. A study looking at how PISA collects their data suggests that newly arrived migrants may have insufficient knowledge of their host society’s language to adequately understand and answer the questions on the test\(^\text{111}\).

On the policy level, the category of ‘newly arrived migrants’ or the division between first- and second-generation migrants is not common in EU Member States. Some countries use terms such as ‘foreign born’, ‘second language students’, ‘students with a migrant background’, etc. and some of these categories may include both first- and second-generation migrants. The evaluation of policies and data collected for this purpose are not always disaggregated for the different generations of migrants – also because the relevance of this dichotomy varies from country to country depending on their immigration record. In some of the Member States mass migration is recent and most of the foreign pupils enrolled in their schools fall in the first-generation category (e.g. Ireland). As we have seen in the ethnic minority achievement debate, more attention has been given to migrants in general or to the differentiation between ethnic groups such as Roma, Chinese, etc.

**Challenges specific to NAMS**

Given the difference of NAMS as a migrant group, they might have a greater number of challenges when they enter education system for the first time. The few authors who have written specifically on newly arrived migrant students tend to concentrate on the immediate needs of such students in the classroom and practical advice on overcoming the difficulties they face at the beginning. In other words, ‘newly arrived’ is supposed to be a **temporary status** that is rescinded once the migrant pupils have achieved proficiency in the host language and settled in their educational environment.

Most of the immediate on-arrival support policies seem to operate on this premise. For instance, additional linguistic support to newcomers in Ireland and France is provided for a period of up to two years. Nevertheless, we have seen that migration background (and especially arrival past the schooling starting age) can have an impact on one’s education for a much longer period. A research report on newly arrived students in UK schools notes that although pupils can pick up the basics of language easily, even apparently fluent bilingual learners may be slow to progress to a more advanced level of understanding that would allow grasping abstract concepts used in teaching certain subjects\(^\text{112}\). In any case, stakeholders agree that **language acquisition** is an urgent need for NAMS\(^\text{113}\). Other challenges affecting NAMS, according to the summary by US

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\(^\text{113}\) Ibid., p.14; Leah D. Adams and Krista M. Shambleau, "Teachers’, Children’s and Parents’ Perspectives on Newly Arrived Children’s Adjustment to Elementary School". In Adams and Kirova, p. 88 (pp. 87-102); Franklyn C. Williams and S. Kent Butler, "Concerns of newly arrived immigrant students: implications for school
educational psychologists Franklyn C. Williams and Sylvester Kent Butler, relate to learning styles, cultural scripts, social support networks, level of social acceptance, racial labelling and categorisation and post-traumatic stress disorder\(^\text{114}\).

**Different learning styles** – teaching techniques differ from country to country and children who have had some schooling in their home countries may be especially unfamiliar with the logic that the education system design follows\(^\text{115}\) and find it difficult to adapt to the different requirements of their new teachers. In some countries, students recount whole passages by heart rather than filling in multiple choice tests, take verbatim notes of the lessons instead of summarising or always stay in the same classroom instead of moving into a different room for each lesson\(^\text{116}\).

Similarly, arriving at a school in another country also means switching to a new **curriculum**\(^\text{117}\) that NAMS may find strange. Learning subjects like host country language, literature, history, geography or politics may leave new arrivals well behind their native peers.

**Cultural differences** in the sense of behavioural patterns, dress, speech, thinking and roles shaping the expectations towards teachers, pupils and their parents also affect the communication at school. These differences may be new and unfamiliar to host country school personnel\(^\text{118}\). For instance, **teacher-student relations** follow different patterns across countries. For children coming from very strict school environments where teachers have to be revered and can even use physical punishment, European or American approaches may be confusing as there may seem to be no rules to obey\(^\text{119}\). Students from non-white backgrounds may not be used to the **racial labels** used in countries such as the US\(^\text{120}\) or UK. Alternatively, in countries like France, they may notice that their schools are officially (but not necessarily in practice) colour-blind, rendering them ‘invisible’\(^\text{121}\). What is more, they may also encounter racism and certain expectations attached to their ethnic group (based on the previously discussed attainment differences)\(^\text{122}\). All sorts of misunderstandings may result in lack of **social acceptance**, which in turn diminishes the sense of belonging\(^\text{123}\).

On the other hand, NAMS may lack **adequate social support networks** that could help them deal with the stress and anxiety experienced in facing the new environment. Those not familiar with the language may struggle to make friends at school and build up new social circles of comfort for themselves. It is easier for them to stick to communicating with their co-ethnics (if there are any at the host school) in their mother tongue. NAMS’ parents are also not always able to help them in their integration if they lack linguistic skills and knowledge of the host country education system. Some asylum-seeking children may have even arrived unaccompanied by their parents. Those fleeing from war zones or areas of severe deprivation will have to deal with more psychological baggage as they may suffer from **post-traumatic stress disorder**\(^\text{124}\).

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\(^{114}\) Williams and Butler, p. 1.

\(^{115}\) Leah D. Adams and Krista M. Shambleau, "Teachers’, Children’s and Parents’ Perspectives on Newly Arrived Children’s Adjustment to Elementary School". In Adams and Kirova, p. 88 (pp. 87-102).

