Policy Implications of Research in Education 9

Louis Volante · Don Klinger · Ozge Bilgili
Editors

Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy

Cross-Cultural Approaches

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Policy Implications of Research in Education

Volume 9

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Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy

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To the millions of immigrants and refugees who cross international borders in the hopes of securing peace and prosperity for their families every year.

Foreword

As an expert in migration studies for over a decade, I have had the pleasure of meeting many distinguished scholars and reading and reviewing several books in this field. My roles within academia as professor of migration studies at Maastricht University and professor and head of migration studies at the United Nations University – Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology (UNU-MERIT) have allowed me to get to know many distinguished colleagues, including Ozge Bilgili and Louis Volante. They are two of the editors of this book whom I have had the pleasure of working with and whose careers I have followed. They are not only delightful but are also the most passionate people I have met with regard to understanding immigrant integration and educational attainment. I cannot think of people other than Louis Volante, Ozge Bilgili and Don Klinger to put this book together. Louis Volante is an expert in educational policy with a particular interest in immigrant integration and student outcomes. Ozge Bilgili is an up-and-coming star scholar with particular expertise in immigrant integration. She has a bright future ahead of her. Don Klinger is one of Canada's leading scholars regarding assessment practices, policies and student achievement.

Education is undoubtedly one of the most important issues for a healthy, well-functioning society. Making sure that all children have access to education, no matter what their background is, and supporting them to achieve their full potential in school are vital for ensuring their future. The main purpose of this book is to provide a better understanding of the relationships between immigrant student achievement and educational policies across a range of educational and cultural contexts. It also gives an excellent overview of national profiles of immigrant student achievement of various countries across three continents. Understanding immigrant student achievement in ten countries (England, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Finland, the Netherlands, the Republic of Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand) and having the opportunity to compare them are timely and conscientious. This book also provides policy advice on cross-cultural approaches to mitigating the immigrant student performance disadvantage. As a

result, it is particularly helpful for policymakers but can also be well suited as a teaching tool for illustrating cross-country differences in the migration and education research field in a comprehensive and original manner.

This book draws on the multi-faceted expertise of Louis Volante, Ozge Bilgili and Don Klinger and is both informative and policy oriented. Considering the manifold purposes of this book with regard to understanding the degree to which immigrant students are integrated into the education systems in their countries of residence, whether their comparative achievement with their native peers in schools necessitates intervention, and how the countries with diverse immigrant populations handle challenges related to immigrant student achievement in their education policy, it is particularly societally relevant.

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About the Editors and Contributors

Editors

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Part I
Introduction

Chapter 1
Immigrant Student Achievement and the Performance Disadvantage

Ozge Bilgili, Louis Volante, and Don Klinger

Introduction

Minors' migration is not a new phenomenon but the increasing share of children within the current migration flows induced mainly by conflict (International Organization for Migration, 2015) has led to the revival of discussions regarding the integration of foreign-born children in their new homes. Considering the likelihood of these young immigrants to settle permanently in destination countries, it is indispensable to revisit the various policy perspectives on their educational achievement and long-term sociocultural integration. Before going forward with the discussions on education policies though, we need to identify the size and characteristics of this diverse and growing population across the world. To be precise, we are interested in first-generation immigrants who are foreign-born students whose parents were also born in a country different than the country of residence, and second-generation immigrants who are born in the country of residence but whose at least one parent is foreign born. In our work, children with a migration background encompass also refugee and unaccompanied children as they are also entitled to educational rights in their country of residence.

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Table 1.1 International migrant stock as percentage of the total population (both sexes)

	Age categories			
Developed regions as area of destination	0–4	5–9	10–14	15–19
1990	1.6	3.0	4.4	5.7
1995	1.7	3.0	4.5	6.1
2000	2.1	3.4	4.8	6.6
2005	2.2	4.2	5.6	7.4
2010	2.2	4.3	6.0	8.0
2015	2.4	4.1	5.9	8.4

According to the United Nation's Population Division's estimates, over the years there has been an observable increase in the share of immigrant children as a percentage of the total population in developed regions of the world as the area of destination (UNPD, 2015). As Table 1.1 illustrates, the share of children aged 0–4 has increased from 1.6% in 1990 to 2.4% in 2015; children aged 5–9 has decreased slightly in 2015 compared to 2010 but remains above 4%; children aged 10–16 has increased from 4.4% to about 6% as of 2010; and finally children aged 15–19 have witnessed a significant increase within the past 25 years and reached 8.4% of the total population. In actual numbers, the total number of children as immigrant stock in developed regions of the world has been about 14 million in 2015, compared to less than 12 million in 1990. It is important to note that in comparison, the total number of non-adult immigrants is significantly higher in developing regions of the world (more than 23 million in 2015); however, in this book we focus primarily on destination countries in the Global North.

In addition to this brief overview that highlights the increase in the number of immigrant children who arrive to their new settlement countries as dependents with their families for various reasons, refugee children compose an equally important part of all immigrant children. In fact with the increase in the number of refugees in the past years, refugee children have also received increased attention. Currently, there are 21.3 million refugees, who were forced to flee from their homes because of wars, political conflicts, and violence (Edwards, 2016). More than half of these refugees (51%) are under 18 years old. Refugee children can be more vulnerable than other types of immigrants as their educational lives have been disrupted by the conflicts they have witnessed in their home country and also during the process of movement and settlement.

Another important issue among immigrant children is those who migrate alone, namely children asylum seekers applying for international protection. The number of unaccompanied minors has been on the rise since 2008, with an outstandingly sharp increase in 2014 when the number of unaccompanied children was greater than 23,000 in comparison with the steady numbers between 11,000 and 13,000 over the period 2008–2013 (Eurostat, 2016). Even more strikingly, in 2015 their numbers

reached almost 90,000 in the Member States of the European Union (EU; Eurostat, 2016).

Looking at the numbers of school aged immigrant children, we observe that they are a heterogeneous group with diverse backgrounds, legal status, and rights. It is also important to note that the share of immigrant children is very diverse across countries. While some countries like the traditional immigration countries (United States, Canada, Australia) have experienced immigration for decades, others are new immigration countries (Estonia, Italy, Portugal). For example, in countries like Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, immigrant children make up about 10–14% of all students, compared to 5% in Italy (UNPD, 2015). Ireland and Spain have also become major destination countries in the past years and today about 8.5% of all students are first-generation immigrants (UNPD, 2015). In relatively old immigration countries shaped mainly by labor migration, the share of second-generation immigrants is higher. For example, in Switzerland 21% of 15-year-old students are second-generation and this share rises up to almost 30% in Luxembourg (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2016). In fact, first- and second-generation immigrants in some major cities in Northern Europe now make up the majority of all pupils (Huddleston, Bilgili, Joki, & Vankova, 2015).

As exemplified, the share of first- and second-generation immigrant children shows great variance across countries. Moreover, the ways in which international migration is managed within countries has an effect on immigrant population composition. Put simply, whereas some countries tend to attract highly skilled immigrants through a point-system, others are more open to humanitarian and low-skilled migration flows. These flows have significant effect on the composition of school-aged immigrant groups and the share between first- and second-generation immigrant children. This book is an attempt to illustrate these differences among immigration countries and give a more in-depth understanding of the composition of immigrant children populations which lead to different needs and create various types of challenges and consequently solutions.

Immigrant Students' Education as a Factor and Indicator of Integration

Immigrant students' education can be viewed as a factor and indicator of integration. That is to say, on the one hand education is the path towards a better economic and social life in the future (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003; McCarthy & Vickers, 2012). Children who do well in school are more likely to improve their skills, attain better jobs, access a wider and more diverse network, and engage more actively in civic life. In this regard, education is a facilitator of integration in the wider society in the long run. On the other hand, educational achievement is an indicator of integration

Table 1.2 Measurements of educational outcomes

Schooling	Achievement	Educational objectives
Enrollment in pre-primary education	Grades	Educational attainment aspirations
Enrollment in primary education	National exam scores	Moral and civic development
Enrollment in secondary education	International assessment scores (e.g. PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS)	Artistic development
Enrollment in tertiary education		Physical development
Enrollment in higher education		
Grade repetition		
Drop-out rate		
Highest level of educational attainment		

for its own sake. Researchers assume that children who do well in school and pursue higher education are better integrated. Considering that school is the main public space where children socialize, interact with their peers, and get exposed to structures and social rules, it is understandable why educational achievement can be considered as an indicator of integration.

If students' achievement is so crucial in so many ways, the question is how to best measure educational outcomes. It would be too simplistic to answer this question with one answer only. On the contrary, measurement of educational achievement is a multi-dimensional notion and each dimension can reflect different aspects of students' success in school. There are multiple ways of measuring educational outcomes of immigrant students (see Table 1.2). Depending on the research question or the policy dimension we are interested in, the outcomes we focus on would differ. The initial step of identifying immigrant students' educational outcome relates to their enrolment to pre-primary, primary, secondary, and higher education. This first step about access is illustrative of the equal chances that immigrant children have in comparison to their native peers. Educational attainment related questions can be posed only for those who are attending school. Within the school system, researchers focus on issues that relate to school attendance and attainment – namely, drop-out rates, grade repetition rate, and highest level of education that students achieve are the main indicators of educational outcomes.

Besides these indicators regarding schooling, the focus is also on the cognitive abilities, skills, and literacy in different subjects for those who are already enrolled in school. To assess these outcomes, researchers turn towards grades or results in national exams. Moreover, besides measurements that are available on a national level, international standardized tests are becoming more and more popular resources to assess children's achievement. International achievement test scores are frequently cited as a key measure of school outcomes, and as a result, can provide useful information on how well non-immigrant and immigrant populations are

achieving relative to their national and international counterparts. Popular international achievement tests include the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), Progress in International Reading and Literacy Study (PIRLS), and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Among these examples, PISA, which is administered by the OECD, has become almost the standard evaluation upon which countries judge the relative success of their educational systems, also in relation to the performance of their immigrant population (Baird et al., 2011; Volante, 2016). PISA has even been likened to the "Olympics of education" in the popular media (see Petrelli & Winkler, 2008; Scardino, 2008) and continues to attract considerable attention around the world.

When thinking of different ways of measuring educational achievement, one also needs to revisit the objectives of education. What are the other types of skills that education is supposed to deliver? It is much more difficult to have objective assessment of these issues, but this does not undermine their importance. Some researchers for example focus on immigrant children's educational aspirations to have a better understanding of subjectivity in this domain (Khattab 2015; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2010). Others, especially those who are critical about the emphasis placed on hard skills by the international assessment tools, highlight the less measurable or even immeasurable educational objectives like physical, moral, civic, and artistic development (Volante, Klinger, Bilgili, & Siegel, 2017). The majority of existing research on educational achievement is biased in favor of the economic role of schools instead of indicators that allow researchers to assess the extent to which students are prepared to participate in democratic self-government, moral action, and a life of personal development, growth, and well-being.

Performance Disadvantage Among Students with a Migration Background

Despite the multiple possibilities of measuring educational outcomes, the data sources that allow for international comparisons are relatively limited. In this section, we give two recent overviews based on European Labour Force Survey 2015 and PISA 2015 studies to illustrate the generally observed performance disadvantage among individuals with a migration background. First of all, performance disadvantage among individuals with a migration background is demonstrated by the highest level of educational attainment. For this claim, we rely on the European Labour Force Survey 2015 which illustrates that foreign-born population has consistently lower educational attainment than native-born population. As shown in Fig. 1.1, more than 30% of foreign-born population aged 25–54 in EU-28 countries have pre-primary, primary, or lower secondary education, compared to just about 20% in the native population. The figure also shows that the majority of the foreign population with a maximum of lower secondary education is third-country nationals. About half of the native-born population European member states have

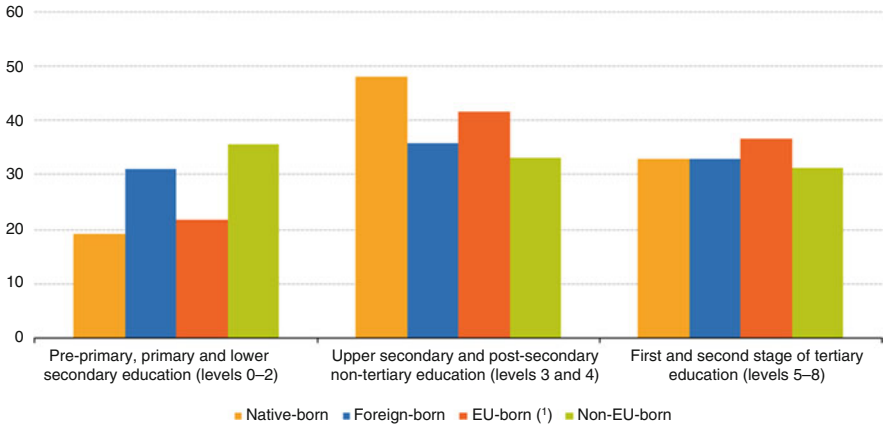


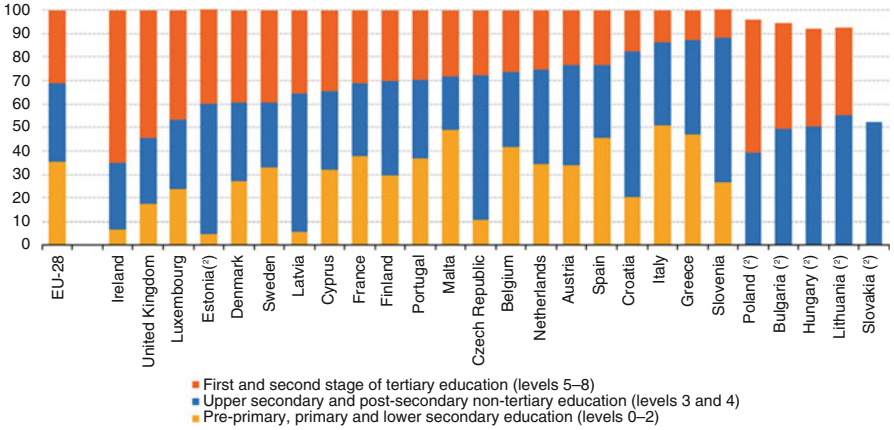
Fig. 1.1 Population (aged 25–54) by educational attainment level and groups of country of birth, EU-28, 2015 (Source: Eurostat 2015b)

upper secondary and postsecondary non-tertiary education compared to about 35% of the foreign-born population. Among this group, the share of other EU country born individuals is above average, and surpasses 40% compared to non-EU born individuals.

When we look at highest educational attainment within the most highly educated population, we observe that the differences vanish to a large extent. In fact, the share of those with first and second stage of tertiary education is almost the same among the native-born and foreign-born individuals. These results indicate that the biggest gap is observed within the low-educated population as the foreign-born population; especially third-country nationals are concentrated in lower levels of education compared to their native-born and other EU country born nationals.

The specific country profiles in the book analyze these statistics in greater detail to give a better meaning to these performance gaps. To set the basis for this discussion, Fig. 1.2 also illustrates the cross-country variation with regards to highest educational attainment among the foreign-born population. For example, new countries of immigration like Italy and Greece have a large foreign-born population with pre-primary, primary, and lower secondary education, whereas countries like the United Kingdom and Luxembourg – countries with larger EU-born immigrants – have significantly more highly skilled immigrants with at least first and second stage of tertiary education. Such variations are crucial for having a broad understanding of the challenges that countries may face when dealing with the educational outcomes of their immigrant population.

In addition to highest level of educational attainment, as discussed earlier subject-related performance results (e.g. math, science, and reading) are indicative of school-aged children's educational outcomes. In fact these results are more important to



Note: ranked on decreasing share of 'First and second stage of tertiary education (levels 5–8)' attainment level.
(1)Germany: data not available; Romania: low reliability or confidential.
(2)Low reliability for data on pre-primary, primary and/or lower secondary education.

Fig. 1.2 Educational attainment level of non-EU-born population (aged 25–54), 2015 (Source: Eurostat 2015a)

understand where the difficulties are and on what issues policies should focus more precisely. To give a cross-country example regarding educational performance of children with a migration background, we turn to the newest data available by PISA 2015 regarding science literacy among 15-year-old children. Since its first implementation in 2000, PISA results have regularly shown that in most countries, both first- and second-generation immigrant students tend to perform worse than students without an immigrant background.

When controlling for socioeconomic background of parents, these differences diminish to a large extent, and in some countries like Canada the differences are even reversed and immigrant children perform better than their native peers (OECD, 2016). However, in a majority of the cases immigrant children still perform worse than their native peers. These differences seem to be particularly large when we look at Denmark, Germany, and Sweden.

Because student achievement is highly correlated with the different resources and circumstances related to both the families and immigrant communities, the performance gap is best understood when we compare students with a migration background and their native peers with a similar socioeconomic background. In most countries the performance difference between students with a migration background and their native peers remains significant even after controlling for socioeconomic status (SES) (OECD, 2016). These differences disappear after accounting for SES only in a few countries, including Israel, Singapore, and the United States. Such results indicate that in most cases, socioeconomic disadvantage cannot fully account for immigrant students' poorer performance and we need to consider the role of the

social and education policies, attitudes towards immigrants, and the education systems in destination countries to better understand the student achievement gap.

Performance Disadvantage Across Various Educational Systems and Policy Contexts

When discussing immigrant students' integration, the educational achievement gap between foreign-born and non-immigrant students within and across various countries has been widely studied (Schnepf, 2007). Various factors such as SES, gender, and country of origin are frequently examined (see Acosta & Hsein-Yuan, 2014; Areepattamannil & Berinderjeet, 2013; Cummins, 2012; Dronkers & Kornder, 2014, 2015; Hachfeld, Anders, Schroeder, Stanat, & Kunter, 2010; Jungbauer-Gas & Gross, 2011; Marx & Stanat, 2012; Murat & Frederic, 2015; OECD, 2013a; Shapira, 2012; Simms, 2012). Research has generally shown that most variation on educational performance occurs at the individual level (Dronkers & de Heus, 2013) but educational systems have an additional and differential effect on immigrant groups (Dronkers, Van Der Velden, & Dunne, 2012). Governments are seeking to develop and implement the most effective policies to successfully manage diversity and integrate immigrant students so they can contribute to the economic prosperity and social fabric of their society. However, while policies can often help narrow the achievement gap, they may also have unintended consequences and in some cases increase the achievement gap it if they are not designed or implemented properly.

Research supports the previous claim, as evidenced by the variety of outcomes that result from various integration policies around the world (Driessen & Merry, 2011; Lahaie, 2008; Makarova & Herzog, 2011; Marschall, Shah, & Donato, 2012; Shpaizman & Kogut, 2010; Veerman, 2015). It is clear that some countries have done a better job of facilitating a "smoother" transition for immigrants, which is reflected in their enhanced student achievement (Bilgili, Huddleston, & Joki, 2015; OECD, 2013b; Schleicher, 2006). The *Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015* (MIPEX 2015) assesses countries' supportiveness and openness by focusing on four policy dimensions (Huddleston et al., 2015). The first dimension refers to access to education of all children including undocumented children, the extent to which immigrant students' prior educational background is professionally assessed, and whether children receive additional support to access education. The second dimension refers to identifying the targeted needs of immigrant students, their teachers, and parents in a holistic manner. The third dimension is about seizing opportunities and skills that immigrant students bring to the classroom and supporting knowledge exchange on immigrant languages and cultures. The final dimension focuses on intercultural education and countries' commitment to appreciation of cultural diversity and monitoring of curriculum to ensure that all children learn how to live and learn together in a diverse society. MIPEX 2015 results indicate that most education systems are slow in responding to the specific needs

of immigrant students and fail to adequately respond to changes in immigrant student populations in schools.

There are still big steps to take in order to improve immigrant students' achievement and existing research gives us some indication in terms of what qualities are important to support immigrant students (Bilgili et al., 2015). Besides the few examples we give in this introduction, each national country profile will discuss countries' respective success and failure stories to contribute to the debate on what policies matter the most for immigrant student achievement. The quality of the general education system matters significantly for immigrant students. For example, educational attainment is higher in countries with a lower student–teacher ratio in primary education, higher government expenditure on education, and more years of compulsory education. Immigrant students often face double disadvantage and have to overcome both social and cultural barriers. Their parents often possess fewer social and economic resources and weaker proficiency in the language of instruction. Because of these reasons, their educational achievement is especially dependent on the quality of teaching. A shortage of qualified teachers and staff significantly diminishes immigrant students' opportunities to use the education system as a means of social mobility.