\(^{116}\) Ryan et al., p. 2.

\(^{117}\) Ryan et al., p. 15.

\(^{118}\) Williams and Butler, p. 1.

\(^{119}\) Williams and Butler, p. 2.

\(^{120}\) The official stance, however, does not translate into equality of achievement: EFFNATIS project found that educational outcomes in France were determined by ethnicity or nationality to an extent greater than in the Britain (where data on racial/ethnic groups is collected at an institutional level). See Penn and Lambert, p. 93.

\(^{121}\) Ryan et al., p. 16-17.

\(^{122}\) Williams and Butler, p. 2.

\(^{123}\) Williams and Butler, p. 1; Ryan et al., p. 15.
What differentiates NAMS, especially those arriving after the school start age, from later migrant student generations, is the difficulty of placing them into an appropriate form. Countries (in some cases even schools) follow different policies regarding placement. It can be difficult to place them into classes with their age-peers when their previous academic preparation is inadequate or missing altogether. On the other hand, if they are placed according to academic test results, their limited linguistic skills, experience of a different curriculum and learning styles may cause them to lag several years behind.

To conclude, first-generation migrants are an academically diverse group with a large variation of educational needs and assets. Although in many cases they experience adaptation difficulties, NAMS bring diversity to schools and raise some important questions about the universality of education systems.

The next section offers a discussion of approaches to helping newly arrived migrant children succeed in formal education before discussing specific educational support measures that address the barriers and challenges they may experience.

1.5. Educational support for newly arrived migrant children

Authors critical of previous migration research argue that the assumptions of policy makers and researchers deny migrant children their agency and subjectivity. Consequently, accounts depicting migrant children as victims predominate. Research focuses on certain vulnerable groups of children migrants – such as trafficked children and unaccompanied minors seeking asylum – because little data is available on the numbers of children who participate in family migration. Even family migration research often sees children as passive dependents, ‘burden’ to mobile adults, although children too can participate in family decision-making and mediate between other family members and the host society – as interpreters and cultural brokers.

In the context of the current study, it is also important to be aware of the selectivities often present in the existing research that, as authors indicate, tends to emphasise migrant children’s neediness and difference and to focus on their ‘integration’ in the host society or lack of it. As Adams and Kirova argue, schools must be able to also meet the needs of those migrant students who are already global citizens and do not struggle with curriculum in the host country instead of adopting the blanket assumption of skills and achievement gap for all newcomers. As UNESCO guidelines also point out, inclusion in education is a “process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education”.

1.5.1. Approaches to educational support

A variety of support institutions, approaches and measures can facilitate the inclusion of NAMS into the education systems of host countries. In most cases, two broad approaches can be identified: progressive and transformative. These approaches again relate to the multiculturalism-assimilation debate introduced above – i.e., they build on ideals analogous to those projected by different settlement policies, as analysed by Pitkänen et al.

125 Leah D. Adams and Krista M. Shambleau, “Teachers’, Children’s and Parents’ Perspectives on Newly Arrived Children’s Adjustment to Elementary School”. In Adams and Kirova, p. 88 (pp. 87-102).
126 Ryan et al., p. 17-18.
127 White et al., p. 1160-1162.
128 White et al., p. 1162; Adams and Kirova, p. 5.
129 White et al., p. 1160-1161.
130 Adams and Kirova, p. 3.
The **progressive approach** sees a culturally homogenous society as the norm. Therefore, education is also adapted to the majority-minority dichotomy, that is, the majority population is seen as the ideal minority individuals are expected to achieve. Consequently, support measures adopted are compensatory and remedial, targeting those who are ‘different’ and aiming at correcting those differences. Resources tend to be spent on specialised institutions[^132^], thereby actually institutionalising difference and exclusion rather than differentiating teaching as recommended by UNESCO. Ideal Western childhoods have been imagined as ‘stable and associated with residential fixity’[^133^] and migration is still seen as an extra-ordinary situation. For instance, in the field of language teaching, linguists argue, monolinguism is the dominant starting position and the supposed ‘normal’ situation[^134^].

The second, **transformative approach** does not take any ethnic/ cultural group as its reference point and aims to ground teaching in complex ethnic and social conditions. Instead of trying to reduce diversity and the complexity it brings, transformative teaching offers support for all groups. Resources are thus spent on developing an inclusive curriculum and providing adequate teacher training[^135^].

An example of ‘transformative’ measure is bilingual education because it benefits both ‘minority’ and ‘majority’ students. Both groups maintain and enhance their skills in whatever their first language is and acquire or improve knowledge of a second language. It thus defies the frequent assumption of a monolingual speaker and sees the mother tongue of the migrants as a skill to be cherished.

The migrants’ underachievement debate shows that the progressive approach was the popular stance during the early decades of post-Second World War migration. ‘Multicultural education’ that values diversity instead of seeing it as a ‘problem’, a goal first formulated in the Anglo-Saxon countries and later adopted by the states of continental Europe as ‘intercultural education’[^136^] would require a transformative approach. Since the 1980s, both the Council of Europe and the EU have endorsed intercultural education as a commitment to change the educational system as a whole in order to embrace diversity rather than implementing remedial education for migrant children[^137^].

Regardless of the official rhetoric, most countries still lean towards the progressive approach as it does not require an overhaul of their education institutions and curricula. **Specialised institutions and corrective/remedial support measures** for NAMS (or migrant students in general) are easy to find, while examples of genuine **large-scale rethinking of the nationalist or Eurocentrist/Western bias of the teaching materials** are scarce. As Gunther Dietz argues, diversification and ‘heterogenisation’ of education is not perceived as an institutional challenge, but often seen as a mere appendix to the existing structures, suitable for compensatory measures[^138^].

The next section offers a discussion of the four thematic clusters of support usually offered to NAMS and their relative efficacy to the extent it is possible to establish it based on the existing literature. However, evidence of their benefits specifically for NAMS is often difficult to come across.

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[^132^]: Horst and Holmen, p. 19 (pp. 17-33).
[^133^]: White et al., 1161.
[^135^]: Ibid.
[^137^]: Sigrid Luchtenberg, "Inttroduction". In Luchtenberg, p. 7 (pp. 1-14).
[^138^]: Dietz, S. 7.
1.5.2. Measures

Support measures for newly arrived migrant students usually seek to improve the structural and/or school-level conditions, whereas most individual factors can be influenced only indirectly by integration policies. Research findings suggest that even though systemic and individual conditions strongly influence migrant education outcomes, many factors of disadvantage can be influenced by education policies\(^{139}\).

There are various ways to group the policy instruments and initiatives supporting the inclusion of immigrants in education. Categorisation according to their overall aims as regards the above-mentioned components of education is one of them: educational support measures can be aimed at increasing access, enhancing participation and improving performance of newly arrived migrant children in education. However, special measures can also have mixed aims. Alternatively, they may not be aimed specifically at improving certain indicator values for migrant children but rather are supposed to help them feel at ease at school (mainstreaming intercultural education principles and embracing diversity could be examples of such practices).

Another aspect is the type of actual services offered for the benefit of migrant students. For instance, the Eurydice 2004 report concerned initiatives on improving communication between schools and the families of immigrant pupils and teaching the heritage language of the immigrant children\(^{140}\). Educational support measures can thus be analysed and compared according to their thematic contents. Authors of the current study have identified four thematic pillars (described below and presented along with examples in Table 1) that are the most relevant to the inclusion of NAMS. However, although some may target NAMS specifically, most can be used by all students with a migrant background or can be aimed at promoting diversity at schools in general. As seen from the discussion above, focus on targeted measures only would neglect initiatives based on transformationist assumptions.

**Linguistic support**

Tracy Burns argues that while the proxy for integration for the adult migrant population is economic stability, for the child migrant population it is language proficiency\(^{141}\). It is crucial for children to be capable of following lessons in the language of instruction used at school; otherwise they may feel stressed and anxious, which eventually may lead to behavioural problems. NAMS themselves as well as their parents see learning English as the biggest challenge facing newcomers to US schools, while their teachers report of difficulties in engaging NAMS in positive behaviours if they do not understand English yet\(^{142}\).

Insufficient proficiency in the language of instruction is frequently cited as the primary reason for poor academic performance. Furthermore, it is also one of the reasons to place students with a poorer knowledge of the host language either in a lower form or in a special needs school altogether. This is why language proficiency assessment and systemic linguistic support before starting compulsory education or in parallel to it are important, making linguistic and academic support measures closely intertwined.

However, as noted above, different language teaching techniques that exist are suitable for different aims. As TIES researchers summarise, NAMS arrive to schools with different

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139 Nusche, p. 6.
142 Adams and Shambleau, p. 97.
language skills and communicative capacities, but often a limited knowledge of the host language. Yet as they become more comfortable with the host language, they may lose their parents’ native tongue. Accordingly, the host language teaching can either help or impede maintaining the heritage language.

Teacher training to teach the national language as one’s second language has been developed in many countries experiencing growing diversity, but **immigrants’ knowledge of their mother tongue and its use could be also more often appreciated as a skill and asset**. Remedial measures to tackle the underachievement of minority students tend to ignore their linguistic and cultural background, hardly improve the learning outcomes and bring only modest innovation in education. However, there are attempts to take pupils’ heritage into account – for instance, through developing host language teaching techniques that build on the structure of the migrants’ language of origin.

As mentioned in the previous section, a more radical, transformative way of host language acquisition is **bilingual education**. Wayne Thomas and Virginia Collier’s groundbreaking research in the US demonstrated that although monolingual programmes aimed at host language acquisition were more effective in the short term, bilingual education continued over a longer period closed the achievement gap between English language learners and native English speakers, in addition to maintaining the mother tongue and acquiring proficiency in English.