The level of early tracking in school systems is also found to be relevant in some contexts. In differentiated school systems, students are placed in specific school types based on their abilities at a relatively young age. More comprehensive school systems delay this age of tracking and offer more comprehensive school types. Most studies suggest that a high level of differentiation in the school system has a negative effect on the educational achievement of pupils, especially with an immigrant background and low-educated parents. Surprisingly though, a few empirical studies find that this argument does not always hold. A moderate level of differentiation in the school system can have the most positive outcome on immigrant students' academic abilities, while immigrant students may not actually benefit from less differentiated school systems (See Bilgili et al., 2015).

The school's "social background" also affects the learning climate and peer-group influences on immigrant students' education. Immigrant students tend to perform worse in schools where most pupils come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Previous studies have shown that in schools where there is a higher share of immigrants and parents with lower educational attainment, the math and reading literacy of children in general are significantly lower. In short it can be concluded that socioeconomic school segregation has a significant negative effect on the scholastic achievement of children. Despite the conclusions drawn from existing studies, it is crucial to indicate that experimentation and robust evaluations are usually missing in relation to immigrant education. This makes it difficult to make a systematic link between targeted education policies and immigrant students' educational outcomes. It only is possible to assess the impact of policies on school success through robust evaluations and long-term monitoring. The national profiles in this book will also discuss the state of the art in their country context and highlight the most important steps that need to be taken to better make the link between educational outcomes and policies. The contributing authors will also point to gaps

in the existing literature that may have precluded more fine-grained analyses that are necessary when contemplating diverse policy options for immigrant student groups.

Organization of This Book

The chief objective of the book is to promote greater understanding of the relationship between immigrant student achievement and educational policies across a range of educational and cultural contexts. Collectively, this edited volume provides the reader with a diverse cross-section of nations and policy approaches to addressing the performance disadvantage. This book provides national profiles from scholars in ten countries (England, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Finland, Netherlands, Republic of Ireland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). The educational jurisdictions represented in this edited volume were selected because they represent a range of Western nations engaged in large-scale reform efforts geared at enhancing their immigrant students' achievement.

Each national profile provides a brief overview of the evolution of the cultural composition of the countries' respective school-aged student population; explains the trajectory of achievement results of non-immigrant and immigrant student groups in relation to both national and international large-scale assessment measures; and discusses the effectiveness of policy responses that have been adopted to close the achievement gap between non-immigrant and immigrant student populations. The conclusion provides an analysis of cross-cultural approaches designed to address the performance disadvantage of immigrant students and proposes future areas of inquiry stemming from the profiles. The cross-cultural analyses attempt to isolate education policies that have been more or less effective in improving the achievement of immigrant student groups. Future areas of inquiry stemming from the limitations of the available literature are also discussed.

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Part II
National Profiles

Chapter 2
Immigrant Student Achievement and Educational Policy in England

John Jerrim

Introduction

England has a long-running census, which helps us to understand the stock of the foreign-born population living in this country, stretching back for more than 150 years. Between 1850 and 1950, migration into England was relatively low, with less than 2% of all residents classed as "foreign born".[1] However, the establishment of the British Nationality Act after the Second World War allowed individuals from across the British Empire to work in the UK with few immigration controls. Immigration into England and Wales consequently rose during the post-war period, with around 3% of the population classed as foreign born in 1951, rising to around 5% by 1971, and up to 6% by 1991. Major "sender" countries included India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Caribbean/West Indies.[2] Now, around 50 years later, such immigrants' offspring form the second- and third-generation immigrants within England's schools today.

However, levels of immigration into England have significantly accelerated between 1991 and 2017. The proportion of the foreign-born population increased from 6% in 1991 to 8% in 2001, reaching around 13% by the time of the last census in 2011. Moreover, with the expansion of the European Union (EU) in 2004 to include more Central European and Eastern European countries (along with Malta and Cyprus), the pattern of migration into England has also changed. Specifically, there has been a significant increase in EU migrants, particularly those from the

[1] https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/48

[2] http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/brave_new_world/immigration.htm

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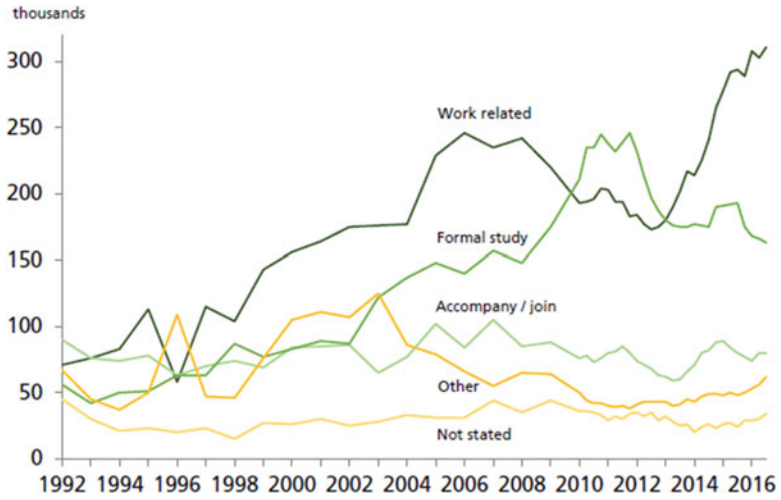

Fig. 2.1 Reasons for migration to England over the last 25 years (Source: Hawkins 2017, p. 14)

Eastern part of this block. The offspring of these individuals comprise many of the first-generation immigrants currently within England's schools.

In terms of sheer numbers, the post-1991 period is therefore a particularly important time in England's migration history—with this becoming an even more pressing issue since the expansion of the EU in 2004. Figure 2.1 illustrates reasons why immigrants have chosen to move to England over the last 25 years. Two of the four documented reasons for migrating into England have remained stable over this period: accompanying/joining other family members and other. There are hence two major factors driving the large increase in immigration into England over the past two decades: to study and to work. The former saw large increases in 2002 and particularly in 2008 (the start of the economic crisis), with a jump from 150,000 to 250,000 individuals entering the country to study. Although this figure has declined more recently to 200,000, it is still high by historical standards. Similarly, work-related migration has risen substantially from around 50,000 to 100,000 individuals per year in the 1990s up to around 175,000 individuals in 2004. This figure continued to grow as the EU expanded, reaching 250,000 per year before the 2008 financial crisis and up to 300,000 in 2016. Together, this highlights how most immigrants into England are now coming for economic reasons, and are becoming an ever-increasing component of the national population.

This diverse history of migration means that England now has a substantial population of foreign-born residents, originating from a wide range of countries. Figures from the migration observatory[3] indicate that approximately 10% of

[3] http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/

immigrants into the UK were born in Poland, along with 9% from India, 6% from Pakistan, 5% from Ireland, 3% from each of Germany and Romania, and 2% from each of Nigeria, Bangladesh, South Africa, and Italy. This list of countries reflects the two major sources of immigrants into England, both historically and in recent years: the Commonwealth and the EU.

What are the implications of this recent wave of immigration for England's education system, including the composition of its schools? The first major source of information comes from England's administrative records that specify if immigrant children speak English as an Additional Language (EAL), a group that has garnered great interest in policy development. Along with the changing patterns of migration described in the previous paragraph, administrative records clearly identify the rapid increase in the percentage of EAL pupils in England's schools. In 1997 (the first year for which we have data available) approximately 8% of primary and 7% of secondary school children spoke EAL; however, by 2015 this had risen to 19% and 15%, respectively.[4] Therefore, England's schools have experienced a large increase in bilingual pupils, particularly at the primary level.

The second (and somewhat underused) source of information about immigrant pupils in England comes from the major international student assessments, such as PISA. Table 2.1 provides information derived from PISA results corresponding to first- and second-generation immigrants, and hence refers to Year 11 pupils in England who are just about to leave secondary school. One of the major advantages of PISA over national administrative data is that one can consider the characteristics of immigrant children in England, and how this has changed since 2000.

The first significant aspect of data shown in Table 2.1 is the increase in the number of 15-year-olds identifying themselves as immigrants within the PISA sample. Whereas first-generation immigrants comprised only 4% of the PISA sample for England in 2000, this has increased steadily to 6% in 2006, 7% in 2009, and 9% in PISA 2012 and 2015. Moreover, there has been an increase in the proportion of first-generation immigrants who do not speak English at home. Specifically, while about half of the first-generation immigrants in England in PISA 2000 said they do not speak English at home, this increased to 54% in 2006, 65% in 2009, 64% in 2012, and 61% in 2015. Together, this further confirms how the proportion of immigrant pupils, particularly non-native speakers, has increased over the last decade and a half.

The second interesting feature of the PISA data illustrated in Table 2.1 is how first- and second-generation immigrant pupils in England compare to 15-year-olds who were born in this country. Although there are few differences in terms of occupational status between natives and first- and second-generation immigrants, the same is not true in terms of parental education levels. Specifically, first-generation immigrants are much more likely to report that their parents hold at least a university bachelor degree than 15-year-olds who were born in England. For

[4] http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/educational-outcomes-among-children-english-additional-language-eal/

Table 2.1 Demographic characteristics of 15-year-old immigrant and native pupils in England (2000–2015) according to PISA

	2000	2003	2006	2009	2012	2015
Natives						
Percent of 15-year-olds	88%	–	88%	86%	84%	82%
Percent male	50%	–	49%	49%	50%	50%
% father holds degree	37%	–	25%	28%	25%	31%
% mother holds degree	39%	–	21%	25%	24%	29%
Occupational status index	52	–	51	50	56	57
Non-English spoken at home	1%	–	1%	1%	1%	1%
Second generation						
Percent of 15-year-olds	8%	–	6%	7%	7%	9%
Percent male	45%	–	49%	53%	44%	50%
% father holds degree	37%	–	31%	42%	40%	40%
% mother holds degree	29%	–	23%	25%	31%	29%
Occupational status index	48	–	48	50	57	54
Non-English spoken at home	34%	–	23%	29%	22%	27%
First generation						
Percent of 15-year-olds	4%	–	6%	7%	9%	9%
Percent male	Missing	–	54%	50%	44%	50%
% father holds degree	54%	–	49%	48%	47%	49%
% mother holds degree	36%	–	27%	38%	39%	44%
Occupational status index	52	–	50	49	56	57
Non-English spoken at home	49%	–	54%	65%	64%	61%

Note. Author's calculations using PISA 2000–2015 databases. PISA 2003 data has been dropped, as England's response rate was not sufficient to meet the OECD criteria in that year

instance, in 2015, 49% of first-generation immigrants reported that their father held a degree, while 44% said the same of their mother. This compares to less than one-in-three pupils who were born in England (31% for fathers holding a degree and 29% for mothers). This is a long-standing difference across multiple PISA cycles, and is likely to at least partially reflect the positive selection of immigrants (i.e., persons who are more educated are also more likely to migrate to seek work abroad).

Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

Outcomes of EAL Pupils Based on Analysis of National Administrative Data

In England, there is less policy interest in and academic research about the outcomes of immigrant pupils overall; rather, pupils who speak EAL garner the most interest and receive the greatest attention. Broadly speaking, this categorization encompasses children from immigrant backgrounds whose primary language is not

English. It thus excludes immigrants from several industrialized countries where English is the mother tongue (e.g., Australia, Canada, Republic of Ireland, United States). An EAL flag is routinely available in England's National Pupil Database (NPD), and hence is the focus of most English research on immigrant pupils. To begin this section, we provide an overview of recent work by Strand, Malmberg, and Hall (2015) who conducted a detailed investigation into EAL pupils' educational achievement.

At the end of primary school in England, when pupils are age 11, they sit national examinations in English and mathematics. How do EAL pupils perform in these tests, relative to First Language English (FLE) children? Strand et al. (2015) illustrate how EAL pupils do indeed perform worse in some aspects of these tests than their FLE peers, though such difference is quite modest: In reading, the difference is equivalent to an effect size of around 0.25 standard deviations, with a slightly smaller difference for writing skills (effect size difference of 0.16); however, in some subject areas, there is essentially no difference at all. For instance, EAL and FLE pupils achieve almost identical scores in mathematics and Spelling, Punctuation and Grammar (SPG) at age 11. Hence, at the end of primary school, the difference between these groups is perhaps less pronounced than one might anticipate.

Does this situation alter by age 16, when children in England take their next set of important national examinations? The answer is no. Across the best eight General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) subjects, there is no difference between EAL and FLE pupils. This also holds true for important specific subjects such as mathematics. Although there are some nuances to this finding—with FLE pupils having a slight advantage in English (equivalent to an effect size of 0.15) while EAL pupils have an advantage in foreign languages (effect size difference of 0.36)—there are generally only quite minor differences between these two groups.

Rather than just focusing upon raw attainment of pupils, there is growing interest in England in the *progress* pupils make at different educational stages. Indeed, progress measures are now the primary measure used for accountability purposes in England. How do EAL and FLE pupils compare in terms of the progress they make in primary school (ages 7–11) and in secondary school (ages 11–16)?

Interestingly, in primary school EAL pupils make *more* progress than pupils whose first language is English. This is particularly the case in mathematics, with 91.5% of EAL pupils progressing by two or more national achievement levels in this subject, compared to 88.3% of FLE pupils (Strand et al., 2015). A similar pattern emerges when one considers the progress these groups make through secondary school as well. In particular, EAL pupils improve their mathematics achievement by almost half a GCSE grade (effect size of 0.46) over the 5 secondary school years, relative to the FLE group. (This result continues to hold if a broader measure of achievement than mathematics is used instead.) Hence Strand et al.'s (2015) work provides strong evidence that EAL pupils manage to catch-up academically with their FLE peers during their time in England's schools.

Table 2.2 Mathematics and reading achievement of 15-year-old immigrant and native pupils in England (2006–2015)

	Mathematics				Reading			
	2006	2009	2012	2015	2006	2009	2012	2015
Mean scores								
Natives	500	498	500	498	500	499	505	505
Second generation immigrants	472	482	476	493	492	486	491	501
First generation immigrants	466	439	470	477	444	436	464	469
Low-achievers (P10)								
Natives	387	389	380	373	364	376	381	376
Second generation immigrants	357	378	344	371	353	360	366	384
First generation immigrants	341	319	326	338	296	304	308	333
High-achievers (P90)								
Natives	614	611	619	617	627	621	621	630
Second generation immigrants	590	589	612	615	622	606	624	620
First generation immigrants	603	553	617	611	573	573	607	606

Note. Author's calculations using the PISA databases. Final student weights applied. The first plausible value only has been applied. Data used for 2006 onwards due to problems with the data for England in 2000 and 2003

Academic Outcomes of Immigrant Pupils in International Assessments

Table 2.2 compares the reading and mathematics PISA scores for three groups of pupils: (a) country natives; (b) first-generation immigrants, and (c) second-generation immigrants. This is illustrated for all years between 2006 and 2015. The first important result (in contrast to the GCSE outcomes for EAL pupils described earlier) is that first-generation immigrants perform worse on the PISA reading and mathematics test than country natives. For instance, in PISA 2015, non-immigrants achieved an average PISA reading score of 505, compared to 469 for first-generation immigrants (a difference equivalent to approximately 1 year of additional schooling). In this respect, there is clear evidence of a native–immigrant achievement gap. On the other hand, there is little evidence of a gap in average PISA scores between country natives and pupils who are second-generation immigrants. Specifically, the difference in PISA scores in 2015 between these groups was just four points in reading (505 versus 501) and five points in mathematics (498 versus 493).

The other interesting feature regarding the mean scores of these three groups is how they have changed over time. For country natives, there is little consistent evidence of any substantial improvement or decline in both reading and mathematics. In contrast, the PISA reading scores for first-generation immigrants are notably higher in 2012 and 2015 than in 2006 and 2009. Specifically, the average has increased from 444 to 469. Relatedly, this has also meant that the immigrant–native gap in average reading scores also has lessened over this period. For instance,

whereas natives were 55 reading points (approximately 2 years of schooling) ahead of first-generation immigrants in 2006, this has fallen to around 35 points (just over 1 year of additional schooling) in 2015. A similar pattern may also be emerging for second-generation immigrants in mathematics. Specifically, whereas country natives were 28 mathematics points ahead of second-generation immigrants in 2006, this has fallen to just a five-point advantage in 2015.

Whereas the top panel of Table 2.2 focuses upon average (mean) scores of immigrant and native pupils, the middle panel turns to the lowest-achieving children with each of the three groups. "Low-achievers" is defined here as those children achieving a score at the 10th percentile of the PISA mathematics and reading distribution for each of the three groups. The first point to note is that there is again an immigrant–native gap in pupils' test scores. However, this is typically more pronounced for the lowest-achieving pupils in reading compared to mathematics. For instance, low-achieving native pupils in PISA 2012 achieved a mathematics score of 380, compared to 326 for first-generation immigrants (a difference of 54 test points); however, in reading the analogous difference was 73 points (381 versus 308). Hence, as one might anticipate, there seems to be a particular challenge with respect to raising low-achieving immigrants' reading skills. On the other hand, the other important point to note about the lowest-achieving immigrant pupils is the apparent improvement in their reading skills over time. This is especially true for their scores in 2015, which are notably higher than in previous rounds, both for first- and second-generation immigrant groups. For instance, the lowest-achieving first- and second-generation immigrants achieved PISA 2006 reading scores of 296 and 353, respectively, but by PISA 2015 these scores had increased by over 30 points (equivalent to 1 additional year of schooling) to stand at 333 and 384 test points, respectively. In contrast, there is no clear pattern of change over time for the lowest-achieving pupils in mathematics. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest some increase in the least-able immigrants' PISA literacy scores.

The final panel of Table 2.2 provides the analogous results for the highest-achieving immigrant and non-immigrant pupils. "High-achieving" is defined here as the 90th percentile of the reading and mathematics PISA test score distributions for each of the three groups. A number of interesting results stand out. For instance, results from PISA 2012 and 2015 indicate that for high-achievers in mathematics there is essentially no difference between natives and first- and second-generation immigrant pupils. Specifically, for both 2012 and 2015, the 90th percentile in mathematics is within a 10-point range between 610 and 620 for all three groups. The same is not true in reading, however, where the highest-achieving first-generation immigrants remain behind the highest-achieving pupils who were born in the UK (e.g., in 2015, the 90th percentile of reading scores for natives was 630 compared to 606 for first-generation immigrants).

Another key feature of the results for the highest-achieving pupils is in the change over time. While there has been no movement for native pupils, the 90th percentile for second-generation immigrants has risen by around 25 points (from 590 to 615) between 2006 and 2015 in mathematics. Similarly, the reading scores for high-achieving first-generation immigrants are around 30 points (1 year of schooling)

Table 2.3 Non-academic outcomes for immigrant children in England—Evidence from PISA 2015

	Natives	Second generation immigrants	First generation immigrants
Mean life satisfaction (sd)	7.0 (2.3)	6.7 (2.3)	6.7 (2.3)
% who expect university	37%	61%	58%
% who want top grades	95%	97%	92%
% who see themselves as ambitious	81%	92%	82%
% parents interest in school activities	94%	93%	88%
% feel like an outsider at school	20%	18%	22%
% teacher graded them harder than others	15%	17%	16%
% got called names by other students	22%	19%	21%
Average study hours outside of school per week	15.8	19	17.3

Note. Author's calculations using the PISA 2015 database. Final student weights applied

higher in 2012/2015 (approximately 605 points) than in 2006/2009 (approximately 575 points). Hence there is some evidence that the highest-achieving immigrants have improved their PISA scores over the last decade.

Broader Outcomes of Immigrant Pupils in England at Age 15

Thus far, this chapter has focused on the academic outcomes of immigrant pupils. However, information provided by international assessments such as PISA are able to tell us a lot more about a broader array of outcomes for immigrant children. Table 2.3 therefore considers a range of broader, non-academic outcomes for English-natives and first- and second-generation immigrants.

Immigrant children report slightly lower levels of life-satisfaction than their native peers. On a 10-point scale, the average life-satisfaction score for natives was 7.0, compared to 6.7 for first- and second-generation immigrants. This is equivalent to a modest effect size difference of 0.1 standard deviations. In contrast, immigrant pupils have very high expectations for themselves in terms of educational outcomes. Approximately 60% of first- and second-generation immigrants in England expect to obtain a degree, compared to just over a third (37%) of natives. Interestingly, the same pattern does not occur in pupils' responses to the statement as to whether they "want top grades," which were uniformly high in England across the board (over 90% in all three groups agreed). On the other hand, 92% of second-generation immigrants see themselves as an ambitious person, which is 10 percentage points higher than in the native and first-generation immigrant groups. This may be reflected in the number of hours immigrant and native pupils spend studying outside of their core school hours each week; second-generation immigrants report

an average of 19 h of additional study, which is over 90 min more than first-generation immigrants (17.3 h) and over 3 h more than country natives (15.8 h). Finally, it is interesting to note that immigrants typically do not feel discriminated against or bullied at school. They were no more likely to report feeling like an outsider at school or being called names by other students than children who were born in England. Likewise, they typically felt their teacher graded them according to equal criteria as their peers. Nevertheless, the data shown in Table 2.3 serves as an important reminder that outcomes can differ between immigrants and natives beyond academic achievement alone.