The authors concluded that instead of placing students with no proficiency in English into monolingual programmes for host language acquisition of 1-3 years and then into mainstream education where they maintain and widen the achievement gap, students should be schooled bilingually for 4-7 years in bilingual programmes. The latter group would then outperform monolingually schooled students in all subjects. That is because bilingual schooling where one language is their mother tongue and the other is the host language enables them to attend (and sometimes continue – if they already had some schooling in their home country) education without breaking it off in order to learn the host language, which takes at least 4 years. Meanwhile, further analysis of EU Member States shows that linguistic support usually ceases after two years.

In other words, bilingual education works in an additive rather than subtractive fashion. Subsequent research also shows that mixed classrooms being taught in two languages not only learn both languages better than students in classrooms where teaching in one language predominates and other languages are only taught as ‘foreign’, but also excel academically. ‘Two-way immersion’ programmes are based on the principle that there

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144 Guus Extra and Kutlay Yagmur, “European perspectives on immigrant minority languages at home and at school”. In Luchtenberg, p. 157 (pp. 140-166); Mannitz, p. 71;

145 Horst and Holmen, p. 17 (pp. 17-33).


exists a common underlying proficiency that helps pupils already proficient in one language to grasp and master the structures of another language more easily. Although there have been reservations as to whether the same applies to combinations of very dissimilar languages that use different systems of script, research on a Korean/English programme in the US seems to confirm the benefits of the bilingual model.

The use of bilingual education can bring about some progress in both languages within a period as short as one year, as a mixed Portuguese-German class in Hamburg has shown, but most programmes stretch over the whole secondary schooling as they are most successful when not used as a bridge to monolingual education in the host language. Late arrivals cannot participate in such education throughout its duration, but their previous schooling in their home country still allows them to join at a later stage, when their mother tongue skills are already consolidated. In fact, Thomas and Collier’s research sample included students newly arrived in US and they found that the length of primary language schooling (in the home or host country) had more influence on their long-term academic success than socioeconomic status when the number of years of schooling was 4 year or more.

However, in many cases bilingual education is not available, as it is a challenge to prepare suitable programmes and train enough qualified teachers to be able to work with all migrant groups in the countries where the migrant body is very diverse. Yet even if bilingual education is not feasible, teaching the host country language as a second language and the migrants’ mother tongue as a separate subject within the host country curriculum is still beneficial (see more in Intercultural education section below).

For migrant students arriving before the start of compulsory education, preschool can help as attending it allows them to develop host language skills. Participating in pre-primary education thereby offsets the negative effect of speaking a different language at home on pupils’ later educational performance. Attending preschool education has been shown to boost pupils’ achievements in compulsory education, but statistical data reveals that first-generation migrant children are still underrepresented in preschool facilities - not to mention that the extent of preschool education provision varies greatly across countries. In some countries such as Denmark, some German Länder have very limited provision for children of immigrants.

Korean/English Dual Language Program in the Los Angeles Unified School District. In Brinton, Kagan and Bauckus, p. 278 (pp. 269-287).


150 Christian, p. 266.

151 Sohn and Merrill, p. 278.

152 Roth, S. 397.


154 Thomas and Collier, p. 266, 277.


and Norway, pre-primary programmes are mandatory for children with limited proficiency in the language of instruction. In others, incentives for migrant parents to send their children to a preschool may need to be strengthened and language teaching to migrant (and non-migrant) children has to be understood and practised as a new task of preschool institutions and their educators.

At higher levels, Bouchereau Bauer and Arazi highlight the importance of improving reading comprehension in improving language skills. These include techniques such as previewing (linking words to images), bringing content to life (acting), creation of bilingual dictionaries, guided reading and story retelling. In contrast, restrictive language programmes, where, in this case, non-English speakers in Arizona schools were placed into separate four-hour blocks of English language development, proved highly ineffective. Non-English students who remained in mainstream classrooms consistently outperformed those students who attended the separate four-hour blocks. This highlights the importance of avoiding complete segregation of language learning in helping to integrate migrant children.

**Academic support**

The above discussion implies that the safest bet for NAMS to excel academically in the host country is bilingual education, but there are arrangements that can help even if that option is not available. Immigrant students are more likely than native students to be enrolled in urban schools with high concentrations of students from immigrant and/or less advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds, lower level and vocational programmes rather than academic programmes leading to advanced qualifications. In some countries, the schools they attend provide less favourable environments, which mean that a lot of potential exists to improve their educational integration by improving teaching quality.

NAMS benefit from education that is not just high quality, but also inclusive and responsive to their needs. The initial linguistic and academic assessment upon enrolment is important in establishing NAMS’ educational needs, provided that the language barrier (and cultural bias) does not significantly alter the results of such an assessment.

Project Include-ED suggests some successful practices collected from schools containing children from low socio-economic and minority backgrounds but also demonstrating good academic results in comparison to other schools located in similar contexts. In terms of academic support, schools studied testify about the benefits of heterogeneous ability classrooms instead of ability streaming and segregated remedial groups. Participation in such classrooms increases pupils’ communication and cooperation skills

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162 OECD, “Closing the Gap for Immigrant Students”, p. 35.

163 Ibid., p. 36.


166 Effectiveness of comprehensive schools in raising educational opportunities for migrant students is well-established by research evidence. NESSE, p. 45.
and their motivation. To facilitate the learning of different ability groups at the same time, schools use **additional human resources**: assistant teachers, volunteers or pupils’ family members. Alternatively, classes can be split into smaller, but still heterogeneous groups. Inclusive schools use **cooperative learning**, whereby other students or teaching staff help both students who struggle and successful students learn by explaining to others\(^{167}\). US teachers working with NAMS also emphasise the use of suitable teaching materials and visual aids to make themselves understood despite existing language barrier\(^{168}\).

Meanwhile, other schools may require NAMS to stay in **preparation, induction** or **transition classes** to learn the host language first before transferring them to mainstream education. As seen from the previous section, this puts their grade-level learning “on hold” and makes them lag behind their native peers. In fact, in most countries, measures for migrant students seem to be confined to such supplementary programmes in schools or in support of them (in addition to preschool programmes)\(^{169}\).

Schools studied by Includ-ED also practiced arrangements of **extended learning time** that allowed pupils to get help with homework and receive additional tuition and personalised guidance after classes\(^{170}\). Report prepared by the EU Network of Experts in Social Sciences of Education and training (NESSE) also pointed out that ‘all day’ schools seemed to be better for migrant students, but it judged the research evidence as inconclusive\(^{171}\).

As regards the previous discussion of perceived migrant student underachievement, it is important not to stereotype and presuppose the abilities of NAMS until they are comfortable at school. US teachers working with NAMS say they adjust their standards at the beginning to help students learn\(^{172}\). In Austria, even a special status can be assigned to students so that they are not marked for the first year or two while they learn German, but it is unclear whether such institutionalisation does not add to NAMS’ exclusion. In Include-ED schools, teachers focus on each pupil’s individual strengths and weaknesses in order to help them unlock their full potential and hold **high expectations for all groups of students**\(^{173}\). Ethnographic research confirms that ethnic minority children may feel let down by teachers “who did not push them enough” – South Asian children in a British school studied by Bhatti characterised good teachers as those who could control the class and make all children work\(^{174}\).

As NESSE report states, weak students are more likely to finally succeed if given **repeated chances**\(^{175}\). This emphasises the need for arrangements that would allow offsetting the negative consequences of earlier poor performance and choices made on the basis of it. Systems practicing early ability tracking hardly allow ‘upgrading’ to an upper track once allocation is done, although ‘downgrading’ is possible. Second chance education opportunities can benefit migrant students greatly, as they are usually overrepresented among early school leavers.

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\(^{167}\) Includ-ED, p. 11-15.

\(^{168}\) Adams and Shambleau, p. 94.


\(^{170}\) Include-ED., p. 16.

\(^{171}\) NESSE, p. 45-46.

\(^{172}\) Adams and Shambleau, p. 94.

\(^{173}\) Includ-ED, p. 17-19.

\(^{174}\) Bhatti, p. 158, 141

\(^{175}\) NESSE, p. 50.
Parental involvement

Support to parents has been deliberated in various areas of public policy since the 1980s. It is now understood to be one of the educational success factors. In the case of migrant students, parents who lack proficiency/literacy in the host language are not able to get actively involved in their children’s school’s life and help their children in their education. Therefore, comprehensive programmes (e.g. Head Start mentioned earlier) involve migrant children’s parents as well so as to help decrease their exclusion.

However, if the idea of parental involvement is perceived too narrowly, this can act to further marginalise migrant children and their parents. In a study of immigrant families and parental involvement in Cyprus, Theodoru found that educators narrowly defined parental involvement as active participation at school events, and judged parents based on this criterion while discounting factors such as at-home care. This narrow conceptualisation of the term can thus act to further cast perceptions on migrant families and further alienate them.

Further work looked at the dimension of diversity training and acceptance in Hong Kong secondary school teachers, and found that most lacked the requisite sensitivity to diversity in dealing with diverse classes.

However, schools can take actions themselves to involve migrant parents. Strong links with the diverse local community benefits schools as well as they understand the pupils’ background, potential assets and challenges better. Encouraging migrant parents to have their say helps school to improve and innovate, also in their intercultural policies. Providing information to parents about the host education system in their heritage language (e.g. through bilingual assistants or interpreters), active involvement of parents in Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs), as well as offering them host language courses or other opportunities of community education are examples of possible measures.

Arrangements can be small, one-off events – for instance, US teachers sometimes practice inviting NAMS’ parents to talk about their country in the classroom, which can be informative for the students and confidence-boosting for the family. They may be simple sensitive adjustments – such as setting a time for parents’ meetings at a suitable time. In other cases, diverse schools may be ready to routinely communicate with parents in several languages: e.g. Maki Shibuya reports of a diverse Japanese primary school that holds each parent-teacher meeting three times, each time using a different language of the schools ethnic groups. Other schools use the services of cultural mediators or interpreters on request, to communicate with a NAMS’ family individually so that parents not fluent in the host language would not need to rely on their children for translation.