Understanding the Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

Given the policy interest in EAL pupils, my discussion in this section focuses upon a set of "risk" and "protective" factors that have been identified for this important immigrant group. Drawing heavily again upon the recent analysis conducted by Strand et al. (2015), the following factors have been identified as key determinants of the amount of progress EAL children make during their time at school:

1. *Age of arrival into the UK*. Around one-in-six EAL pupils arrive in the UK between the ages of 7 and 11. This has a significant impact upon their achievement measured at the end of Key Stage 2 (national examinations in England taken by children at the end of primary school). Specifically, Strand et al. (2015) found that new EAL arrivals into the UK between the ages of 7 and 11 were around 1 year of schooling behind pupils who arrived before age 7. This perhaps suggests that more targeted efforts might be needed for late arrivals, as early arrivals adapt more easily.
2. *Ethnic group*. Although there is a strong association between ethnic group and EAL status, it is possible to separate out the independent contribution each factor makes to national examination scores for pupils ages 11 and 16. Strand et al. (2015) found that EAL pupils who were classified as White Other, Black African, and Pakistani were behind their FLE peers who belong to the same ethnic group by 10, 4, and 4 months, respectively.
3. *Low income*. In England, eligibility for Free School Meals (FSM) is an often-used proxy for low-income. Using this measure, low-income EAL pupils were found to be around 3 months of schooling behind EAL pupils who did not have a low income. Strand et al. (2015) note that this is smaller than the effect for pupils whose first language is English, in which case the analogous effect of low income was equivalent to 5 months of schooling. Consequently, there is no evidence that low income is a particularly important determinant of the academic outcomes of EAL pupils.
4. *Mobility between schools*. Stability seems to be a key "protective" factor needed for EAL pupils to succeed. Specifically, EAL pupils who joined their primary

school in Year 5 (age 9/10) are around 4 months of schooling behind in their Key Stage 2 exams, relative to pupils who have remained in the same primary school between ages 7 and 11. Differences are even more stark for EAL pupils who move school during Year 6 (age 10/11) who are 12 months of schooling behind pupils who have remained in the same primary school throughout Key Stage 2 (ages 7–11). This effect of pupil mobility between schools was found to be much more pronounced for EAL pupils than for pupils with English as their first language. The same finding also holds true at secondary school, with Strand et al. (2015) concluding that "where students recorded as EAL have been attending an English secondary school for at least five years they make better progress and have caught up with FLE students by age 16" (p. 57).

5. *Neighborhood deprivation*. Strand et al. (2015) found the effect of neighborhood deprivation (i.e. whether the child's family lives in a rich or poor neighbourhood) upon academic performance to be similar for EAL and FLE pupils. Nevertheless, EAL pupils who live in a poor neighborhood continued to achieve 4 months of schooling below EAL pupils who live in an affluent neighborhood (conditional upon a range of other factors that have been controlled for in their models).
6. *Region of settlement*. A great deal of recent research in England has discussed the "London effect," with low-income pupils in England's capital city tending to achieve higher grades in their national examinations than low-income pupils elsewhere in the country (Burgess, 2014; Wyness, 2011). Interestingly, Strand et al. (2015) found a similar pattern to hold for EAL children as well, with those based in London achieving higher Key Stage 2 scores than EAL pupils in regions outside of the capital (particularly in Northern England). Moreover, the regional disparity in Key Stage 2 performance was greater for EAL pupils than for those whose first language is English.

What about the effect of schools? Is there any evidence that EAL (or FLE) pupils make more or less academic progress if they are clustered in schools with a large proportion of EAL peers? And does the EAL advantage in pupil progress vary between schools? The answer to the former seems to be no. Specifically, based upon a contextual value-added model investigating the association between school-level factors and pupil progress, Strand et al. (2015) conclude that EAL pupils who attend a school with a high-concentration of EAL children have similar rates of progress to pupils who attend a school with a low-concentration of EAL pupils. Moreover, the same result held for FLE pupils, who do not seem to incur any penalty if they attended a school with a large number of EAL peers.

Conversely, Strand et al. (2015) did find that the magnitude of the EAL advantage varied across schools. Specifically, they found that school-level variation in the EAL gap was of a similar magnitude to the school-level variation in the gender and FSM gap in secondary schools (and was actually larger for primary schools). Nevertheless, they also noted how in most schools, EAL pupils made more progress than their FLE peers.

Clearly, explanations for the progress EAL children make during their time in school in England are multifaceted. A number of personal, school, geographical, and

societal factors are all likely to play a role, while age of arrival into the UK is also pivotal. However, this multidimensional nature of the problem at hand poses a challenge for potential policy solutions. Therefore it is important to have a close look at the existing interventions, what factors they take into account and to what extent they are successful. I turn my attention to this question in the following section.

Education Policies for Children with an Immigrant Background

In England, there is a growing recognition amongst educators, policymakers, and practitioners that education policy needs to be evidence based. The conclusion to this chapter is based upon this view, and hence focuses only upon initiatives that have (or will soon have) a firm evidence base. This begs the question: How many policies or interventions have been evaluated that are already in place in England to support EAL pupils learning?

Unfortunately, the answer seems to be very few. Recognizing the growing challenges schools in England are facing with teaching EAL pupils, the Education Endowment Foundation (EEF) recently commissioned a systematic review of the evidence for programs designed to support their learning (for further details, see Murphy & Unthiah, 2015). This review was only able to identify one UK-based study (Kotler, Wegerif, & Levoi, 2001), with the 28 others all pertaining to North America (one from Canada and 27 from the United States). Given the very different immigrant composition of these countries, it is unclear how applicable such evidence is to different settings. Hence, as things currently stand, England has little firm evidence upon which to base its policies towards immigrant pupils (particularly with respect to the EAL group).

However, there is some light at the end of the tunnel. Three randomized controlled trials have recently been set up in England in order to try and find out "what works" for EAL children in the English context. Each of these trials are due to report their respective findings soon after this volume has been published. The remainder of this section therefore briefly describes each of these three educational initiatives and how they are being evaluated. I additionally describe the findings of Kotler et al.'s (2001) study, which was the only UK-based program identified in the EEF review by Murphy and Unthiah (2015) as having any kind of evidence base.

Talking Partners Program

The Talking Partners program investigated by Kotler et al. (2001) provided training to adults to support the learning of EAL pupils between the ages of 5 and 8, and was

designed specifically to target their English language skills. With tasks based around solving problems, EAL pupils would work together in small groups along with the trained adult. Kotler et al. describe a number of the Talking Partners program's key features:

1. *The training of adults*. Those responsible for delivering the program all attended a training course, which was a combination on theory and practice. This included two observation sessions guided by the trainer. A key part of the training was to make sure participants understood the goal(s) of pupils' speaking and listening activities, with a set of clear objectives referred to throughout the sessions. Key messages included that lesson structure, a positive atmosphere, pupil behavior, and continuous assessment were at the heart of the intervention.
2. *EAL pupils working together in small groups*. This would develop peer discussion, so that pupils can enjoy practising their English language skills.
3. *The provision of resources*. As part of the program, resources such as pictures from storybooks and puppets/small figures were used by the trained adult. These were key in helping to scaffold tasks (e.g., the sequencing of stories) or by encouraging spontaneous discussion amongst children.
4. *Prompt cards*. A key aim was to increase pupils' independence in developing oral text. Prompt cards provided the framework to do this, and were used by the trained adults and the pupils alike.

How effective was this program, and how strong is the evidence that Kotler et al.'s (2001) study produced? Although Kotler et al. claim their findings show that "extra sessions with adult talking partners made a real difference to their spoken English" (p.403), my interpretation is that the evidence this study has generated has some important limitations. First, a statistically significant effect was found for just one of the four outcome tests used. Second, little information is reported about the magnitude of the effects found, with standard methods of reporting (e.g., effect sizes) not produced. Third, the sample size was very small, encompassing just 64 pupils from across seven schools. Finally, the study used only a simple pre/post test design, and thus was not truly experimental or quasi-experimental. Hence one cannot rule out a host of confounding characteristics driving the results. Consequently, although this was the only UK study included in Murphy and Unthiah's (2015) systematic review, the evidence in support of this intervention seems rather weak.

Family Skills Program

The Family Skills intervention is a family literacy program, focusing upon improving parents' engagement with their offspring to improve EAL pupils' learning. It targets pupils at a young age (the first year of school at age 4/5) and includes helping the parents of EAL pupils develop their own literacy and language skills (the rationale being they will gain confidence using these skills around the home). In total, participants will receive 30 h of contact time, through a mixture parents-only

sessions, and parents and children learning together. Topics covered in these sessions include introducing the culture in England's schools, reading strategies, home literacy practices, storytelling and songs, phonics, and learning through play. The program is being delivered by 14 expert local delivery partners in more than 100 schools.

At the time of writing, the Family Skills program for EAL pupils is being evaluated using a two-arm randomized controlled trial in 140 primary schools (EAL pupils in around 70 treatment schools are receiving the intervention, while those in the other 70 schools are not). The literacy and language skills of the two groups will be compared post-intervention, with results due to be reported in spring 2018 (see EEF, n.d.).

There is, however, some quasi-experimental evidence that interventions similar to the Family Skills program do indeed have a positive impact upon achievement (though the evidence currently does not focus specifically on EAL pupils). Most notably, using propensity score matching, Swain, Cara, Vorhaus, and Litster (2015) reported positive effects (+0.17) upon the reading scores of 5- to 7-year-olds, based upon a sample of 212 pupils.

EAL in the Mainstream Classroom: Challenge Partners

Challenge Partners—a national network of local school partnerships—delivers EAL in mainstream classrooms across 12 different locations in England, with the goal of enabling classroom teachers to build capacity and expertise so that they can provide the best learning and teaching for EAL pupils (see Challenge Partners, n.d.). In doing so, it is hoped that the program will help schools and teachers reduce the need for specialist support. Teacher professional development is at the heart of this intervention, with teachers trained in how to: plan lessons that are suitable for and accessible to EAL pupils; develop specific resources for this group; and differentiate their lessons for pupils with diverse language skills. The intervention focuses specifically on the use of academic language, particularly teachers' use of grammar, vocabulary, and spoken language.

A randomized controlled trial of this intervention is currently underway, with the results due to be reported in spring 2020. This evaluation includes 50 intervention schools and 50 control schools, with a focus upon whether EAL pupils improve their performance in important national examinations taken in England at age 16. Although no quantitative evidence is yet available regarding the program's impact, 58 schools did participate in a pilot evaluation which found that teachers reported increased levels of confidence in supporting EAL pupils, while the pupils themselves were more willing to speak in front of their class.

Integrating English

The Integrating English intervention is based on a training course (Language in Learning Across the Curriculum) initially developed by linguistics experts from Australia and aims to train non-specialist teachers on how to teach linguistics and grammar. Its focus is on teachers in the last 2 years of primary school (Years 5 and 6), with teachers receiving full training in the program and ongoing support. The training attempts to change teachers' classroom practices in order to improve EAL children's English skills. It is underpinned by the idea that explicit language teaching gives EAL pupils a good understanding of linguistic structure. In total, teachers receive 4 days of accredited professional development in the program to then implement within their classrooms.

Although the theory of "systemic functional linguistics" has a well-developed theoretical background, there is very little hard quantitative evidence that teaching in this manner improves children's outcomes. The Integrating English program is therefore currently undergoing a randomized controlled trial involving EAL primary school pupils across 100 schools in England (50 treatment schools and 50 control schools) with the results due to be reported in the spring of 2019.

Conclusion

Immigration into England has increased significantly since the Second World War. The expansion of the EU in the early twenty-first century further accelerated the rate of immigration, with large numbers of Eastern Europeans entering England. This has had a significant impact upon the population of young people who are taught in England's schools, including a large increase in the number of pupils who do not speak English as their first language. Consequently, teachers and educators in England continue to face challenges that are commensurate with such levels of immigration.

In this chapter I have considered how the characteristics of immigrant pupils in England have changed over the last decade and a half, and how their levels of academic achievement compare to young people who were born in this country. With a focus on EAL pupils, I reviewed evidence showing how this group are actually not far behind FLE pupils academically in most subject areas. Specifically, at age 11 there is only a modest gap in reading and writing skills, and no differences in spelling, punctuation, and grammar or in mathematics. Moreover, EAL children make *more* progress than FLE pupils during both primary and secondary school, such that by age 16 (when important national examinations are taken) the two groups essentially perform equally well. However, evidence from PISA on immigrants in England somewhat conflicts with this finding; although natives and second-generation immigrants achieve similar scores on these important international assessments, first-generation immigrants remain up to 1 year behind.

A number of factors are associated with the progress immigrant pupils make during their time at school (particularly for EAL students), the most important of which are the age when they enter England, and if they remain in the same school. In other words, stability is key. Location, however, is also important, with neighborhood deprivation and region of the country (particularly living in or outside of London) having a significant residual impact upon children's school grades.

What do we know about potential interventions and policies that can help support the learning of EAL pupils? Unfortunately, a recent review of the literature has highlighted that the evidence-based data pertaining to effective interventions in this country is very weak. Only one UK-based study was identified, which itself has some important methodological limitations. Fortunately, a set of three randomized controlled trials are currently being conducted to help educators and policymakers better understand the effect of three promising interventions. Thus, over the next couple of years, a much firmer evidence base may be established.

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Chapter 3
Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy in Germany

Janna Teltemann and Dominique Rauch

Introduction

The educational attainment of immigrants and their offspring is a key to their successful integration in society. Education is related to every dimension of integration—cultural, structural, social, and cognitive (Esser, 2006). Educational outcomes of children with a migration background can thus be interpreted as a long-term indicator of societal integration. Dealing with increasingly diverse student populations in terms of their socio-economic, language, and cultural background is one of the biggest challenges of modern education systems. Apart from overall levels of competencies and degrees, the performance of an education system is increasingly evaluated in terms of the degree of social and ethnic inequality it produces. Germany is a country with growing immigrant populations from diverse backgrounds, creating enormous demands on the German education system. This chapter analyzes educational outcomes of immigrants and the children of immigrants, and their determinants in Germany, with a particular focus on policies. The following section discusses immigration to Germany by first providing a brief historical overview, which is followed by a section presenting information on the present composition of the school population with respect to immigrant children and youth. The third section illustrates trends in attainment at different stages of the education system for students with and without a migration background, and presents trends in reading competences for different groups of students. Section "Understanding the

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educational outcomes of immigrant children" provides an overview of research findings on immigrant education in Germany, while section "Education policies for children with a migration background" discusses general policies regulating schooling of immigrants, as well as recent reforms corresponding to such policies.

Children with a Migration Background: A Historical Overview

After World War II and the foundation of the Bundesrepublik Deutschland[1] (Federal Republic of Germany), migration into the rebuilt Germany began quite early and has continued until the present day. Nevertheless, it took Germany more than half a century to acknowledge this fact, with Chancellor Angela Merkel noting in 2015 that *Wir sind im Grunde schon ein Einwanderungsland* ("We are, basically, already an immigration country"), thereby formally and publicly acknowledging Germany's status as an "immigration country." This change in the public debate had been initiated among other things by discussions stemming from the German "PISA-Shock"—the publication of the first OECD PISA study results in December 2001 that revealed students in Germany performed far below the OECD average, and that Germany was among the countries with the highest rate of educational inequality. Also, for the first time in a representative survey, PISA 2000 did not identify immigrant students by nationality, passport, or recent immigration but rather by migration background, defined by students' and their parents' country of birth. Compared to concurrent official statistics that counted only foreigners, the share of immigrant students documented in PISA for the 15-year-old student population was much higher. According to the German Statistical Yearbook (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2000) for the year 2000, foreign citizens, asylum seekers, and naturalized citizens together comprised about 9% of the German population, but PISA results showed that 15% of the 15-year-old students had foreign-born parents—a disparity in the German educational system that prompted some controversy and at times very emotional discussions.

Soon after the end of World War II, immigration to Germany was dominated by different forms of migration: (a) guest worker immigration, (b) immigration of resettlers, (c) immigration of asylum seekers and refugees, (d) intra-EU migration, and (e) family reunification (Olczyk, Seuring, Will, & Zinn, 2016; Oltmer, 2010). In the 1950s and 1960s, labor migration came predominantly from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, and the former Yugoslavia. The so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) were invited to Germany through recruitment agreements between Germany and the countries of origin. Rapid postwar economic growth, the establishment of the German Federal Armed Forces, and the closing of the borders between the two German states by the GDR government in 1961 raised the need for a larger

[1]This chapter will focus only on migration to West Germany and the reunited Germany.

workforce. In 1973, 2.6 million foreigners worked in Germany, representing 12% of the workforce (Heckmann, 2015). Soon after this peak, recruitment agreements were terminated due to an economic crisis and falling employment rates. Even though the guest workers were not meant and often did not even intend to stay permanently, many of them did in the end—most notably immigrants from Turkey and their families that followed. In 1996, two million people with a Turkish citizenship were registered in Germany (Lederer, 1997). The educational and professional skills of the guest workers in the 1950s, 1960s, and the early 1970s were somewhat low, corresponding to the jobs for which they were recruited.

Upon termination of the recruitment agreements, there were very limited opportunities to legally immigrate and work in Germany. However, a great number of guest workers decided to stay in Germany and started to bring their families, contributing to a growing population with a migration background in Germany. Family migration of close relatives (children and spouses) to Germany is granted by the German constitution. Immigrants from Turkey file the greatest percentage of applications for family reunification (15.6% in 2012); however, the numbers have declined since 2002 (Bundesministerium des Innern, 2014). In descending order, applications for family reunification also are filed by immigrants from India (9.7%), the Russian Federation (7.8%), Kosovo (6.7%), China (5%) and the Ukraine and Morocco (each 3.9%).

After the end of traditional guest-worker immigration to Germany, permission for outer-European immigrants to take up work in Germany in the late 1980s was granted only in individual cases. Since then, labor migration has been closely tied to high qualifications and specific job offers. Hence recent labor immigrants are somewhat equal to the German majority with respect to education and qualifications.

Another group of immigrants which decisively shaped the picture of immigration to Germany were the *(Spät-)Aussiedler* (the (late-)resettlers). Until 2012, about 4.5 million people from Poland, Romania, and the former Soviet Union settled in Germany (Heckmann, 2015). Two lines of thinking facilitated the immigration of this group. First, the resettlers were perceived as ethnic Germans. And second, they had been persecuted in their home countries—as German minorities residing in countries Germany had attacked during World War II. Their legal status differed substantially from those of the Gastarbeiter and their right to immigrate to Germany was secured by law (*Bundesvertriebenengesetz*, or federal law on evicted people). Basic German proficiency was rather common even before immigration and their legal status (Aussiedler were granted German citizenship upon their arrival) along with diverse integration measures facilitated integration, as did the rather high pre-migration educational level of these immigrants (Worbs, 2003). Immigration on the basis of resettling has declined since the year 2000, as the federal law on evicted people assumes that persons born after the year 1992 are not affected by consequences of the war. But although the sources of early guest worker and resettler immigration to Germany have dissipated, these migration flows continue to shape the German population. The children and grandchildren of guest workers and resettlers are of school age now and still might be influenced by their parents' and grandparents' immigration experiences.

Recent immigration to Germany is mainly shaped by forced migration and by free movements within the European Union (EU) (Bundesministerium des Innern, 2016). By law, citizens of the EU can work and live in each country within the union with almost no restrictions or special registration procedures. The so-called principle of *Freizügigkeit* (free movement of persons) is one of the main characteristics of the economic and political cohesion of the EU. In 2011, immigrants from Poland and Romania formed the largest groups from within the EU (Olczyk et al., 2016). Less is known about the educational and job qualifications of EU citizens living and working in Germany.

The German constitution grants asylum to those who are persecuted for political reasons. This right was claimed increasingly in the early 1990s during the upheaval in Eastern Europe and the civil war in former Yugoslavia. When requests for asylum reached a temporal peak in 1992 (during which year approximately 438,000 people sought asylum in Germany), the law was tightened and numbers fell during the next 15 years (Bundesministerium des Innern, 2014). Since 2009, the figures once again have increased, mainly as a result of the conflicts in Afghanistan and Syria. In 2015, almost one million people fled to Germany, mainly from Syria, Albania, Kosovo and Afghanistan. Amongst them were a great number of children without families (so-called *Unbegleitete minderjährige Flüchtlinge*, or unaccompanied minors), 58,000 of whom arrived in 2015 and 2016. So far, very little is known about the educational background of these children, and the German educational system's ability to deal with the sudden intake of refugees is still under question. Due to recently high numbers of asylum seekers, the asylum application process takes about 8 months (as at the end of 2016). The insecurity during this period hampers integration in general and specifically into the educational system (see section "Understanding the educational outcomes of immigrant children"). But even after a positive asylum decision, the challenge of integration is substantial. In contrast to other forms of migration, refugees in most cases do not intend to leave their country in order to fully settle in another, which might affect their motivation to integrate themselves. Apart from that, the costs associated with fleeing the home country are very high, often leaving refugees with very few monetary resources. More importantly, trauma, grief, and concerns about abandoned relatives might further hamper individuals' efforts to integrate into the host countries' societies.