Intercultural education and a friendly learning environment

Many improvements to running of schools and the teaching process itself have been suggested in intercultural education: teacher recruitment from people with a migrant background, teacher training in diversity, curriculum redevelopment, review of teaching materials, school policies sensitive to religious holidays and dress etc, engagement with

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181 Adams and Shambleau, p. 93.
182 Shibuya, p. 117.
organisations representing the migrants etc. The challenge, however, is to keep a holistic, integrated approach as intercultural education practices must be consistent with each other.

As James Lynch wrote when the multicultural education debate had recently started in the UK, "that what happens in the classroom is influenced by what happens outside". Teachers and other school staff cannot be "intercultural" in their teaching, but "monocultural" in their other dealings with pupils and their families. Moreover, schools in most cases are not entirely free to change the curriculum or recruit teachers, so the implementation of an intercultural approach needs to start at the policy level.

Intercultural education cannot be presented as something that only concerns the "minorities" – that would mean falling back on the progressive approach. Measures targeting migrant children specifically may further entrench their 'difference' and perpetuate exclusion. Soon-Won Kang describes an example from South Korea where programmes for the children of multicultural families are offered, but they take place after school and Korean pupils do not participate, while pupils from mixed families are obliged to attend. Children from mixed families thus feel stigmatised and they do not like the programmes offered.

Teachers in the schools studied by Includ-ED included multicultural perspectives in their courses (both in core subjects and special programmes in arts, theatre and technology), in an attempt to acknowledge all cultures present in the classroom. Schools also aimed to hire teaching and administrative staff so as to reflect the cultural diversity of the school. Employing a greater number of teachers who have a migrant background helps to decrease the cultural distance between migrants and the school and connecting the school to the migrant children's families and the wider community. Migrant students wish to have role models they can identify with among teachers or former students. A study on the achievements of Bangladeshi heritage pupils in the United Kingdom concluded that pupils and parents appreciated schools' knowledge of Bangladeshi culture and religion – it helped them to feel involved in the life of the school. Such awareness can be demonstrated by modifications of the curriculum, sensitivity to religious dietary requirements or dress codes, flexible arrangements to accommodate important religious holidays etc.

One of the possible curriculum modifications is introduction of mother tongue teaching (community language teaching or CLT). It helps to offset the trend of monolingual host country schooling towards assimilation and acknowledges the skills that NAMS have upon arrival to the host country. However, CLT enjoys less support than the adjustment

183 James Lynch, The Multicultural Curriculum. London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd, 1983, p. 35-36. However, even adjustments of the curriculum may be piecemeal – e.g. in the US, when the schools, colleges and universities started receiving funding for curriculum development on the basis of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act of 1965, the new "material about racial and ethnic groups was often simply appended to the existing curricula, rather than changing its underlying perspectives and assumptions [...] and avoided any direct challenges to the status quo". Patricia Ramsey and Leslie R. Williams with Edwina Battle Vold, Multicultural Education: A Source Book. NY, London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003, p. 13.

184 NESSE, p. 47.

185 Soon-Won Kang, "Multicultural education and the rights to education of migrant children in South Korea".

186 Includ-ED, 'Effective educational practices at the secondary educational level – Monograph'. Project 2: European effective educational practices: how is education contributing to overcome or reproduce social exclusion?. Available at: http://www.ub.edu/includ-ed/docs/monographs/Secondary_mono.pdf [Accessed 4 February 2011].

187 NESSE, p. 47.


189 Bhatti, p. 159.

to teach the host country language as a second language\textsuperscript{191}. Then there is also hierarchy of community languages due to numbers of speakers and different statuses of certain languages and their variations in the countries of origin (e.g. Arabic vs. Kabyle spoken by the Berber population of Algeria and Morocco)\textsuperscript{192}. Finally, questions of teaching quality and migrant student motivations arise as well: in France where teaching of the languages of origin are provided by the embassies of relevant countries, those voluntary courses are not popular among students with a migrant background\textsuperscript{193}.

Access to \textit{culturally-sensitive counsellors} or \textit{bilingual cultural mediators} can be useful to make NAMS feel comfortable at school and show them that they are not the only ones who may be struggling with the change. However, some steps can be taken without substantial resources available to provide professional services. For example, \textit{self-help groups} where NAMS can share their experiences with other NAMS help to increase their motivation to learn\textsuperscript{194}. US teachers suggest a \textit{buddy scheme} for NAMS\textsuperscript{195} to pair them up with students more familiar with the school who can facilitate their socialisation.

As migrant children’s two closest connections at school will be teachers and peer groups, they factor significantly into integration and school performance. In terms of teacher training and relations, the OECD developed a comprehensive report entitled \textit{Educating Teachers for Diversity: Meeting the Challenge}. It highlights the need for increased diversity in teachers, and the need for diversity training for these teachers. The report reflects on the various ideas of diversity, the continuing disparities between first- and second-generation migrants and the changing role of teachers in improving the chances of migrant children. More specifically, it looks at the recruitment of appropriate teachers and continued training of teachers in education.\textsuperscript{196}

This feeds into other literature addressing diversity education for teachers. Research in 2009 looked at teacher training in early childhood education in the United States. By examining 416 Bachelor’s degree programmes in the States for diversity content, the researchers found that teachers were more likely to receive some form of diversity training if they were taught by non-white professors, studied in diverse urban areas and were involved with nationally accredited programmes.\textsuperscript{197}