As a result of the different immigration flows coming to Germany since the 1960s, the current population with a migration background (i.e., people, whose parents were born abroad) is very diverse. Table 3.1 shows that about one-fifth of the total population in Germany has a migration background. This figure is much higher in younger age groups, in which approximately one-third is of a immigrant background. About one-third of the population with a migration background comes from EU countries and non-EU European countries (Russia, Turkey, former Yugoslavia), respectively.

Table 3.1 Immigrants[a] as percentage of total population according to age group and region of origin

		Age		
	Total	0–5 years	5–10 years	10–15 years
Immigrants (% of total population)	21	36	36	33
Region of origin (% of total migrant population)				
EU	35	28	28	29
Non-EU	34	32	34	37
Africa	4	6	5	4
America	2	2	2	2

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis), Fachserie 1 2.2, 2016
[a]Immigrants are persons who immigrated to Germany or whose parents were born abroad and immigrated to Germany after 1949

Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

This section gives an overview about differences in attainment and competences between students with a migration background and non-immigrants. In this respect, trends over time, which reflect the pace of integration, are more important than initial group differences at a single point in time. The analysis of immigrant education in Germany is restricted by data limitations. There is no common standard of data collection for students with migration backgrounds in the official school statistics. Thus the information on immigrant education that is available comes from census data (the German Microcensus) and from other observational data (e.g., international large-scale school assessments).

Enrollment and Degrees

Table 3.2 shows pre-school attainment rates and earned secondary and tertiary degrees for several age groups according to migration background from 2010 to 2015. With respect to the degree of educational integration of students with a migration background, the figures can be interpreted in absolute and in relative terms. Looking at the absolute enrollment rates and degrees, all indicators show a positive trend for students with migration backgrounds. Enrollment in childcare below the age of 3 was rather low in 2010 (12.2%) but increased by 77% between 2010 and 2015. The increase for kindergarten enrollment (between ages 3 and 6) is only about 5%, since the enrollment rate was already relatively high in 2010 (85.7%). Both indicators increased for non-immigrant students as well, but less so.

Table 3.2 Enrollment and degrees held in different age groups according to immigrant background, percentages of respective age group

Age group (years)		2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
0–3	In childcare[a]	12.2	14.0	15.8	17.1	19.8	21.6	*Immigrants*
		27.7	30.1	32.7	34.6	37.9	37.7	*Non-immigrants*
3–6	In kindergarten[b]	85.7	84.9	87.0	84.7	84.7	90.1	*Immigrants*
		94.9	96.6	96.3	97.7	97.8	97.1	*Non-immigrants*
15–19	Lower track diploma[c]	36.9	37.3	33.0	34.8	28.6	26.5	*Immigrants*
		27.3	27.2	25.1	27.1	20.8	20.8	*Non-immigrants*
	Medium track diploma[c]	37.6	35.8	39.9	36.9	42.7	44.3	*Immigrants*
		48.8	49.0	48.8	43.6	48.5	50.9	*Non-immigrants*
	Higher track diploma[c]	9.3	12.5	12.5	15.8	17.7	17.1	*Immigrants*
		13.6	15.1	17.9	21.3	23.1	22.8	*Non-immigrants*
	No school diploma [c]	16.2	14.4	14.6	12.5	11.0	12.3	*Immigrants*
		10.4	8.7	8.2	7.9	7.6	5.4	*Non-immigrants*
25–34	No professional education degree[d]	34.3	33.4	32.1	31.4	31.0	31.1	*Immigrants*
		10.4	90.9	9.9	9.9	9.5	9.3	*Non-immigrants*
	University degree[e]		27.6	29.7		36.2	37.0	*Immigrants*
			23.9	25.6		29.9	31.1	*Non-immigrants*

Sources: [a]BMFI (2016), Table 5; [b]BMFI (2016), Table 6; [c]BMFI (2016), Table 9; [d]BMFI (2016), Table 12; [e]Statistisches Bundesamt (2012, 2014, 2015, 2016), Table 3.1.2

For immigrant students aged 15–19 years, the proportion of students holding a degree from a lower track school (*Hauptschule*) decreased from 36.9 to 26.5%. At the same time, the number of medium track (*Realschule*) and high track (*Gymnasium*) degrees increased. Again, non-immigrants show the same trends, though less pronounced. For ages 15–19, the decrease is stronger for non-migrants than for students with a migration background only in regards to the "No school diploma" indicator. In 2015, the most common degree for students aged 15–19 was the medium track degree.

For the 25- to 34-year age group, the proportion of persons with no professional education degree decreased for both groups to a comparable degree. When we look at the proportion of persons holding a tertiary education degree in this age group, the

striking finding is that many more immigrants than non-immigrants have a university degree. The figure is rising over time, both for immigrants and for non-immigrants.

If we define the process of assimilation as a decrease of group differences over time, the figures should also be interpreted in relational terms (i.e., with regard to the development of differences between immigrants and non-immigrants). The difference between both groups is most pronounced for the percentage of persons with no professional education degree in the 25- to 34-year age group. Here the number of non-immigrants amounts to less than a third of the number of immigrants. The difference is also slightly increasing over time. Strong differences can also be observed for childcare attainment below age 3. In 2010, the value for immigrants was only about 44% of that of the non-immigrants. However, the differences became smaller over time; in 2015, the value for migrants was about 57% of that of the non-immigrants. A growing difference is observable for the proportion of 15–19 years old with no school completion certificate. In 2010, the figure for non-immigrants was about 64% of the respective value for migrants, whereas in 2015 the value for non-immigrants was only about 44% of the same figure for immigrants. Similarly, growing differences between immigrants and non-immigrants can be observed for persons holding a university degree. For all other figures reported in Table 3.2, differences between immigrants and non-immigrants become smaller over time, with the strongest assimilation trend being noticeable for childcare attainment rates (ages 0–3) and the proportion of medium-track degrees.

Competencies

Table 3.3 shows trends of PISA reading competences of 15-year-old students in Germany, according to migration background, country of origin, and track. In 2015, non-immigrant students in Germany performed above the OECD average. Second-generation immigrants scored about 48 points lower, which corresponds to more than 1 year of schooling (OECD, 2014). The distance between first- and second-generation immigrants is almost the same (about 47 points). Correspondingly, the gap between first-generation immigrants and non-immigrants amounts to 95 points, which is almost one standard deviation, reflecting that first-generation immigrants are 2 years of schooling behind non-immigrants. Given that reading performance largely depends on language proficiency, an initial difference between immigrants and non-immigrants is not surprising and the development of achievement gaps over time is more conclusive with respect to integration. Following the so-called PISA shock in Germany in 2001, many reforms have been introduced in the German education system in order to raise overall performance. The trend of reading competences as depicted in Table 3.3 seems to confirm the success of these reforms, as reading performance—particularly of non-immigrant students and of second-generation immigrants—increased over time. For first-generation students, however, the reading scores only rose between 2000 and 2009, and have decreased since then.

Table 3.3 Reading competences of immigrants and non-immigrants

Generation			**2015**		**2012**		**2009**		**2006**		**2003**		**2000**	
		Non -immigrant	**526**	*4724*	**522**	*3465*	**511**	*3719*	**510**	*3946*	**517**	*3685*	**508**	*4164*
		Second generation	**478**	*752*	**481**	*428*	**457**	*526*	**427**	*355*	**420**	*281*	**434**	*235*
		First generation	**431**	*215*	**445**	*113*	**450**	*273*	**440**	*302*	**431**	*349*	**419**	*473*
Origin	Second & first generation	*Greece and Italy*	**461**	*35*	**439**	*17*	**415**	*24*	**412**	*32*	**426**	*29*	**n/a**	
		Poland and Slovenia	**493**	*79*	**504**	*65*	**477**	*83*	**495**	*63*	**474**	*93*	**n/a**	
		Turkey	**438**	*207*	**452**	*142*	**421**	*211*	**396**	*191*	**391**	*192*	**n/a**	
		Former USSR	**501**	*232*	**486**	*168*	**480**	*224*	**486**	*177*	**445**	*173*	**n/a**	
		Former Yugoslavia	**474**	*29*	**485**	*24*	**450**	*35*	**412**	*39*	**437**	*37*	**n/a**	
		Other countries	**458**	*385*	**470**	*125*	**461**	*222*	**404**	*155*	**414**	*106*	**n/a**	
Tracking	Non-immigrant	*Upper secondary*	**614**	*88*	**587**	*26*	**632**	*18*	**638**	*13*	**647**	*5*	**n/a**	
		Lower secondary, no access to upper sec.	**408**	*115*	**485**	*1588*	**477**	*1738*	**483**	*2012*	**478**	*1949*	**n/a**	
		Lower secondary, access to upper sec.	**529**	*4423*	**558**	*1784*	**550**	*1768*	**544**	*1802*	**567**	*1637*	**n/a**	
		(Pre-) vocational	**464**	*98*	**458**	*67*	**433**	*117*	**469**	*105*	**470**	*89*	**n/a**	
	Second & first generation	*Upper secondary*	**593**	*8*	**No obs.**		**625**	*2*	**No obs.**		**521**	*1*	**n/a**	
		Lower secondary, no access to upper sec.	**375**	*34*	**450**	*311*	**437**	*510*	**424**	*428*	**403**	*440*	**n/a**	
		Lower secondary, access to upper sec.	**470**	*909*	**515**	*218*	**501**	*247*	**455**	*212*	**493**	*159*	**n/a**	
		(Pre-) vocational	**490**	*16*	**397**	*12*	**378**	*28*	**403**	*17*	**415**	*28*	**n/a**	

Source: OECD PISA database 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2015. Author's own calculations

In this respect, the (positive) trend for the second-generation is more important, since the composition of the first-generation is changing constantly with ongoing immigration processes.

The second block of Table 3.3 depicts reading performance of first- and second-generation immigrants combined, but for different countries of origins (that of their parents). In 2015, there are large differences between different origins, amounting to almost 2 years of schooling between the lowest performing origin group (Turkey) and the highest performing immigrant students (from former Soviet Union countries). The performance of students from a Turkish background has improved between 2003 and 2012, but the reading score was lower in 2015 again. There is no origin group, however, which showed better reading performance in 2003 than in 2015, indicating an overall positive trend with respect to educational integration of immigrants.

The third block of Table 3.3 illustrates performance at different tracks of the German education system. Germany is among the countries with a rather strong stratification in terms of early tracking into secondary schools with different curricula and length of schooling. Before the post-PISA reforms, mobility between tracks was rather low, thus the transition after Grade 4 had considerable consequences for students later in life. For many students, attending the lowest track (Hauptschule) led into a dead-end situation, as it became increasingly hard for them to find a training position—which is a crucial step towards participation in the strongly regulated German labor market (Solga, 2009). Although the system remains tracked in Germany, the reforms after 2001 focused on improving the prospects for lower-track students and to avoid dead-ends. As a result, the education systems of several Bundesländer became even more differentiated; there are new, often more comprehensive school forms available now.

The trend of reading competences at different track levels in Germany shows that performance is highest in upper secondary education and lowest in lower secondary education without access to upper secondary education. The number of students in these different tracks changed considerably between the different data collections of PISA, reflecting the substantial changes in German education systems. Taking performance at lower secondary education (with access to upper) as an example, we can see that there is no clear trend between the different data collections of PISA. Reading performance in 2015 was lower than in 2003 both for immigrants and for non-immigrants; however, there are some ups and downs in between. Overall, Table 3.3 reveals that it is important to differentiate not only between different immigrant generations, but also between origin groups and educational tracks in order to assess immigrants' educational enrollment and achievement in Germany.

Understanding the Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

Research on immigrants' educational achievement and attainment and their determinants in Germany was limited before 2001. One reason was that the official school statistic did not collect systematic information on immigration and immigrant background (see previous section). The publication of the first PISA results in 2001 first revealed an idea about the number of students with immigrant backgrounds in German schools and their competencies. Since then, there has been a boost in research and a lot of effort to improve the database on the schooling of immigrants. As the results presented in section "Children with a migration background: a historical overview" demonstrate, (children of) immigrants show lower enrollment rates and achieve lower than non-immigrants in Germany. Four main determinants of these achievement and attainment gaps have been identified in the literature: differences in socio-economic status, lower language proficiency, peer group effects, and effects of institutions in the education system (Ruhose, 2013). The impact of these different factors can be theoretically conceptualized from an investment perspective that takes into account differences in opportunities and incentives to learn between groups, as well as differences in costs, benefits, and probabilities of success for educational investments between these groups (Diehl, Hunkler, & Kristen, 2016).

Deciding which of these factors are taken into account in empirical analyses largely depends on the available data. Very often, the databases do not measure actual determinants of under-achievement and under-attainment but contain proxy measures for sets of determinants. For example, generational status (first vs. second) very often is used as a proxy for time spent in the receiving country—where time in turn is a proxy for the re-acquisition of resources and skills that are decisive for reaching a certain outcome such as educational achievement. Several studies show that second-generation perform better than first-generation immigrants, but still lower than non-immigrants in Germany (see section 2; Frick & Wagner, 2001; Gang & Zimmermann, 2000; Kalter & Granato, 2007; Segeritz, Walter, & Stanat, 2010; Worbs, 2003).

When socio-economic status is taken into account, achievement and attainment gaps usually become smaller. For some immigrant groups, achievement gaps are fully explained by a lower socio-economic status (Esser, 2006; Kristen & Granato, 2007; Müller & Stanat, 2006; Segeritz et al., 2010). This suggests that a large part of achievement and attainment gaps between immigrants and non-immigrants in Germany is due to socio-economic determinants and not the result of ethnic or immigrant-specific factors.

As language proficiency has proven to be a crucial factor for educational success (Kempert et al., 2016; Stanat, Rauch, & Segeritz, 2010), a large number of studies and research projects has been initiated since PISA 2000 in order to study the process of language acquisition and its determinants. For example, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, with its *Framework Programme for Empirical Educational*

Research, supported two main research clusters during the last 10 years (on language education and multilingualism and on language support and linguistic assessment), which increased research in the area of language acquisition and support. It is beyond the scope of this overview to list the projects, findings, and measures in this specific area (for a collection of results, see Forschungsschwerpunkt Sprachliche Bildung und Mehrsprachigkeit, 2017; Redder, Naumann, & Tracy, 2015).

Research on immigrant education in Germany also found that enrollment rates in earlier stages of the education system can affect achievement and enrollment at later stages. Attaining pre-school, for example, is associated with higher test scores of immigrants (Becker, 2010) and a lower risk to attain the lowest track in secondary education (Büchel, Spieß, & Wagner, 1997). In this regard, the results reported in the previous section are promising, as they show that enrollment of immigrant children in early education and care has increased substantially over the last years.

With regard to peer group effects, studies have shown that ethnic concentration in schools and classrooms is associated with lower test scores (Kristen, 2002; Schnepf, 2007; Stanat, 2006). However, Rjosk et al. (2014) as well as Stanat, Schwippert and Gröhlich (2010) found no additional effect of the proportion of German language learners on reading achievement when socio-economic composition is controlled for. This result again relates to the effects of tracking in the German education system. As achievement is related to socio-economic status ("primary effects"; Boudon, 1974), any ability grouping will also result in a grouping of socio-economic status groups. Thus socio-economic segregation between schools is stronger in differentiated systems such as the German education system.

Research on immigrant schooling in Germany has also addressed discrimination (Diehl & Fick, 2016). Kristen (2006) analyzes tracking recommendations of primary school teachers and does not find differences with regard to immigrant status when cognitive ability is controlled for. Similar results are found by Kristen (2002), Schnepf (2002), and Becker (2011). However, this does not mean that discrimination does not play any role for immigrants at school; there have been studies showing that discriminatory tendencies exist along the lines of socio-economic status. As immigrants in Germany on average have a lower socio-economic status, they are affected disproportionally by these tendencies (Lüdemann & Schwerdt, 2011; Stanat, 2016). Further, discrimination seems to become more relevant when immigrants try to enter the labor market.

There are also some studies focusing on aspects of motivation (Becker & Gresch, 2016; Relikowski, Yilmaz, & Blossfeld, 2012; Tjaden & Hunkler, 2017; Walter, 2014) and identity (Edele, Stanat, Radmann, & Segeritz, 2013). The results show that if socio-economic status is held constant, immigrants have higher educational aspirations than non-immigrants. On the one hand, this seems to be a (disturbing) contradictory finding given the reported lower achievement and attainment, but on the other it is an important basis of any effort to invest in education.

Education Policies for Children with a Migration Background

Which specific measures are implemented in the German education system to accommodate the needs of children of immigrant background? The most basic foundation of (immigrant) education in Germany is the human right to education, which is also incorporated in the European Charter of Fundamental Rights. This right, however, does not mean that immigrants could claim a right to instruction in their mother tongue (Wrase, 2017). The right to education includes education for refugees and does not depend on residence status. The provision of the human right to education is granted by compulsory education in Germany. The legal claim of access to early education and care (which has been extended to children older than 12 months in 2013) does also apply to immigrants, independent of their residence status.

In addition to these legal foundations, the National Report on Education (*Bildungsbericht*) has postulated three key objectives of comprehensive educational participation, which explicitly hold for immigrants. The objectives view education as: (a) a facilitator of autonomous and independent living, (b) a means to secure equal opportunities, and (c) a foundation for labor market participation (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2016, p. 161).

Aside from this legal and ideational recognition of the importance of education, policies to specifically support students with migration backgrounds have long been underdeveloped in Germany, reflecting the self-conception of being a non-immigration country. As a consequence, the recent development of education policies for children with a migration background in Germany has to be understood partly as a catching-up process. Generally, an evaluation of educational policies directed towards immigrants in Germany is hampered by the fact that German education is regulated by the 16 *Bundesländer* (federal states), meaning there are 16 particular education systems with substantial differences in the ways in which learning in schools is organized. While the regulations concerning the duration of compulsory education do not vary substantially between the states, any decrees, administrative regulations, orders, and guidelines regarding aspects of schooling such as foreign language classes or remedial classes for immigrants differ considerably. A common feature of the different regulations at the federal level is that they are not binding for schools but rather serve as orientation and recommendations (Massumi et al., 2015). Schools are responsible for implementing the overall guidelines of the school authorities, but the ways to achieve this implementation are often not specified in the guidelines.

The *Kultusministerkonferenz* (KMK; Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs) coordinates educational policies of the Bundesländer and seeks to establish common standards. Within the KMK, the federal states committed to supporting the integration of students with migration

backgrounds and assigned this task to their education systems and education policies (KMK, 2013). Additionally, education has been identified as a focal point of the German National Integration Plan (Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration Flüchtlinge und Integration, 2007). One central aspect of these commitments is their goal to increase language support measures at all stages of the education systems and in all tracks.

With the recent experience of increasing refugee flows, there have been a number of changes in regulations and measures with regard to the schooling of immigrants. According to a recent survey among the German federal states, the provision of preparatory classes has increased between 2010 and 2016 by a factor of 20 in some federal states (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2016, p. 188). There are however large differences between federal states with regard to how schools organize learning for newly arrived students and students in need of language support.

The different approaches can be grouped into three models: integrative, partly integrative, and parallel. Within the integrative model, newly arrived students attend regular classes from the very beginning and receive additional language support. The partly integrative model provides regular schooling for less "language-sensitive" subjects such as physical education, musical education, or mathematics. Within the parallel model, newly arrived students only attend preparatory classes (Massumi et al., 2015). The parallel model goes back to the tradition of *Ausländerpädagogik* (immigrant pedagogics) of the 1960s (Gomolla & Radtke, 2002), which evolved at a time when immigration to Germany had been conceived as being temporary (see earlier discussion regarding Gastarbeiter). With the continuation of immigration to Germany and the recognition of being an immigration country, segregated schooling has been acknowledged as detrimental with regard to societal integration. The current political position is thus to promote a quick transfer to regular schooling whenever there are parallel models in practice. It is however important to understand that the three "ideal types" represent in fact a continuum of different practices instead of distinct models.

Apart from these differences in the modes of organizing schooling for newly arrived students, bi- or multilingual education is not a regular form of schooling in Germany and is only practiced in selected (often private) schools. Some schools offer first language instruction, which however can only cover a very small number of different languages. A further way to support language acquisition is to avoid large concentrations of immigrants in single classes or schools.