In addition to comfort with teachers, students must feel comfortable with their own identity and environment within the school system. In terms of environment, migrant children must interact with other children from a variety of backgrounds, and place this experience within their own identity and context. Various studies have looked at friendship and ‘playground’ identity for children of ethnic backgrounds. A study of Belgian schools found that integration within schools proved beneficial from a social context. The researchers studied friendship and social interaction in Flemish schools, which made conscious attempts to avoid segregation and advance social integration. They found that native students tended to develop interethnic friendships in cases where a high proportion of students were of varying ethnicities, while this did not matter to migrant children. In contrast, migrant children were more likely to develop friendships along socio-economic bounds. Therefore, this study finds that mixing schools did have a positive effect on encouraging multi-ethnic friendships among native students.\textsuperscript{198}

\textsuperscript{191} Extra and Yağmur, p. 157.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., p. 158; Penn and Lambert, p. 58, 60.
\textsuperscript{193} Penn and Lambert, p. 58.
\textsuperscript{194} Williams and Butler, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{195} Adams and Shambleau, p. 93.
\textsuperscript{196} OECD, \textit{Educating Teachers for Diversity: Meeting the Challenge}. 2010.
\textsuperscript{198} Van Houtte Houtte and Peter A. J. Stevens, ”School Ethnic Composition and Students’ Integration Outside and Inside Schools in Belgium,” \textit{Sociology of Education}, Vol. 82 (July), 2009, pp. 217-239.
A wider-sweeping look at Irish schools examined the accumulation of social capital in school by migrant children. This approach looks at power relationships and how they mediate social relations through negotiation and social positioning, which in turn can lead to greater integration. This social capital was built not only through friendship interactions, but also through school performance. There was often strong effort on migrant children’s parts to integrate and build social capital, drawing on their own school capital, their parents’ capital, and also acting as generators of social capital, by developing networks for siblings and their parents. As positive as this is, it should not be seen as removing the necessity to tailor educational policy to provide support for migrant children.199

In terms of identity, children have their own perceptions on immigration, race and ethnicity. Primary-level immigrant children in England and France were asked their opinions on their cultural and language ‘differences’, and it was found that the classroom context had an influence on how they viewed themselves. In France, where private linguistic differences were completely separated from school French-language interaction, students could not reconcile their language with their identity as students. In England, the blurring of the personal and private boundaries allowed migrant children to more closely identify any linguistic difference with their school identity. However, there was notable estrangement from their native language in both country contexts.200

On the other hand, an Italian study looked at the perceptions of Italians as well, and it was found that children operate in a dichotomising manner, identifying only ‘Italians’ or ‘foreigners’ in perceptions of others, and ignoring more subtle differences such as second-generation migrants, and being unaware or misinformed about cultural difference. Despite this, children also appear unaware of racial inequalities or differences. This points out that children are often not sufficiently taught about cultural and ethnic differences, in an inclusive way that allows children to be involved in the learning process. There should develop a ‘critical multiculturalism’ that looks at racial and ethnic issues not only at a school level, but also as part of a wider social discourse.201

Research highlights some important ways of addressing feelings of ‘difference’ in migrant students. Promoting critical dialogue during exchanges between teachers and students is seen as vital in allowing students to learn and develop their own identity. One study looks at a bilingual/bicultural programme in Denmark involving ethnic Kurdish students. Critical dialogue requires moving from the experiential, literal, personal and critical phases in order to understand issues. This research found that macro-societal factors played into the development of a safe atmosphere for critical dialogue in Danish schools, but migrant children (in this case, Kurds) were unable to fully move past experiential or literal phases to engage in critical dialogue about issues, as there was still some disconnect between ‘Kurdish’ and ‘Danish’ experiences of issues.202 Other work highlights the importance of allowing migrant students to develop narratives about their experience

and time in school, and again highlights the importance of teaching staff in aiding students to develop this narrative.\footnote{Halit Halusi and Louise Oland, “Using narrative to make sense of transitions: supporting newly arrived children and young people,” in \textit{Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties}, Vol. 15, No. 4, 2010, pp. 241-251.}

The Table 1 below summarizes policy measures attached to each thematic support area profoundly discussed above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEMATIC AREAS</th>
<th>POLICY MEASURES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Linguistic support</strong></td>
<td>- Assessment of the host language knowledge level</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Intensive teaching of the language of instruction (integrated and separate models)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Transitional classes</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Language training after school</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Early (pre-school) language learning</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Training teachers to teach the host language as a second language</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Academic support</strong></td>
<td>- Determining the adequate level of schooling</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Reception measures</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Induction programmes</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Bilingual education</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Addressing the learning needs in specific areas of the curriculum</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Targeted support in the form of quotas, scholarships and grants to migrants and schools</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Bridging schools</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Mentors, tutors, bilingual teaching assistants</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Help with homework; after-school facilities (e.g. day centres)</td>
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<td><strong>Parental involvement</strong></td>
<td>- Sensitively understanding the idea of ‘involvement’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Publications on the school system in the mother tongue of immigrants</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Providing adequate information through various communication channels</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Use of interpreters</td>
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<td>- Staff responsible for the reception and orientation of immigrant pupils</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Assisting immigrant families to make an informed decision on school choice</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Intercultural education and friendly learning environment</strong></td>
<td>- Teacher training for diversity</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Training of staff to support immigrant pupils – language teachers, tutors, teachers of the host country’s language as a foreign language</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Employing teachers from migrant background</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Integrating cultural diversity in the curriculum</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Teaching the heritage language</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Elaboration of didactic instruments and materials to improve intercultural education</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Mentors from immigrant backgrounds</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Arrangements to celebrate non-Christian holidays</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Culturally sensitive dress codes</td>
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Source: PPMI (based on literature review).