The National Education Reports for pre-primary education show that one-third of the students with foreign language backgrounds attend preschools where the majority of students do not speak German as a first language (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2016). Several federal states have increased funding for pre-primary education in order to mitigate these conditions. A typical measure is to increase staff at such schools in order to decrease the student–teacher ratio and improve supervision. In 2008, the federal states committed to implementing language learning programs in pre-primary education and to monitor individual

development of children according to recommended procedures. Twelve of the 16 federal states have implemented additional language support for children who failed in language tests prior to school enrollment. Furthermore, a sustainable and comprehensive implementation of language support policies requires an incorporation of aspects of language teaching into teacher training programs. So far, nine federal states codified this within their teacher training curricula (Baumann & Becker-Mrotzek, 2014).

Overall, solid evidence on the effectiveness of the different approaches and measures implemented to support immigrant students at schools is still scarce. This is not only a limitation from a research perspective but also from a policy perspective: a systematic and comprehensive evaluation could facilitate policy learning (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2016, p. 205). A promising initiative is the "FörMig" project, funded jointly by the states and the federal government, which focuses on language support for immigrant children and develops, conducts, and evaluates measures in 10 federal states with a clear emphasis on building a sustainable knowledge base for designing future policies (Jäger, 2008).

Apart from policies focusing on language acquisition as a means to support immigrant integration at schools, a number of measures have been implemented during the last decade in order to mitigate the disadvantaged situation of students with low socio-economic status. As immigrants are overrepresented in this group, they are particularly addressed by these measures. One example is the expansion of all-day schooling and of pre-primary education and care. Some federal states also introduced a means-tested allocation of funds to schools in order to equalize differences in school resources resulting from residential segregation processes (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2016, p. 186).

In sum, the empirical findings of immigrants' educational achievement and attainment demonstrates that lower language proficiency is a main cause of lower attainment and achievement. Policies aiming at overcoming these differences have not yet been implemented comprehensively, mostly due to the fact that there is no formal regulation or law in this respect. Yet, the last years have seen remarkable efforts to increase and improve opportunities to learn German at all stages of the education system and in all forms of school, albeit with large differences between different federal states. Assuring similar standards in education, not only with regard to average competencies, but also with regard to participation and opportunities thus is a major challenge for Germany. Equality of living conditions is a politically institutionalized goal in Germany and is anchored in the Constitution. Since the German labor market is strongly regulated and largely relies on eduational credentials and certificates, labor market attainment and life chances are tied to educational success. It is therefore crucial to grant equal educational opportunities to all children, independent of their socio-economic or migration background—or their residence in a particular state in order to grant equal living conditions.

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Chapter 4
Immigrant Student Achievement and Educational Policy in Italy

Marco Catarci

Introduction

Today there are 5.5 million immigrants in Italy, referring to 8.3% of the overall population. The top five immigration countries of origin represented in Italy are Romania, Albania, Morocco, China, and the Ukraine (IDOS–UNAR, 2016, p. 14). In Italy, the immigrant student population is surveyed by the Ministry of Education (Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca [MIUR]), which publishes an annual report. The latest data available indicate there are 814,851 students without Italian citizenship (9.2% of the overall scholastic population). The label used by the Ministry of Education census of foreign students is that of "students without Italian citizenship" (MIUR, 2017, p. 7).

However, it must be said that more than half of these students (58.7%) are second-generation immigrants (MIUR, 2017, p. 16). Second-generation means children of foreign born parents or children who came to Italy while they were young, and were raised and socialized in the country. It is without a doubt a growing population in Italy, which influences public opinion of official institutional representatives, primarily in terms of recognition of citizenship. In fact, in Italy, citizenship is still achieved under the old principle of *ius sanguinis*—or the right of citizenship based on being the child of an Italian citizen—instead of *jus soli*, in which nationality is conferred to those born in a territory of Italy. Currently, a network of associations of second-generation children has promoted a public campaign to demand the reform of the citizenship law (which is 25 years old) and to facilitate the acquisition of citizenship by second-generation children. Unfortunately, the bill has not yet been approved by the Italian Parliament.

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The Presence of Immigrant Students

In Italy, the education system is organized as follows:

- Pre-primary school (*scuola dell'infanzia*) for children between 3 and 6 years of age;
- First cycle of education lasting 8 years, made up of: (a) primary education (*scuola primaria*), lasting 5 years, for children between 6 and 11 years of age; and (b) lower secondary school (*scuola secondaria di I grado*), lasting 3 years, for children between 11 and 14 years of age; Second cycle of education offering two different pathways: (a) State upper secondary school (*scuola secondaria di II grado*), lasting 5 years for students from 14 to 19 years of age. It is offered by high schools (*licei*), technical institutes, and vocational institutes; and (b) 3- and 4-year vocational training courses (IFP), organized by the Regions;
- Higher education offered by universities (polytechnics included), institutes of the Higher Education in Art and Music system (*Alta Formazione Artistica e Musicale* [AFAM]), and Higher Technical Institutes (*Istituti Tecnici Superiori* [ITS]).

Education is compulsory for 10 years for children between the ages of 6 and 16. In addition, everyone has a right and a duty to receive education for at least 12 years within the education system or until they have obtained a 3-year vocational qualification by the age of 18 (MIUR–INDIRE, 2014, p. 7).

In this context, the growing presence of the immigrant student population in Italy can be characterized and summarized as follows:

- There is a marked presence of second-generation, non-Italian citizen students (479,000 pupils) who will continue to represent an increasing share of the student population (MIUR, 2017, p. 16).
- An incidence in various school levels with a traditional predominance in the early levels of education: the incidence of foreign students is 10.4% in pre-primary schools, 10.6% in primary schools, 9.4% in lower secondary schools, and 7.0% in upper secondary schools (MIUR, 2017, p. 10)
- A higher annual percentage increase in upper secondary and pre-primary education levels: indeed, in the last 10 years, the population of foreign students increased 76% in pre-primary schools, 56% in primary schools, 45% in lower secondary schools, and 82% in upper secondary schools) (MIUR, 2017, p. 10).
- After the first cycle of education (when students select their type of upper secondary school), a large number of immigrant students are choosing technical and vocational education. Technical schools are the most chosen option by non-Italian pupils (37.1%), followed by vocational schools (35.9%), with a minority choosing licei 27%) (MIUR, 2017, p. 41) (Table 4.1).

This also leads to a difference in terms of future educational opportunities (especially for university entrance) and social mobility (for inclusion in the best locations in the working world).

Table 4.1 Type of Secondary School chosen by Italian and Non-Italian Students, first generation and second generation

	Licei	Technical schools	Vocational schools
Italian students (%)	49.7	31.2	19.1
Immigrant students (%)	27.0	37.1	35.9
First-generation (%)	25.0	36.7	38.3
Second-generation (%)	33.7	38.4	27.9

Source: MIUR (2017, p. 41)

In this regard, a category named NEET is now used internationally to define young people who do not work, do not study, and are not in education. The estimated number of young people aged 15–29 in 2014 who were unemployed and not attending any course or training stood at about 2.5 million. It should be noted that the incidence of NEET in 15–29 year-olds among the total population of the latter age group is higher among foreigners than Italians: the Italian NEET population represents 25.1% of the Italian population in this age group, while that for the EU and outside the EU reaches 32.8% and 35.4%, respectively (MIUR–ISMU, 2016, p. 106).

An important difference that emerges between Italians and foreigners is related to gender. Among foreigners in Italy, the NEET phenomenon is typically female—64.6% of non-EU women and 68.2% of EU women are NEET. In many national groups (e.g., Moldova, Sri Lanka, Albania, Bangladesh, Ecuador, Ukraine, Ghana, India, Morocco, China, and Pakistan) women are estimated to make up more than half of total NEET—while they are 45.5% among Italians (MIUR–ISMU, 2016, p. 107).

The NEET group includes a very diverse set of subjects and profiles of young people with various social and professional skills from different backgrounds. This category includes the early school leavers (ESLs), or those who do not observe the right and duty to education and training. Studies show that the percentage of 18- to 24-year-old ESLs who have completed most of lower secondary school and are not attending any school or other formal education is twice as high among young people born abroad than natives due to multiple factors, such as lack of funds, low educational expectations, limited family support, and personal conflicts (MIUR–ISMU, 2016, pp. 105–106). In Italy, the gap to the detriment of immigrant students is apparent: in 2014, 34.4% of foreign-born students were ESLs versus 13.6% of Italians, and ESLs made up 27.1% of community youth as a whole. The highest rates of ESLs are observed in some communities, such as Chinese (57.7%), Sri Lankan (51.9%), Bangladeshi (49.5%), Egyptian (44.1%), and Indian (43.7%). In certain communities, it is mainly women who prematurely leave school (almost 70% among Chinese and 60% among Egyptians) (MIUR–ISMU, 2016, p. 106).

The Learning Gap Between Native and Immigrant Students

Another important aspect of the presence of young foreigners in the Italian education system is the significant learning gap between Italian and non-Italian students—particularly first-generation students. This last aspect is crucial to intercultural education that seeks to address equality of social and educational opportunities, and therefore deserves attention (Tarozzi, 2015). In general, the 2015 OECD PISA survey conducted on 15-year-olds on the subjects of science, mathematics, and reading noted that second-generation children achieve quite similar outcomes to those of Italian natives, while the gap widens between first-generation children and natives, especially on the reading tests.

For scientific literacy in particular, Italy's average score of 481 is ranked—in a statistically significant manner—below the OECD average, which in 2015 was 493 points (with a standard deviation of 94 points) (National Institute for the Educational Evaluation of Instruction and Training [INVALSI], 2016, p. 17). The distribution of Italian students' scores varied in different macro-regions: the North Eastern students (523) ranked above both the national average (481) and the OECD average (493); those in the North West (499), whilst ranking above the national average, did not diverge significantly from the OECD; while those in central Italy (482) were in line with both the Italian and OECD averages. Finally, those in the South and on the islands were significantly below the Italian and OECD averages, with an average score of 458 and 433, respectively (INVALSI, 2016, p. 28). In regard to pupils with a migration background, first-generation children received a score of 444 in science, in comparison to 463 for second-generation children and 485 for native Italian children (see Table 4.2). The lower academic performances of first- and second-generation pupils are also confirmed after taking into account their varying socioeconomic status (OECD, 2016a, p. 250).

As for mathematics, Italy achieved an average score of 490, which is not different from the OECD average (490) (INVALSI, 2016, p. 43). The distribution of Italian students' scores varied in different macro-regions: the North Eastern (525) and the North West (505) students ranked above both the national and OECD averages; while those in central Italy (497) were statistically in line with the national and OECD averages. Finally, those in the South and on the islands were significantly below the national and OECD averages, with an average score of 468 and

Table 4.2 Averages for PISA Science/Mathematics/Reading Literacy Scales (Age: 15 years; Immigrant Status; Country: Italy; Year: 2015)

	Native		Second generation		First generation	
	Average	Standard error	Average	Standard error	Average	Standard error
Science	485	2.6	463	(6.4)	444	(5.8)
Mathematics	494	2.9	472	(8.0)	451	(7.3)
Reading	491	2.8	464	(7.0)	426	(7.0)

Source: OECD (2016b)

446, respectively (INVALSI, 2016, p. 53). Regarding students with a migration background, first-generation children received a score of 451 in math, in comparison to 472 for second-generation children and 494 for native children (see Table 4.2).

As for reading literacy, with a score of 485 points and a standard deviation of 94, Italy significantly ranked below the OECD average, which corresponds to 493 points, with a standard deviation of 96 (INVALSI, 2016, p. 65). There were also geographical differences inside the country: Students from the North East (515) and North West (503) placed above both the national average (485) and the OECD average (493), with a statistically significant difference; Central students (488) achieved results in line with both the Italian average and the international benchmark; and Southern (461) and Southern island students (451) placed significantly below both the average reference scores (INVALSI, 2016, p. 77). Finally, regarding students with a migration background, first-generation children scored 426 on reading tests, in comparison to 464 for second-generation children and 491 for native children (see Table 4.2).

Further information regarding the educational paths of students with migration backgrounds is provided by the general results from the INVALSI tests for the 2014/15 school year, deepening the distinction between native students and those of foreign origin (both first- and second-generation) for school level and geographic area. To allow analysis and comparisons, the test results are expressed in terms of an average score, or a summary of the central tendency of all students with those characteristics. The national average value conventionally is set to 200, meaning that an average value greater than 200, considering the confidence interval associated with it, is above the national average. Conversely, an average result of less than 200 would be below the national average (MIUR–ISMU, 2016, p. 111).

Even with specific differences and peculiarities in each context, overall this confirms a clear trend: native students get higher scores than the national average in all school levels and on tests in both Italian and mathematics in comparison to immigrant students. In particular, the difference is more marked between native and first-generation immigrant students, while compared to second-generation students the difference is less evident. In no cases do non-Italian students obtain a score greater than 200; second-generation students achieve scores closer (although increasingly less so) to natives, compared to the first-generation students. The score gap is more pronounced for the Italian test than that of mathematics, regardless of nationality (MIUR–ISMU, 2016, pp. 111–112).

Focusing on first-generation immigrant students, the data show that foreigners born in an EU member state achieve higher results than the average of all the first-generation students and do so for all school levels. Lower test scores are obtained by those coming from non-European states and, above all, by those who arrive from non-European countries (in any case, the latter coming to have higher average scores) (MIUR–ISMU, 2016, p. 112).

A final point that should be taken into account to understand outcomes of immigrant education concerns the holdover rate, or delayed graduation. An analysis of the regularity of schooling of students with non-Italian citizenship highlights a very serious problem of delayed graduation. Despite reading the data as a historical

series, there is a progressive decrease in the overall incidence of delayed graduation for pupils with non-Italian citizenship (from 40.7% in the 2010/11 school year to 32.9% in the 2015/16 school year). The serious problem of delayed graduation, however, remains. In the 2015/16 school year 46% of 14-year olds, 60.1% of 15-year olds, and 64% of students over age 16 faced delayed graduation (MIUR, 2017, p. 43).

This phenomenon is related both to the inclusion in the Italian school system of holding students back—with numerous reasons for doing so, such as lack of linguistic resources, poor test performance, low social and cultural capital, and negative effects of the migration experience—as well as regional and institutional variables that negatively impact students with non-Italian citizenship and, in particular, first-generation students.

A structural inequality persists, therefore, between the future careers of non-Italian and Italian students. In the 2015/16 school year, students with non-Italian citizenship who were held back accounted for 13.2% in primary school (compared to 1.8% of Italians), 35.4% in lower secondary school (compared to 6.6% of Italians), and 61.3% in upper secondary school (compared to 21.1% of Italians) (MIUR–ISMU, 2016, p. 82). One reason why students may find themselves in classes that do not match their age is due to late school admission. Again, the gap between Italians and foreigners is accentuated for all types of schools, with a particular emphasis on upper secondary schools, although this gap is more pronounced for students born abroad (MIUR–ISMU, 2016, p. 82). Students who are held back a year are mainly held back in the first years of either primary, lower secondary, or upper secondary schools: 2.9% of immigrant students and 0.4% of Italians in the first year of primary school, 9.7% of foreigners and 3.2% of Italians in the first year of lower secondary school, and 18.5% of foreigners and 11.3% of Italians in the first year of upper secondary school are held back (MIUR–ISMU, 2016, p. 82).

Intercultural Education Policy in Italy

In the field of intercultural education, the policies adopted in Italy have often been particularly salient to the broader public, with very advanced adherence to democratic and progressive principles (Fiorucci, 2008, 2011; Portera, 2013; Santerini, 2010). It should also be noted, however, that these policies have not always led to a coherent system of educational practices. In fact, what has happened since the 1990s and onwards has achieved good practices in some local educational contexts, while other Italian educational contexts remained far behind, not addressing the educational needs of immigrant students. It is useful here to refer briefly to three recent publications of the Italian Ministry of Education. In particular, the document *The Italian Way for Intercultural School Integration of Foreign Students* issued by the Ministry of Education (*Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*-MPI) in 2007 defines the intercultural approach in the educational context as a deliberate project to promote

dialogue and cultural exchange for all—natives and foreigners alike. In this way, diversity (cultural, gender, social class, etc.) becomes an important point of reference in educational processes, providing an opportunity for all to develop from the current situation (MPI, 2007, pp. 8–9).

The MPI's (2007) *Italian Way* document describes an Italian intercultural integration model, which flows from the principles of universalism, education for all, the centrality of the person in relation to others, and interculturalism, to be implemented through a number of fundamental actions: acceptance and inclusion in the school; Italian as a second language; promotion of multilingualism; good relations with foreign families; promotion of relationships at school and in extracurricular settings; education on discrimination and prejudice; intercultural perspectives in knowledge and skills; autonomy and networking between educational institutions, civil society, and territory; and enhancing the roles of school principals, teachers, and other education personnel.

In 2014, the Ministry of Education (MIUR) issued the *Guidelines for the Reception and Integration of Foreign Students*, which distinguishes between various types of foreign-born students (non-Italian citizens; non-Italian-speaking families; unaccompanied minors; children of mixed couples; children arrived through international adoption; Sinti, Roma, and transitory students; university students with foreign citizenship). Moreover, the document offers operational guidelines concerning the distribution in schools of foreign students, their guidance, the involvement and participation of families, assessment, guidance, teaching Italian as a second language, continuing education for school staff, and lifelong learning (MIUR, 2014, pp. 5–7).

Furthermore, the MIUR's (2015) *Different From Whom?* document proposes possible answers to the educational needs in multicultural school contexts, describing ten operational lines of the intercultural approach in the Italian school system:

1. *Immediately enroll newly arrived [immigrant] students in the school system.* Due to a significant flow of immigrant students, class sizes should be reduced to allow the immediate integration of incoming students. In areas and school affected, it is necessary to provide for additional faculty and for the development of L2 laboratories for newcomers.
2. *Raise awareness of the importance of preschool.* Pre-school is a crucial educational time for language learning and good student integration. Immigrant parents must be informed about and involved in the importance of preschool, and it is necessary to provide concrete and effective assistance to immigrant children and families in accessing the whole system of preschools (state, municipal, and accredited private schools).
3. *Countering delayed graduation.* The regulations on immigrant student enrollment provide for the class assignment based on age. The ministerial data reveal, however, a worrying rate of immigrant students who are held back, which does not prevent, but in many cases also leads to more failed classes and delayed graduation, with demotivational effects on students towards their studies. We must update and spread clear policy, consistent with and prescriptive on how to

enroll and evaluate newly arrived foreign students, as well as to ensure pre-school immigrant students access to language programs before school placement.

4. *Guided progress; adapt the program and evaluation*. Each school needs to be "trained" in the preparation of personalized plans, involving, if necessary, transitional and impermanent changes of curricula. Year-end evaluation should be consistent with the personalized plans and take into account the actual progress made starting from their enrollment.
5. *Organize effective student guidance to encourage continuation of studies.* Considering the marked choice of technical and vocational institutes in upper secondary education, effective educational guidance should be provided through multilingual information to families about the characteristics of the various paths of study and through the legal right to study. For example, we must accurately inform (even with multilingual brochures) immigrant students and their families on the Italian school system and its higher education opportunities. We must involve, during the guidance phase in which educational choices are made, intercultural mediators and young immigrant tutors. It is also important to develop and promote methods of direct involvement of students, both Italian and immigrant, through opportunities for peer education—for example, by using second-generation students as tutors for newcomers, to support them in study laboratories, in their learning of Italian, and during the guidance process.
6. *Support learning Italian as a second language as the language of scholarship*. Behind the slower educational paths there is often a reduced competence in Italian, even among second-generation students. Language difficulties often are a result of lower competence in "language for education", which is essential for academic success. Hence the need to create in schools "permanent language laboratories," led by teachers specialized in teaching a second language, who are able to coordinate the work of linguistic simplification of the contents of the various disciplines and to facilitate learning the specific language of each subject. Ongoing and continuous volunteer and private forms of after-school tutoring should be provided, in cooperation with various associations, as well as the training of teachers on the teaching and learning of Italian as a second language.
7. *Valuing linguistic diversity.* The integration of immigrant children and youth in education has followed in recent years a mainly compensatory type, focusing on deficiencies and gaps and rarely recognizing acquired knowledge and skills of each student in their mother tongue. Linguistic diversity is, in fact, an opportunity for enrichment for all, both for multilingual speakers and monolingual natives who may experience the variety of languages and grow more open to the world and its languages. Elective courses teaching the various languages of immigrant students should be offered in schools, in cooperation with the governments of these countries, teaching all students non-EU foreign languages (Chinese, Arabic, Russian), recognizing and valuing the forms of bilingualism present among students, and training teachers on the importance of linguistic diversity and multilingualism.

8. *Preventing school segregation.* In some schools, we find the phenomena of large concentrations of immigrant students. In addition to demographic and housing data related to the settlement of migrant families in a given territory, Italian parents are concerned about the quality of education in multicultural classes too. We need to promote agreements at the local level in order to put into effect fair-diversity criteria in the formation of classes. The latter would reduce the cases of high immigrant concentrations and also provide for specific measures for situations where there is a large number of immigrant students.
9. *Involve families in the educational plans of their children.* Schools must become social hubs; places of meeting and exchange. Constant attention should be given to daily interactions and routines, which must be more inclusive and facilitated. Promoting information and easing the participation of immigrant families should be supported through multilingual messages and intercultural mediation activities, encouraging the representation of foreign parents, and by providing Italian language learning opportunities for immigrant parents, with particular attention to mothers who do not work and have fewer opportunities for socializing.
10. *Promote intercultural education in schools for all.* Young people need relational experience and cultural tools to learn how to interact without fear and with an open mind with new cultures, in a world increasingly marked by new global and local dimensions. Multicultural classes are a valuable context and the presence of students with immigrant backgrounds, if enhanced by an intercultural educational approach, offers important opportunities for the modernization and enrichment of the cultural profile of the Italian school. In this sense, it is necessary to inform all teachers on the strategies of intercultural education and experiment with global citizenship education programs (MIUR, 2015, pp. 1–5).

The Experience of the "Migrant Schools" Network

It may be useful to refer here to an Italian best practice in the field of intercultural education and inclusion of immigrants in society. This paragraph will focus on the "Migrant Schools" network, active since 2009 in Central Italy, connecting the most important Italian language schools for immigrants, established by private social organizations and voluntary associations, also in collaboration with school institutions.

Essential features of these non-formal educational contexts are their no-cost, continuous, or open enrollment throughout the year; their overall aim of promoting social integration, their use of basic services, and their exercise of fundamental rights. The courses implemented in this perspective are characterized by their special attention to guidance, their holistic approach to the problems of the individual, the low threshold in allowing access to people with low levels of education or who are otherwise disadvantaged, and their guidance and coaching towards support systems

of the society. The characteristics of these practices of non-formal education can be described as follows.

Approaches for Access to Language Learning Paths

A first aspect that characterizes the Migrant Schools network corresponds to the strategies and measures taken to promote access to public language programs. As we know, actual accessibility to education is a crucial aspect for the construction of an educational plan able to counter social marginalization. Educational programs of Italian language schools in the Migrant Schools network is strategic, primarily due to a strong anchoring to the contexts of participants' life and work. Many courses are held in the evening or on the weekends, in order to facilitate attendance of working students. To promote the participation of mothers, classes are scheduled in the morning, when their children are in school, or with an additional day-care service. In other cases, the association carries out language programs designed to meet the specific needs of certain vulnerable segments of the immigrant population, as is the case of courses for illiterate people or for women at risk of social isolation. Some schools also provide informational and awareness activities, to stress the demand for education and increase the motivation to learn in collaboration with other local services, such as guidance centers. In order to facilitate maximum access to educational opportunities, the largest schools organize ongoing educational cycles that continue throughout the year, thus allowing participants to start their own learning experience at any time they intend to do so.

Strategies for the Educational Success of Learners

Within the network of Migrant Schools, learners' educational success is pursued first through a rigorous analysis of the educational needs of the participants, as well as by building an open and cooperative atmosphere. Engaging in the educational context creates a space where learners can "experiment" with the benefits of and tighten meaningful relationships with teachers and classmates. In some cases, the atmosphere of involvement is also created in classes through expressive activities, such as singing or dancing, held together by the participation of teachers and students.

It should be noted that the diverse circumstances of immigrants have a determining influence on the frequency and manner in which learners participate in educational activities. An effective reception and guidance phase at the beginning of the language course proves crucial in a context in which attendance may be irregular or otherwise subject to the many difficulties of participants' lives and work. The promotion of participants' involvement represents an essential factor for overcoming resistance to education. Such criticism is often connected to the existing forms of exclusion prevalent in our society, in addition to what participants experienced in

their own country. For some types of learners, continuous social and cultural mediation should be implemented, addressing the building of effective relationships between educational services and their participants. A good example of this perspective is the development of "proximity" courses conducted inside the homes of immigrant women, offering in-home language programs for small groups of women.

A Wide Range of Educational Methodologies Adopted

The educational journeys made within the Migrant Schools network are characterized by a wide range of educational methods such as: lectures, workshops, teaching laboratories, recreational and expressive activities, and autobiographical storytelling initiatives.

A methodology of "activist" inspiration is particularly preferred in many schools, which places the learners as active subjects of their own learning process—replacing traditional teaching methods (e.g., lectures) with group work and projects, role playing, and simulation activities—and which also fosters horizontal communication within the group. Generally, these teaching methods place emphasis on activities addressing the acquisition of communicative skills for everyday situations of life and work. These methods are focused on a priority-oriented approach to communication through conversational activities, writing, and language comprehension. Even the study of Italian grammar is proposed according to an inductive method—from a traditional setting in which the study of general principles switches applications in special cases, to an organized activity of observation and reflection on experiences and facts strongly connected to the lives of learners, from which it returns to general principles. The goal, then, is to pursue the acquisition not only of language skills but also more complex communication skills that are essential in the process of effective integration into social, educational, and occupational arenas.

It should be noted that the "class group" represents the container that gives meaning to the entire learning experience of the subject, and allows fundamental routes for reworking one's life trajectory. In this context, particular care is taken in the search for teaching methods that will enhance the diversity of experiences and communication styles, redefining identity paths with a perspective on "open" research shared by teachers and students, which can be defined as truly "intercultural."

Citizenship Education from an Intercultural Perspective

Italian as a second language courses include issues of citizenship, representing an important reference to an educational approach directed towards social integration of the learner. In this sense, activities designed to stimulate active and conscious participation of the subject in the community are promoted with a cross-cultural

exchange perspective. In many schools, the issue of citizenship emerges naturally within teaching activities, and regularly in those activities that allow participants to express and process significant critiques of their own lives. Some informational classes promote a basic understanding of the Italian Constitution, including the rights and duties of citizens. Students experience tangible forms of citizenship within these courses that involve guest speakers on social services or local cultural heritage; such activities thus acquire a double meaning—the promotion of both cultural and socioeconomic issues.

The practices of the Migrant Schools network underscore the need to consider the learner as a whole, while taking into account the social, economic, political, and ethical implications on the educational experience. The result is an unprecedented characterization of education, partly as a result of the issue of citizenship rights: education is a "good unto itself" and an indispensable personal right. If secured, the right to education thus becomes strategic, because it allows individuals to identify their needs, to design their own personal and professional paths, and to better define strategies to protect their rights (Catarci, Fiorucci, & Trulli, 2014).

Conclusion

In the EU, different strategies to promote an intercultural approach to education have been grouped by the Eurydice European network in the following main types:

- Guidance measures, including written information about schools, intercultural mediators, human resources, and specific tools, such as meetings for immigrant families;
- Strategies aimed at strengthening the interaction between the school and the immigrant family, through the publication of written information on the school system in the languages of origin of foreign students, and the use of intercultural mediators or teachers connecting immigrant students, their families, and the school;
- Teaching in the mother tongue, usually done in extracurricular contexts, on the basis of bilateral agreements and the availability of specific resources;
- The promotion of processes through which relations between people of different cultural backgrounds are analyzed and made explicit in the school curricula, with an intercultural intent that is configured at three levels: (a) the learning of values of respect and, in some cases, anti-racism, within the context of cultural diversity; (b) the international dimension, with a deepening of the contemporary cultural diversity in historical and social contexts; and (c) European aspects (Eurydice, 2004, 2009, 2012).

In Italy, the changing school population and increased enrollment of immigrant students has led the Italian school system to adopt, albeit very heterogeneously, approaches and educational strategies aimed at an intercultural approach to the learning process. However, it should be noted that an intercultural education-

oriented approach to social justice should be developed as an orientation that operates on three levels: political, critical, and transformative. The intercultural approach should be *political* because, to quote the extraordinary idea of Paulo Freire (1970/2005), intercultural education cannot be translated into a neutral practice, but instead requires a precise choice of field—in other words, it demands the explicit purpose for which it exercises its educational role (in this case, therefore, the emancipation of young people of foreign origin).

This perspective should also be *critical*, in the sense of critical pedagogy, which has suggested an analysis of the educational process from the fundamental recognition of its historical and social nature, thus highlighting the circumstances and contexts in such an educational theory is placed. In this context, an approach of intercultural education also requires the awareness of the underlying ideological dimensions to any educational practice, as well as the role of education in relation to the dynamics of reproduction of the status quo and forms of social injustice (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2009; Giroux & McLaren, 1995). All practices, even the intercultural, are always situated within relations of "power"—the asymmetrical relationships between individuals, within the framework of the construction of cultural norms, which require the subjects to become aware of their own ability to act socially and intervene in their social reality (Giroux, 2011, p. 3).

Finally, an intercultural education approach should be characterized by a fundamental commitment to social change, through ongoing activities addressed to design educational tools of transformation and to contrast the dynamics which generate marginalization and exclusion. Through a significant effort of analysis of the multiple dynamics (social and educational) to the origin of situations of marginalization (Apple, Au, & Gandin, 2009, p. 3), an intercultural educational practice also exposes the circumstances in which education acts in a conservative perspective as an instrument of social, political, and cultural reproduction. In this way, the intercultural approach connects to a key militant commitment to the construction and organization of knowledge and practices that can contribute effectively to redraw texts, symbols, and actions that convey social injustice. Any idea of education is in fact connected to an idea of how to shape society as well as the experiences of individuals who live within it. As such, intercultural education should be anchored to a vision of an intercultural society in which relationships between its members are inspired by the principles of democracy, cultural openness, and social justice.

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Chapter 5
Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy in Sweden

Lisbeth Lundahl and Michael Lindblad

Introduction

As a result of extensive immigration, consisting largely of refugees, Sweden has undergone a fast demographic change during the last 25 years. The refugee wave in the 2010s has accentuated this trend. In 2016, approximately 17% of Sweden's inhabitants were born outside of the country (Statistics Sweden, 2017b). Sweden was the country in the European Union granting most refugees asylum in proportion to its population (Eurostat, 2016), and the EU country that had most asylum-seeking unaccompanied minors, in absolute numbers (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2016). The Swedish education system has had obvious difficulties coping with the situation, as is *inter alia* reflected in the considerable achievement gap between students born in Sweden and students with foreign background, particularly those who arrive after the age of 7, when children normally start school in Sweden.

To a large extent, Swedish official statistical data enable comparisons between immigrant and native children since the early 1990s; however, the rapidly growing immigration rates have resulted in successively more fine-grained statistics. Thus a distinction between arriving to Sweden before school starting age or after was introduced in official statistics in 2005/2006, newly arrived students in 2011/2012, and students with unknown origin (i.e., not being registered in Sweden) in 2014/2015 (Skolverket, 2016a). These changes are helpful when analyzing the situation of the groups concerned, but simultaneously render long-term comparisons more difficult. In addition, difficulties of comparisons result from a host of education reforms in recent years, especially changes of the system of national tests and grading, and raised qualification requirements to upper secondary education.

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Children with a Migration Background: A Historical Overview

Well into the twentieth century, Sweden was a poor country with a rapidly growing population and high levels of emigration, particularly between 1865 and 1930. Approximately 1.2 million Swedes emigrated during this period of time, mainly to North America (Statistics Sweden, 2017a). Left unharmed by World War II, Sweden prospered from continuous economic growth, political stability, and well-organized relations between the State and the social partners from the late 1940s to the early 1970s. The demand of labor was high throughout the 1950s and 1960s from industry and the expanding public sector. This resulted in recruitment of both females and immigrants in the workforce, the latter mainly originating from Finland and central and southern Europe (Lundh, 2005; Nilsson, 2004). In 1972, however, the labor import ended abruptly during the first deep recession since the 1930s (Byström & Frohnert, 2017). After that, the immigration to Sweden increasingly consisted of refugees and their relatives. Thus, more than three-thirds of all who migrated to Sweden in the period 1985 to 2003 had such a background (Nilsson, 2004). In the 1970s and 1980s, Sweden received many refugees from Chile, Turkey, Syria, and Lebanon. The largest groups in the 1990s came from Iran, Iraq, and former Yugoslavia, and successively also from war-stricken countries in Africa, especially from Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea (Nilsson, 2004). A new large immigration wave started in 2011–2012 and culminated in 2015, mainly consisting of refugees from Syria, but also from Afghanistan, Somalia, Eritrea, and Iraq. The internationally comparative generous refugee policies came to a sudden end in 2016, when Sweden made a policy U-turn, applying the minimum standard of the United Nations refugee convention. To illustrate: in 2015 Sweden received approximately 160,000 asylum seekers, 70,000 of whom were children. In 2016, the corresponding figures were 29,000 asylum seekers of which fewer than 11,000 were children (Swedish Migration Agency, 2017).

School-Age Children

The proportion of school-age children with a non-Swedish background (children born outside or in Sweden whose parents were born in another country) has increased faster than the whole immigrant population, especially after 2005. This group of students constituted approximately one-fourth of all students in compulsory schools in 2016, if we look at the proportion of students entitled to instruction in another language than Swedish (Skolverket, 2017b). Furthermore, the number of immigrant children born outside of Sweden has increased during the last 10-year period, and exceeded the number of immigrant children born in Sweden from 2013

and on. The share of boys has consistently been somewhat higher (on average 51–52%) than for girls. The refugee wave of the 2010s has also meant that a higher proportion of newly immigrated children originate from non-European countries with lower educational levels and less developed educational systems, such as Afghanistan and Somalia. Using the Human Development Index (HDI) as an indicator, the proportion of school children from countries with the lowest living standard, in terms of life expectancy at birth, mean years of schooling and gross national income per capita, rose from approximately 9% in 2008 to 22% in 2015.

There is clear evidence that entering school in the new country at a late stage affects school performance negatively in compulsory school and after (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2015; Grönqvist & Niknami, 2017; Skolverket, 2016b). In Sweden, the 9-year comprehensive education starts at the age of 7 and is compulsory to attend. The absolute majority of younger children attend preschool (0–5 year olds) and preschool class (6 year olds). It may be added that a government proposal to introduce compulsory education from the age of 6 is expected to be realized in 2018. Between 2006 and 2015, the proportion of immigrant students who entered compulsory school after 7 years of age increased from 3 to 8% (Skolverket, 2016b). The average age of newly immigrated children has increased by 2 years since the early 1990s, which means that they have 2 less years to manage the Swedish school system (Skolverket, 2016b).

In recent years, Sweden has had higher numbers of unaccompanied minors seeking asylum than any other EU country. A large number of them were born in Afghanistan, but many unaccompanied minors originate from Somalia, Iraq, Eritrea, and Syria. Boys are over-represented in this group compared to the whole group of immigrant children (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2016).

Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

A range of studies consistently show an achievement gap between immigrant and native children (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2015; Grönqvist & Niknami, 2017; Skolverket, 2016b). We will use three measures when describing this gap between students born in Sweden and students who have immigrated to the country: (a) student performance on national standardized tests in grade 9 in Swedish/Swedish as a second language (see below) and mathematics, (b) the proportion of students being eligible for upper secondary education, and (c) results in mathematics and reading literacy in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA).

Students who do not have Swedish as their mother tongue are entitled, if needed, to enroll in “Swedish as a second language” programs; approximately 15% of the students in grade 9 in 2015/2016 followed this syllabus. The test items are the same in the two subjects, but the assessment is related to the syllabus concerned.

National Tests in Swedish/Swedish as a Second Language, and Mathematics

The aim of the national standardized tests is to contribute to equal assessments and grade ratings in compulsory school. Students' test results in Swedish/Swedish as second language and Mathematics display increasing differences between children born in Sweden and immigrant children who arrived in Sweden after the regular start of compulsory school and/or arrived recently. While approximately 95% of children with native parents and children who arrived in Sweden before school-starting age passed the national tests in Swedish/Swedish as a second language in the period of 2013–2016, the corresponding proportion was 70% among children who arrived at a later age—a decline of 5% points since 2012/2013. Only slightly more than half of the newly arrived students (students who have immigrated during the last 4 years) passed the test, a decline from 60% since 2012/2013. In addition, one should note that many of those who did not participate in the national tests are students entering Swedish schooling at a late stage (Skolverket, 2016c). In the academic years 2012/2013–2014/2015 almost 9% of all students did not participate in the tests, but in 2015/2016 their share had grown to 11% (Skolverket, 2017c).

The proportion of boys who fail the national test in Swedish or Swedish as a second language tend to be higher than for the girls, particularly boys who do not arrive before school starting age. Fifteen percent of the boys with this background failed in Swedish (girls: 7%) in 2016. In Swedish as a second language, the corresponding rates were 40% and 32%, respectively.

The test results in Mathematics look somewhat different; there is a larger average performance gap (a difference of approximately 5%) between students born in Sweden and immigrant students who have arrived before the regular school starting age in Mathematics as compared to Swedish/Swedish as a second language. However, the achievement gap (on average 14% points), between students arriving late to the Swedish school system and all students is smaller in the Mathematics tests than in Swedish/Swedish as a second language. The overall results of immigrant students showed declining trend until 2016, when the results improved, in line with PISA 2015 and TIMSS 2015 (Gustafsson, 2017).

There are only minor differences between boys' and girls' performance on the Mathematics test in grade 9 if we look at the whole group, but among students who arrive after school starting age, girls fail somewhat more frequently than boys—in 2015/2016 a gender difference of 3% points.

Qualifying for Admission to Upper Secondary Education

The proportion of students who failed in Swedish/Swedish as second language, English, and Mathematics and thus were not qualified for admission to a national upper secondary program rose from almost 9% in the late 1990s to more than 14% in

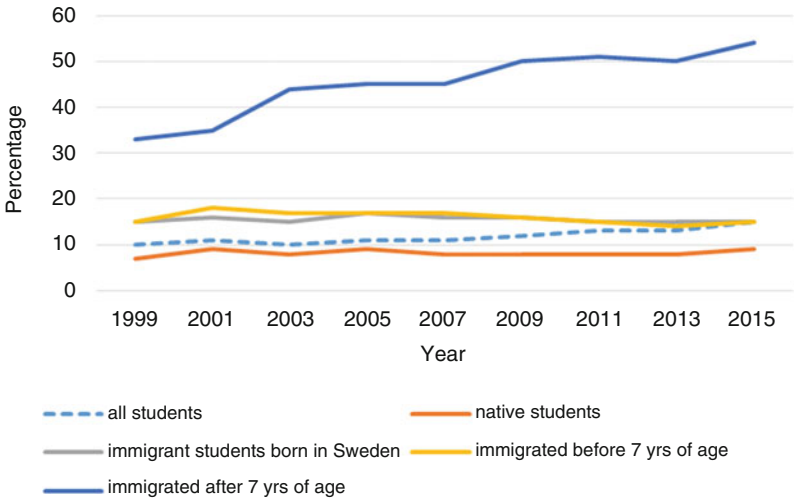

Fig. 5.1 Proportion of students who did not pass in one subject or more of mathematics, English, and Swedish/Swedish as a second language in grade 9 (1999–2015) (*Source:* Skolverket, 2016b)

2015 (Fig. 5.1). Stricter qualification rules were introduced in 2012, meaning that passes in more subjects were required. The marks in the latter subjects, however, add only marginally to the picture (Skolverket, 2016b). The growing numbers and composition of students arriving after school starting age is by far the dominant component of the negative trend (Skolverket, 2016b). In 2015, more than 50% of this group were not qualified for upper secondary studies. In general the boys had somewhat lower (2–4%) qualification rates than the girls (Skolverket, 2017d).

In the mid-1990s, students born abroad constituted roughly 17% of the lowest-performing decile, measured by average grades. In 2010–2014, their share increased to 25–30%, which means a strong over-representation of immigrant students (Grönqvist & Niknami, 2017).