The community school approach, outlined in a US context in an article by Martin, Fergus and Noguera, attempts a holistic approach to addressing at least some of these issues. This approach looks at the cognitive, emotional, social, physical and moral development of students, by forming connections within the community (e.g. to NGOs). The ‘whole child’ approach used in community schools helps to address many of the needs of migrant children. The school studied in the article had a 95% minority population and offered services to meet the four pillars outlined above. In terms of linguistic support, the school offered programmes that supported both English proficiency and the language acquisition in academic areas. Extensive professional support was offered to teachers, including training for language and literacy instruction as well as integration. Parental support was high for these programmes, and in addition opportunities for adult learning were offered, particularly in ESL. Given this array of programmes, the school consistently raised the achievement levels of under-performing students at much higher
than average levels. This helps to show that an approach that tackles all four pillars can greatly improve the performance of migrant children.204

1.6. Evaluation of the existing literature

This chapter has tried to reflect on the considerable tradition of migrant education and intercultural education research dating back to the 1970s. However, analysis in those fields has recently mostly focused on second-generation migrant students who currently make up a significant part of the student body in European urban centres otherwise affected by ageing.

Despite the “ethnic minority underachievement” debate going on in education studies, children were only recently “discovered” in migration research. In fact, migrant education studies were not so much about migration as about integration processes. Thus initially, the aim of the educational integration efforts was understood as making the migrants/minorities to ‘blend in’, becoming like the native population. To this end, various progressive strategies entrencing divisions were tried, until bilingualism and being bicultural were recognised as personal and group assets, with cultural diversity making way into national imaginings. Even so, migrant education research still exhibits some of the ‘deficit’ vocabulary when speaking about skills, opportunities, achievements or integration that migrant students are said to lack and actual educational support policies are resistant to major changes that the adoption of a transformative approach would imply.

NAMS are included in some of the large scale survey samples (PISA, Thomas and Collier’s), but sometimes the generations are not even specified. As will be visible from the forthcoming discussion of European policies, migrant students are often understood in the sense of “students with a migrant background”. On their own, NAMS receive little attention as a separate group. Although they do share some characteristics with second-generation migrants and may encounter some of the same challenges in terms of their schooling, overall findings cannot always be extrapolated to explain their situation.

Research that focuses on NAMS specifically more usually comes from the US rather than European countries. In Europe, NAMS are more likely to be the object of policy research and policy documents than academic study. And while (second-generation) migrant students’ integration has been at the centre of various studies, research reviews, surveys, ethnographic research, policy documents, debates and good practice collections, research on NAMS specifically seems to be grappling with the main and most immediate question, namely, how to deal with them in the classroom (e.g. Adams and Kirova). There seems to be a certain mismatch between the macro- and micro-level, probably as NAMS is not yet well-established as a policy and analytical concept.

Cross-country comparisons in education have long been impossible due to lack of comparable data. With the arrival of PISA, PIRLS and TIMSS, quantitative comparisons are now at the centre of policy debates. On the other hand, features of education systems that help or hinder migrant student success have been also studied extensively and consensus has been emerging on the overall framework designs. However, these designs may remain rather theoretical in their entirety due to path-dependency in education policies conditioned by different education system traditions, migration history, ethnic composition of the migrant body, and prevailing discourses attached to all those elements (e.g. when equity in education is superseded by other priorities). For

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instance, research has established that prolonged, comprehensive education works better for vulnerable groups, yet certain countries continue to practice ability tracking.

**Geographical coverage** of migrant education analysis has been uneven. Countries of the OECD have received most of attention in migrant education research as they are covered by PISA. Other projects, such as EDUMIGROM extended the focus beyond the usual Western European immigration countries. However, for instance, arrangements existing in South European states are still not so well studied.

Despite abundant testimonies about various practices applied in migrant education and taken as good practices, **rigorous evaluations of specific measures** in terms of their effectiveness (e.g. to the extent this has been studied for such long-running programmes as *Head Start* in the US) are hard to come by in Europe – perhaps due to lack of such stable programmes.

These relatively less-researched aspects provide an opportunity for the current study to offer an analysis of added value. Observations noted above have guided the research design so as to conduct an in-depth cross-country analysis that connects the policy and implementation levels down to the classroom, openly engages with the question of effectiveness and takes into account the EU policy context.
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