Achievement in PISA

In the first PISA assessments in 2000, Sweden scored above the OECD average in science, reading literacy, and mathematics. However, the average achievements were continuously declining, and in the 2012 assessment Sweden showed the worst outcome development of all OECD countries. In reading literacy and science, the low-performing students had the largest drops of all. PISA 2015 meant a trend-break; now the results once more exceeded the OECD average. A similar trend was seen among Swedish participants in the 2015 Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) assessment. Figures 5.2 and 5.3 show the significant

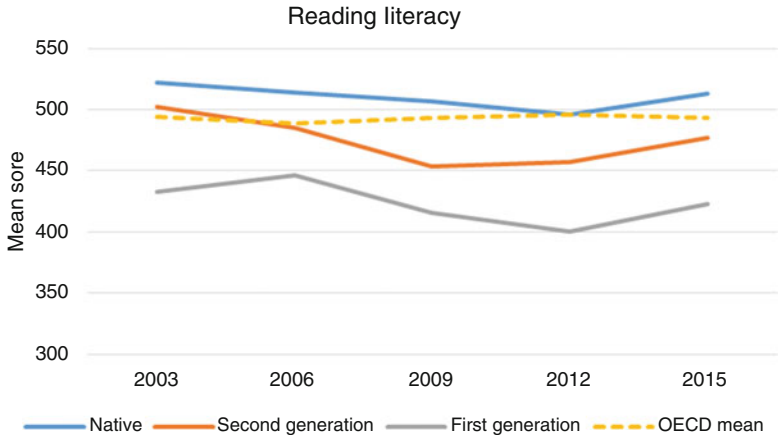

Fig. 5.2 Results in the PISA reading literacy test in 2003–2015, for natives (Swedish background), first- and second-generation immigrants, and OECD mean (*Source:* National Center for Education Statistics, 2017)

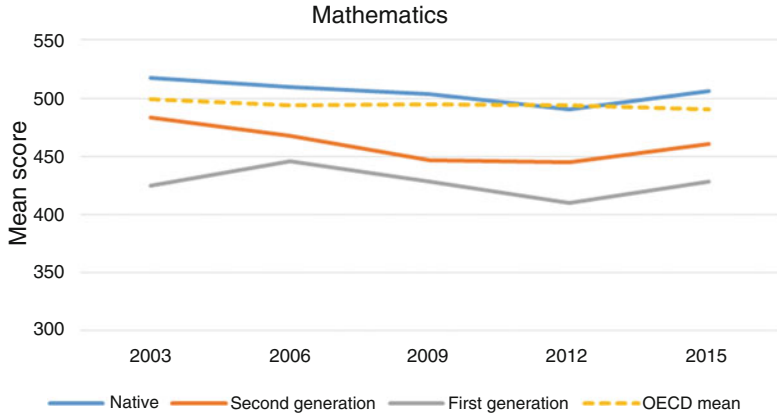

Fig. 5.3 Results in the PISA mathematics test in 2003–2015, for natives (Swedish background), first- and second-generation immigrants, and OECD mean (*Source:* National Center for Education Statistics, 2017)

differences between native students and first- and second-generation immigrant students (both born in the country and born abroad); they are actually larger in Sweden than in the rest of OECD countries (Skolverket, 2016b). It can be noted that the proportion of students with a foreign background participating in the PISA study in Sweden increased by 2.3 percentage points since the 2012 assessment, and as has been shown above, this group increasingly consists of refugee children arriving after

school-starting age, coming from war-stricken and poor countries. One may add that the substantial increase in immigration to Sweden in autumn 2015 is not captured in PISA 2015.

As shown in Figs. 5.2 and 5.3, the achievement differences in both reading literacy and mathematics between first-generation immigrant students and other students decreased considerably in PISA 2006, but then had a steep decline in PISA 2009 and 2012. The performance of this group improved in PISA 2015 in parallel with the native Swedish students and second-generation immigrant students.

The achievement gap in PISA 2015 between native students, first- and second-generation immigrant students varies somewhat between the reading literacy and mathematics tests. Second- generation immigrant students on average score 94% of the native students in reading and literacy; in mathematics the corresponding share is 91%. The average achievement of first-generation immigrant students in reading and literacy is 82% of that of native students; in mathematics the proportion is 84.5%. The achievement gap between native students and first-generation immigrants is largest among girls, both on the reading literacy scale and the mathematics scale. The average score of the immigrant girls on the reading literacy test is 81% of that of the native girls, and the immigrant boys on average score 84% compared to the scores of the native boys. The boys and girls on average score 86% and 83%, respectively, of the native average score on the mathematics test (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017).

Understanding the Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

We have identified considerable achievement gaps between immigrant students, especially first-generation immigrants, newly arrived, and children arriving in Sweden after regular school-starting age. These groups are strongly over-represented among low-achievers in school. Below we discuss explanations for this gap, starting with factors related to children's socio-economic background, age, and country of origin, followed by social/school segregation, and school-related factors.

Parents' socio-economic background to a very high degree predicts the child's success or lack thereof in school (e.g., Engzell, 2016; Grönqvist & Niknami, 2017; Jonsson & Rudolphi, 2011). Grönqvist and Niknami (2017) found that the achievement gap in average marks in grade 9 between native-born children and children born outside Sweden decreased by 75% when controlling for parents' education, employment, and income. The present trend is clearly troublesome; the performance gap between socio-economically advantaged and disadvantaged students has *increased* in Sweden over the last decade at the same time as the gap between the highest- and lowest-performing students has been growing, and is now larger than the OECD average (OECD, 2016).

The *child's age at arrival* is another crucial explanatory factor of school performance. For example, Böhlmark (2010) concluded that children arriving after 9 years of age on average get significantly lower grades in elementary school. The *country of origin* is also important, as different countries give the child different preconditions in terms of quality of education and social life (e.g., absence of war and famine). The average grades of immigrant students from Africa are the lowest and have declined markedly over time, and the grades of Asian students show a negative development as well. These students mainly originate from Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, and Eritrea, and the African students are considerably older than the others at arrival (Grönqvist & Niknami, 2017).

A range of studies have pointed to the *growing housing segregation and school segregation as a result of parental choice* as important factors behind the increasing between-school differences in student achievement, although researchers are divided regarding the relative importance of the two factors (Böhlmark, Holmlund, & Lindahl, 2015; Grönqvist & Niknami, 2017; Holmlund et al., 2014; Östh, Andersson, & Malmberg, 2013). Hence schools have become more homogeneous with regard to their student populations; more and more schools tend to collect similar kinds pf students (Böhlmark & Lindahl, 2015; Gustafsson, Sörlin, & Vlachos, 2016). As in many other countries, a "white flight"—parents taking their children out of the neighborhood school when they perceive the proportion of "non-whites" becoming too high—takes place in many Swedish cities (Östh et al., 2013). As a consequence, immigrant families and children in Sweden tend to live in other areas and go to other schools than families and children of non-immigrant backgrounds. The increasingly homogeneous composition of students in schools for example means that low-performing students have less opportunities to learn from high-performing students, and that immigrant children have fewer opportunities to learn speaking and writing in Swedish from socializing with native peers. Also, the schools in disadvantaged areas run a risk of not attracting and retaining the most experienced and qualified teachers (Holmlund et al., 2014).

The importance of the *residential area* is not fully clarified, as it is difficult to separate effects relating to the individual cases from neighborhood effects (Bunar, 2015a, 2015b; Skolverket, 2012, 2016b). However several studies point to a strong correlation between poor results in school, lack of socio-economic resources in the family, and neighborhoods with high unemployment, low incomes, and low educational levels (Niedomysl, Östh, & Amcoff, 2015; Sernhede, 2011). A recent Swedish study controlling simultaneously for parental background and neighborhood effects found that this almost eliminated the achievement gap (Grönqvist & Niknami, 2017), while Åslund, Edin, Fredriksson, and Grönqvist (2011) found that a high level of education among fellow countrymen in the neighborhood had a positive relationship to school grades in compulsory school.

Based on longitudinal data that enable a more detailed analysis of certain school factors than is common, Grönqvist and Niknami (2017) conclude that class size and teachers' occupational experience and formal qualifications are insignificant in explaining differences in school achievement between native and foreign-born students. However, they find that attendance in preschool reduces this gap.

A number of qualitative studies from Sweden highlight the interrelatedness of the categories discussed above. Parents' socio-economic background relates to other factors connected to migration and the host country's ability and willingness of integration or lack thereof. The growing school segregation is particularly evident in urban areas, and coincide with neighborhood characteristics and parental school choice (Kallstenius, 2010; Trumberg, 2011). Schools have difficulties countering the growing segregation, sometimes described as a territorial stigmatization, and no longer seem to offer an obvious path for integration into the Swedish society (Bunar & Kallstenius, 2007; Lindbäck & Sernhede, 2013; Sernhede, 2011). Several studies show how ethnicity becomes a central category for schools' social organization, stratifying students as Swedes and "immigrants". Young people with immigrant backgrounds must relate to the "otherness" they encounter almost daily (Gruber, 2007; Lundqvist, 2010). On the other hand, individual teachers are important for students to complete compulsory school and make them eligible for further studies. Committed teachers are able to see the students as individuals rather than as "others" and create good relationships that provide conditions for school success (Bouakaz, 2012; Trondman, Taha, & Bouakaz, 2014). However, there is a tendency to regard the family as a problem rather than as a resource; schools often fail to cooperate with parents in increasing students' possibilities to succeed in school. The family is highly significant and represents security and continuity for the young immigrants. Parents normally want their children to succeed in school but lack knowledge in school subjects, and about the educational system. Language problems often hinder them from helping their children. Many young immigrants are working in tandem with their studies in order to contribute to the family's economy, which affects their school attendance and time for homework adversely. In addition, lack of privacy and a quiet place at home to do homework is often a hindering factor (Lindblad, 2016). The newly arrived young students' lack of prior knowledge about the Swedish education system seems to make them even more dependent on teachers and other school staff (Sharif, 2017). Their neighborhood and schools, however, seem more characterized by an absence of "the Swedish"—that is, Swedish neighbors, Swedish classmates, and the Swedish language (Bunar & Ambrose, 2016; Lindblad, 2016; Sharif, 2017).

Education Policies for Children with a Migration Background

An Education Policy Hybrid with Traditional Social Democratic and Neoliberal Features

In order to understand the educational situation and outcomes of children with an immigrant background, it is not enough to focus on policies specifically addressing these groups; it is also necessary to consider the wider policy context that has

emerged since the beginning of the 1990s in Sweden. For the last three decades, Swedish education and educational governance present a mix of social democratic and liberal features, with a combination of state control, considerable local autonomy, and prominent marketization. On the one hand, education policies are emphasizing goals of social justice and inclusion, with a 9-year comprehensive education without streaming and little separation of students with special needs, and a comprehensive upper secondary school organization including vocational as well as academic tracks. On the other hand, school choice and privatization reforms in the early 1990s have resulted in a market situation where schools—public as well as private—are competing over students and vouchers (Lundahl, Erixon Arreman, Holm, & Lundström, 2013). Although a contested matter, most researchers conclude that the introduction of school choice has contributed to the increased between-school variation of academic performance, as measured by grades. This doubled over in less than 15 years (Skolverket, 2012). At upper secondary level, a bewildering jungle of schools and educational programs has emerged—an educational landscape that is unusually difficult to overview and understand for the immigrant children, young people, and their parents (e.g., Lindblad, 2016; Lundahl, Lindblad, Lovén, Mårald, & Svedberg, 2017). In addition, the highly decentralized education system has led to unreasonably large variations with regard to special needs education, career counselling, and youth schemes (Lundahl & Olofsson, 2014). It is in this context that young immigrants in Sweden start their educational careers and plan for their futures.

Favoring Universal Policies

It is striking that rather few selective measures specifically targeting immigrant students have been introduced in Sweden at central state level and in the resulting legislation over the years, and this is still the situation. The Education Act (Swedish Parliament, 2017a), complemented by the Education Ordinance (Swedish Parliament, 2017b), above all concerns the responsibilities towards *all* children: universal access to free-of-charge education and a range of related services, and furthermore schools' obligation to see to it that all children get enough support to reach the curriculum goals. Since 2013, even unregistered children are included by law. Here one may add that even though schooling is offered to all children, it is not mandatory for asylum seekers, unaccompanied minors, and unregistered children to attend education, which makes them dependent on the preparedness of parents, officials, and other actors to motivate and support them to go to school (Nilsson & Bunar, 2016). Children with special needs are entitled to professional support, and the headmaster's responsibility to act promptly to ensure that students get this support is strongly emphasized in the 2010 Education Act. This responsibility self-evidently includes immigrant children (Table 5.1).

Measures specifically addressing immigrant students mainly concern language instruction and support. Firstly, immigrant students are entitled to mother-tongue

Table 5.1 Immigrant children's access to education and related support according to the Swedish Act of education

Universal (all children)	Students in need of special support	Immigrant students (specifically)
Municipalities are obliged to offer all children aged 0–6 pre-school education.	Schools shall offer qualified special needs support for children in need.	Students are entitled to
		Language instruction in their mother tongue, if this is not Swedish
Elementary education includes all children aged 7–16 (from 2013 also unregistered immigrant students).	The head teacher has the responsibility to take active measures if a student risks failing, and to create action plan, containing measures and form of evaluation.	Instruction in other subjects in their mother tongue in grades 1–6
		Study help in their mother tongue
The school shall actively follow each student's development and create a written individual study plan. This plan shall evaluate how the student's knowledge develops and bring up measures needed in order for the child to reach the curriculum goals.	Young people who do not meet the requirements for admission to a national 3-year upper secondary program are offered a place in one of the five introduction programs.	Instruction in the subject "Swedish as a second language" instead of "Swedish"
		Recently arrived young people are commonly offered a place in the language introduction program
Free of charge cooked school meals, school health care (medical, social, psychological and special needs services), counselling, school buses, etc.		

Source: Swedish Parliament (2017a)

instruction in grades 1–6 if it is the language that is used in the family. They may also get instruction and learning support in other subjects in their mother tongue half of the teaching time at the most. Secondly, students, *when needed*, can attend the subject "Swedish as a second language" instead of Swedish. The aim is to give students "extensive opportunities to communicate in Swedish . . ., without demanding linguistic correctness too early" (Skolverket, 2017a, p. 264; our translation).

State subsidies are given to municipalities for arranging homework support, and summer schools targeting students who failed in one or more subjects. In reality the educational support in mother-tongue language has been shown to suffer from serious weaknesses, in particular being of insufficient scope lacking qualified teachers, lacking cooperation between subject teachers and the mother-tongue pedagogues, and large variations between schools (Skolverket, 2017b).

Getting Ahead?

Young people who do not meet the requirements for admission to a national 3-year upper secondary program are offered a place in one of the five introduction

programs, the language introduction program being the largest. In the academic year 2016/2017, almost two-thirds of the first-year students attending an introduction program consisted of students in the language introduction program (Skolverket, 2016d). The introduction programs seek to make students eligible for one of the national programs, or prepared for a job. Five years after starting the language introduction, however, only 36% of the students in the language program had transferred to a national program (Skolverket, 2017b). Since it is in practice a requirement to have completed such a program in order to get a job, the low transfer rate is highly problematic. A recent evaluation of the language introduction by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate reveals large problems (Skolinspektionen, 2017). It is concluded that many of the problems existed before the large refugee wave in 2015, but they now have become accentuated: the instruction is adapted not to the individual student's needs but rather to the supply of teachers and facilities. Teachers and other school staff often have too low expectations of the students, and tend to focus on knowledge deficiencies rather on students' capabilities and ambitions for the future. The local variations are unreasonably large (Skolinspektionen, 2017).

Consequences of Far-Reaching Decentralization of Education

The high degree of local autonomy in Sweden poses a problem when it comes to realizing the universal and targeted policy instruments described above. To take one example: the manner in which education of newly arrived students should be organized and implemented is not centrally regulated, but rather a matter of local discretion. The most commonly used model is to place the newly arrived in transitional classes; for how long is typically decided by the teachers. The extent to which students in the transitional classes attend mainstream classes in certain subjects vary locally. Sometimes these classes are separated from the rest of the school, sometimes not. Thus the possibilities to meet and socialize with other students differ considerably. A second model (and there are more, although less common) is to place immigrant students directly in mainstream classes, often but not always with support in their mother tongue (Nilsson & Bunar, 2016). In a similar vein, the extent and quality of learning support in mother tongue (see above) varies considerably depending on which school the students attend, which language they speak, and what part of Sweden they live in (Skolverket, 2017b).

Recent Efforts to Counter Increasing Segregation and Fragmentation

The final report from the 2015 School Commission (State Official Reports, 2017), appointed by the Minister of Education in 2015, is the latest major effort to tackle the

decreasing educational outcomes and deteriorating equity of education. In its final report from April 2017, the Commission concludes that Swedish education suffers from "serious systemic weaknesses" (p. 34), *inter alia* growing segregation and local fragmentation, resulting in quality differences between schools. The Commission therefore proposes a number of measures with an aim to counteract segregation of schools and students: for example, strengthened state governing of education, and a centrally stipulated minimum level of funding of each school and allocation of compensatory resources to schools in underprivileged areas. Another proposal said to benefit students of immigrant origin in particular is to introduce "mandatory school choice"—all parents have to make an active choice of school for their child, supported by extensive information and guidance. The Commission also notes that:

> [Improved information in combination with the mandatory choice will result in more caregivers dropping segregated school environments with low socio-economic status. The mechanism that leads to decreased school segregation in that case simply consists of thinning out the student population in the segregated schools and distribute the students on other schools with less segregation]. (State Official Reports, 2017, p. 296; our translation).

The Commission also argues that municipalities should get increased possibilities to place the child in a way that "aims to promote a broad social composition," and a queuing system to popular free schools should be replaced by drawing by lots.

Conclusion

What could help increase the success level among first- and second-generation immigrant students? The break of the negative trend in the international assessments in 2015 is promising but the possible factors behind it needs deeper analysis. Also, this development meant a general improvement, but not that the achievement gap disappeared. The results from the large-scale research referred to above point at some possible policy strategies. One important but less highlighted aspect is that although attending preschool has been shown to contribute to children's school success, immigrant parents to a lesser extent than native parents place their children in a preschool. Both cultural and economic reasons may contribute to this. Policies aiming at higher attendance of younger immigrant children in preschool education could be a fruitful approach.

The qualitative research and evaluation studies referred to above also point to other possibilities. A combination of institutional (schools and teachers) and informal support may raise school achievement. There is thus a need to raise the competence of those who teach and support in children's mother tongue, as well as strengthened cooperation between these teachers and the subject teachers. Furthermore, one needs to raise teachers' and heads' knowledge about the life conditions of students with an immigrant background. Such knowledge is essential when introducing new measures; for example, coaching for structure and encouragement

and help with homework during schooldays, to prevent dropout and low or incomplete grades. Organized instruction about educational and vocational options may be decisive for motivation with school work and to help students make knowledge-based choices for the future. Recognition, instead of being seen as the "other," can have a further influence on educational achievement, and even make the difference between school failure and academic success.

Strengthening state governance and regulation with regard to financial and other resources to schools and a more marked resource allocation to disadvantaged schools, as proposed by the School Commission, is probably a necessary policy turn. In contrast, we are clearly skeptical to the proposal from the Commission to introduce "compulsory free school-choice" as a way to dissolve the increasing and harmful segregation. A host of research and experience shows that allocation of students based on parental school choice tends to favor less resourceful parents and children (e.g., in terms of their ability to overview and manage school choices) the least. Instead, we agree with Grönqvist and Niknami's (2017, p.10) conclusion:

> In fact, almost the entire gap would disappear if foreign born and native students had the same socioeconomic background and lived in the same neighborhoods. If this reflects a causal link, it means that broad societal efforts to improve the socio-economic status among immigrants could be a way to improve the school achievements of their children.

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Chapter 6
Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy in Finland

Heidi Harju-Luukkainen and Nele McElvany

Introduction

Finland is ranked as one of the most positive countries in relation to immigration (European Social Survey, 2016). In Finland, immigration has been (and continues to be) a source of population growth as well as cultural exchanges throughout the country's history. While immigrants from nearby areas like the Russian Federation and Estonia represent the largest immigrant population in Finland, there is also immigration from more distant countries like Somalia and Syria. According to the Population Research Institute (2017a), Finland has long been an emigration country, meaning that a greater number of Finnish nationals have moved to other countries (mainly for work) than the number of immigrants entering Finland. Therefore, Finland's immigrant population has grown slowly (see Fig. 6.1) and only during the most recent decade has there been a significant increase in immigration numbers. The Population Research Institute (2017a) also notes that foreign citizens represented 4% of the entire population in 2014. The immigrant population is concentrated in Finland's largest cities (65% live in the 10 largest cities), with the largest immigrant population situated in Finland's capital, Helsinki (where approximately 8.4% of the population are foreigners). Nevertheless, even with the recent increase in migration numbers, the immigrant population in Finland is still among the smallest in Europe.

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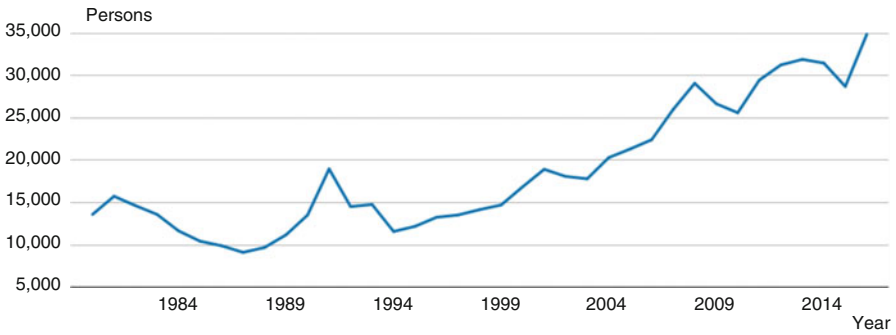


Fig. 6.1 Immigration to Finland in persons between 1980 and 2016 (Source: Statistics Finland (2017): Population structure)

It is difficult to estimate the number of inhabitants with an immigration background in Finland because there is no standardized system to categorize immigrant background in the national data. Therefore, the estimation of immigrant populations in Finland can only be done on the basis of nationality or mother tongue. Estimations based on nationalities are problematic because immigrants who apply for and receive Finnish citizenship are no longer recorded in the statistics as persons with an immigrant background. Similarly, estimating the number of immigrants based on mother tongue also is challenging because individuals can choose their mother tongue and change it when they so wish. Moreover, because Finland's second national language is Swedish, all Swedish-speaking immigrants do not appear in national immigration statistics. Despite such challenges, estimations of the Finnish immigrant population are usually calculated on the basis of mother tongue.

Immigration in Finland rose to its highest level in 2016. According to Statistics Finland (2017), approximately 350,000 persons moved to Finland that year, which exceeded the previous year by 21%. This has to do with the immigrant crisis of 2015 in Europe, during which time more than a million immigrants and refugees crossed into Europe mainly from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Kosovo, and Albania. Finland was ranked fifth among countries in Europe to receive the greatest number of asylum applications based on local populations of 100,000 (European Statistical System, 2016, p. 38). This naturally has an effect on both the population count as well as the number of children speaking other languages in comparison to national ones, both now and in the future.

The definition of who can be labeled a immigrant child is also somewhat unclear in Finland. According to the Population Research Institute (2017b), children who have moved to Finland with their parents are considered immigrants. Sometimes children of one or two immigrant parents also are considered immigrants even if they were born in Finland. However, the estimation of children with a immigrant background is usually calculated on the basis of a child's reported mother tongue. As shown in Fig. 6.2, the proportion of foreign language speaking children, youth, and

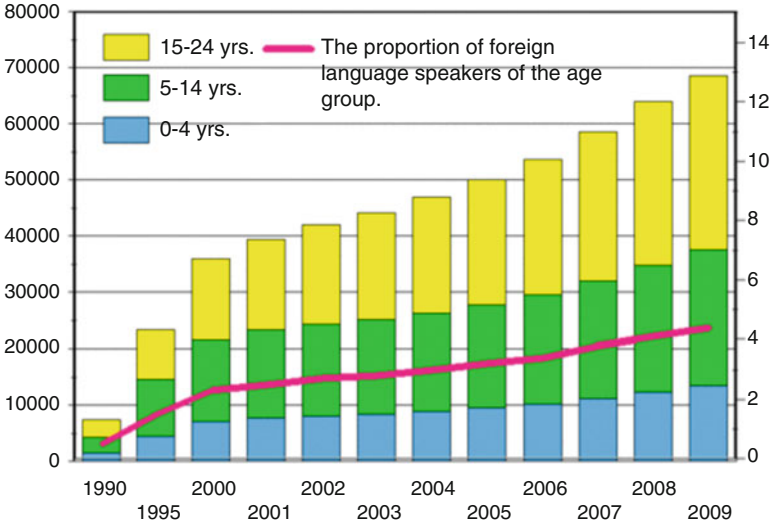


Fig. 6.2 The number and proportion of foreign language speaking children, youth, and young adults between ages 0 and 24 in Finland in 1990–2009 (Source: Population Research Institute/ Anneli Miettinen, 2017b)

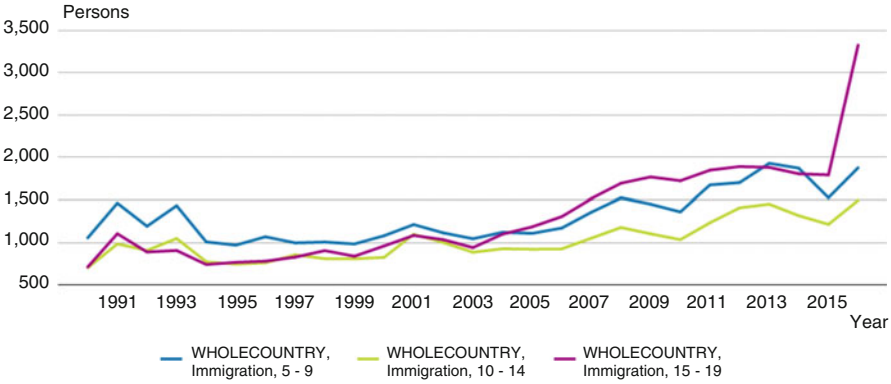


Fig. 6.3 Immigrant children in age groups 5–9, 10–14 and 15–19 between years 1990 and 2016 (Source: Statistics Finland (2017): Population structure)

young adults between ages 0 and 24 in Finland is around 4%, and both the number as well as percentage of such individuals have been steadily growing.

There has also been a slight increase in immigrant children ages 5–9 and 10–14 during the last 10 years (Fig. 6.3). The number of children in the 15–19 year-old age group increased dramatically during 2016 due to the immigrant crisis in Europe. This

change presented a particular challenge for the education system as large numbers of youths arrived in Finland with various backgrounds and educational competencies.

In recent years, immigration among the 0–14 year-old age group has been predominantly from other European and some Asian countries. In 2016, the greatest number of children from Asia arrived from Iraq (768), Syria (253), and Afghanistan (196). From Europe, the largest immigration countries were the Russian Federation (456), Estonia (450), and Sweden (368). There were no significant differences between the sexes if the children came from the Russian Federation, Estonia, and Sweden; however, children arriving from Iraq, Syria, or Afghanistan were more likely to be male than female.

Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children: PISA 2012 Oversample in Focus

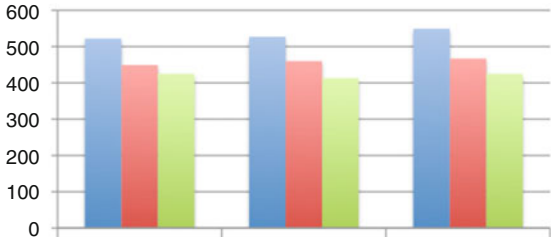
Since the immigrant population is still quite modest in Finland, we have only seen an increase in related research topics connected to education in recent years. Therefore, in this chapter we will report only the main findings of larger national and international studies that focus on immigration and Finland, particularly the Finnish 2012 PISA assessment as well as other national assessment findings that cover the same topics.

General Findings of PISA 2012

Finland's excellent results in international assessments like PISA have given Finland a reputation as being a country with high educational standards; however, this picture was blemished somewhat after the latest PISA (2012 and 2015) assessments, which have showed a decline in national average performance of Finnish students in the assessed domains.

Due to the increase in the Finnish immigrant population, students with a immigrant background were oversampled for the first time in PISA 2012. Oversampling means that more students were selected for testing than would be their true proportion in the population. The oversampling made it possible to gain more representative data on students with immigrant backgrounds. The Finnish PISA data on immigrant students consisted of 691 first-generation and 603 second-generation students, most of whom lived in the metropolitan areas. The rest of the data comprised a total of 7535 students across the country (see Harju-Luukkainen, Nissinen, Sulkunen, & Suni, 2014).

The definition of who is counted as first- and second-generation immigrants can vary in different studies. However, according to the OECD and PISA 2012 assessment, first-generation immigrant students are those who have immigrated to Finland



	Mathematical literacy	Reading literacy	Scientific literacy
Non-immigrant background	522	527	549
Second-generation immigrant background	449	460	467
First-generation immigrant background	425	413	425

Fig. 6.4 Educational achievement of students with an immigrant background in PISA 2012 (Source: Harju-Luukkainen et al., 2014, p. 25)

during their lifetime. Second-generation students in turn have been born and raised in Finland, but both of the parents were born outside Finland.

A first report on these national findings was published in 2014, but a few other further studies have been conducted on the data. According to Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2014), the results of students with immigrant backgrounds were alarming compared to their non-migrant peers in Finland. As shown in Fig. 6.4, students with immigrant backgrounds performed poorer in PISA 2012 across all assessment domains compared to their non-immigrant peers. In mathematics, for instance, non-immigrant students received a mean score of 522 points, first- and second-generation students with immigrant backgrounds received 425 points and 449 points, respectively. According to the OECD (2014, p. 16), 41 points scored equals approximately one year of schooling. First-generation students were therefore lagging behind by more than two school years and second-generation students by almost two school years. The results were more or less similar in scientific literacy and reading literacy as well.

Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2014) reported also the distribution of students' performance by proficiency levels in mathematical literacy. What is notable from Table 6.1 is that on the highest performance levels (Levels 5 and 6) there were almost no students with an immigrant background (varying between 0.4% and 2.4%); and perhaps of even greater concern, there was a very small difference between the proportions of first- and second-generation students at the highest performance levels. Further, 51.5% of first-generation immigrant students were at the lowest performance levels (Level 1 and below), as were 38.1% second-generation immigrants. This means that even though the second-generation immigrants have taken part of the entire Finnish education system, the performance is still on a very low

Table 6.1 Percentage of students on different performance levels

Performance level	First generation	Second generation	Non-immigrant
6	0.7	0.4	3.6
5	2.3	2.4	12
4	8.3	10.4	23.7
3	14.9	22.1	29.2
2	22.2	26.6	20.4
1	26.2	24.2	8.3
Below level 1	25.3	13.9	2.7
	100%	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2014, p. 27)

level and the difference between the first- and second-generation immigrants is relatively small.

Even though the results of immigrant students are lagging behind significantly, the results indicate that there seems to be a benefit concerning the child's future mathematical literacy outcome if the child enters the country before age 7. According to Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2014), children who had arrived in the country before school age performed statistically significantly better than students who had arrived after that specific age. This difference represents a total of 31 score points, equal to almost one year's education. Similarly, in a study conducted by the Finnish Education Evaluation Centre (FINEEC), students' learning outcomes were best explained by the number of years they had attended school (Kuukka & Metsämuuronen, 2016). Also, Saario's (2012) ethnographical study found that mastery of the Finnish language is largely dependent on the length of the stay in the country.

FINEEC carried out an assessment at the end of basic education of the learning outcomes in the subject mother tongue and literature of Finnish as a second language syllabus (see Kuukka & Metsämuuronen, 2016). The purpose of the assessment was to produce reliable information on the achievement objectives of the National Curriculum Guidelines for Basic Education as well as on educational equality and immigrant pupils' eligibility for further studies. A total of 1530 students participated in the study and nearly 40% of them were born in Finland. Based on the assessment, the participating students did fairly well, with 87% of the students attaining a good proficiency level or higher in Finnish as a second language. Only 13% of the students were at Level A, representing those who are able to engage in limited communication in the most familiar situations or in immediate social interaction and brief narration in Finnish. Also, students' comprehension skills were stronger than their production skills. No significant performance differences were found between boys and girls.

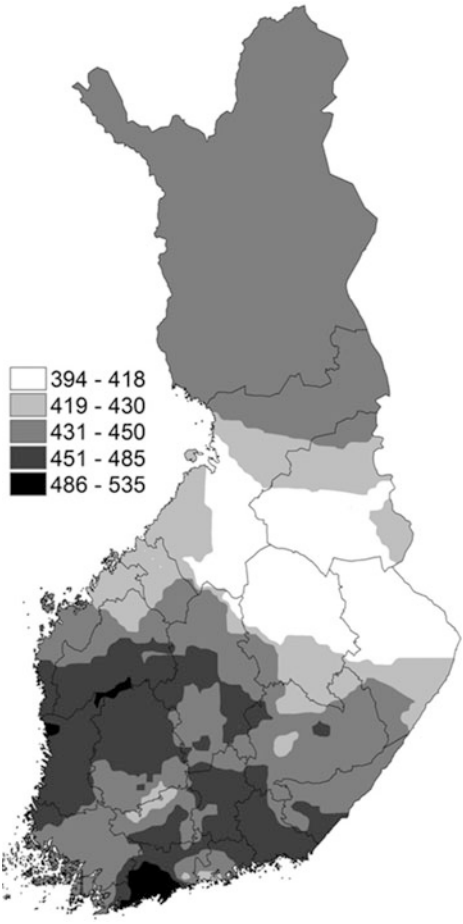


Fig. 6.5 Areal accumulation of students' educational outcome in mathematics in PISA 2012 (Source: Harju-Luukkainen et al., 2014, p. 34)

Areal Findings

Only a few studies have been conducted in Finland focusing on geographical accumulation of immigrant student's educational outcome. This geographical accumulation is represented closer in Fig. 6.5 (Harju-Luukkainen et al., 2014). As shown in Fig. 6.5, students in the metropolitan area receive better score points in mathematic literacy (486–535 score points in mathematics) than those in other areas of Finland. Higher results also can be observed around other large cities in Finland. The results raise questions about how well Finnish rural schools are able to support students with immigrant backgrounds compared to the urban ones.

PISA measures students' educational and cultural backgrounds according to several criteria, such as parent's levels of education, parent's work status, family wealth, and cultural possessions at home, which together form the economic, social and cultural status (ESCS) index. The ESCS index is an important background variable explaining variance in students' educational achievements in the different assessed domains. In a study conducted especially of the urban metropolitan area of Finland, Harju-Luukkainen, Tarnanen, Nissinen, and Vettenranta (2017) concluded that ESCS explained between 7% and 10% of students' mathematical literacy performance in the metropolitan area and 8–12% outside this particular area. The results indicate that if a student from a immigrant background lives in a metropolitan area, his or her ESCS does not explain their educational achievement as strongly as it does for those students outside this area. At the moment, these differences are small but if they grow, actions will be needed given that Finnish education policy relies on equality. Furthermore, Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2017) found a regional accumulation of mathematics performance and ESCS in metropolitan areas (see also Harju-Luukkainen & Vettenranta, 2013). The study suggest that one city called Espoo in particular attracts first-generation immigrant families with a high ESCS index, which in turn has an positive effect on first-generation students' educational performance. Interestingly, a similar areal attraction effect could not be found among second-generation students in the same city. This was most likely due to work-related immigration to the area in question. In sum, there appears to be areal accumulation in immigrant students' educational outcomes as well as in their socio-economic background variables.

Motivation in Mathematical Literacy

Some of the indices in PISA 2012 assessed students' motivation towards learning mathematics. Motivation is one of the key factors when it comes to learning; if students are not motivated and engaged in learning, the education is not as effective (see Hannula, 2006; Lukin, 2013; Nurmi, 2013; Pantziaram & Philippou, 2015). Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2014) reported that the intrinsic and instrumental motivations were relatively high among immigrant students. In PISA, motivation is assessed with two different indices. To help make comparison amongst different countries, the indices are standardized so that the mean of the index value for the OECD student population is set to zero and the standard deviation is one. In Finland, first-generation immigrant students had on average a high intrinsic motivation of 0.34, which is higher than the OECD average of zero. Second-generation students also had a higher intrinsic motivation of 0.04, again higher than the OECD average. Surprisingly, non-immigrant students in Finland had a low intrinsic motivation (of -0.24) but extremely high educational outcomes in all assessed areas relative to other international jurisdictions. However, as shown in Fig. 6.6, even if students with a immigrant background had a higher intrinsic motivation than their non-immigrant peers, this positive attitude towards mathematics did not transfer to mathematics

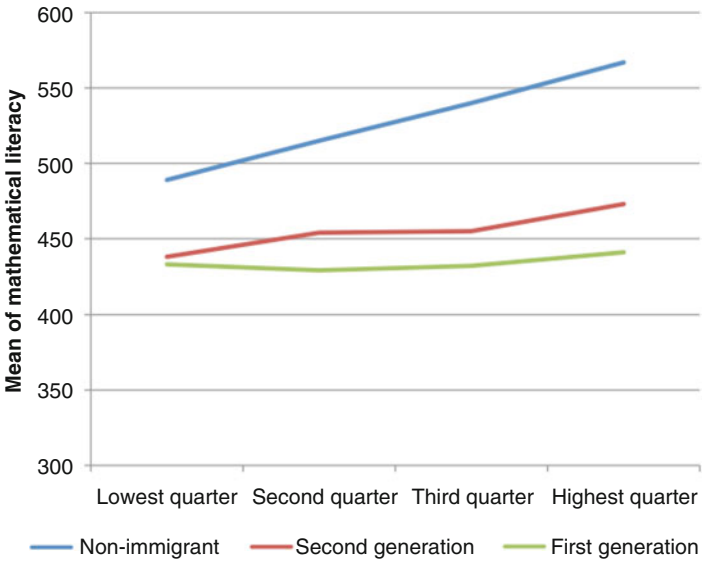


Fig. 6.6 Intrinsic motivation in quarters and score point mean in mathematical literacy for different student groups (Source: Harju-Luukkainen et al., 2014, p. 58)

outcomes. According to the results, motivation (both intrinsic and instrumental) had almost no effect on immigrant students' educational outcomes in mathematical literacy in PISA 2012 in Finland.

In response to this discrepancy in results, Harju-Luukkainen, Tarnanen, and Nissinen (2017) conducted a study that further examined the level of students' intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and its relation to the educational outcomes in PISA 2012 from the perspective of immigrant students' linguistic backgrounds. According to the results, there are statistically significant differences in students' motivation levels across different language groups. All of the non-native language groups represented in PISA 2012 had a higher level of motivation compared to native language groups. Secondly, the results reveal that the correlation between motivation and educational outcomes within different language groups was not straightforward. Students in some language groups (e.g., Chinese) were more likely to have extremely high motivation and a high educational outcome. Some other language groups (e.g., students speaking Somali) had a high intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, but a low educational outcome. Further this study suggested that youths' motivation is connected somewhat with their different linguistic backgrounds. Similar results have been observed by Kuukka and Metsämuuronen (2016), whose study found that Estonian-, Russian-, Chinese-, and English-speaking students performed best in the Finnish as a second language assessment, regardless of how many years they had attended school in Finland.

Understanding the Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children in Finland

Only a few larger studies have been conducted on the underlying reasons for the educational differences among the Finnish immigrant population. This is due partly to the fact that the Finnish immigrant population is still small and it is also heterogeneous, representing small groups of people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

According to Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2014), mathematical literacy performance in all native student groups in Finland was explained by such variables as self-concept for mathematics, confidence in mathematics performance, and anxiety for mathematics (see also Harju-Luukkainen, Sulkunen, & Stolt, 2016). However, the explanatory power of these variables was weaker for students with an immigrant background than for other students. It seems, therefore, that there is a wider range of underlying factors for this minority group that are either unknown or at least beyond the scope of PISA assessments. Harju-Luukkainen, Nissinen, and Tarnanen's (2015) investigation of resilient second-generation immigrants students' educational outcomes in mathematics found that the factors connected to good educational outcomes were: (1) the family's language choices; (2) high ESCS; (3) cultural closeness; (4) teacher's support and individualization of teaching materials; (5) low truancy and intact learning continuums; and (6) strong self-concept in mathematics. How well a student masters the language of instruction seems therefore to be one of the most important factors, which is something that Kuukka and Metsämuuronen (2016) and Saario (2012) also emphasize. The study conducted by the FINEEC (Kuukka & Metsämuuronen, 2016) revealed that immigrant pupils' Finnish language skills were good, already in the upper grades of comprehensive school. However, the concept of text skills of various subjects requires more from the pupils than is required by the criterion of a proficiency scale. Therefore, it is crucial to ask if the different assessments capture the true level of immigrant students' competencies and skills.

Another group of important explanatory factors are connected to families' socio-economical and cultural status, which have important effects on students' educational achievement. Several studies show that educational achievement is associated with cultural factors (see e.g., Bernelius & Kauppinen, 2011; Carbonaro, 1998; Castillo, Ruiz, Chillón, Jiménez-Pavón, & Esperanza-Díaz, 2011; Israel, Beaulieu, & Hartless, 2001; OECD, 2010; Schlee, Mullis, & Schriner, 2009; Sun, 1999). Some studies (see Harju-Luukkainen et al., 2017; Kuukka & Metsämuuronen, 2016) were able to detect a difference in students' educational outcomes and motivation that was connected to their linguistic background. The degree to which these family-related attributes have an impact on students' educational outcomes varies from country to country (OECD, 2010), but also within countries. Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2014) found that in PISA 2012, the ESCS index explained 11% of the variance between first-generation students, 7% of the variance between second-generation students, and 8% of the variance between students without immigrant backgrounds. The

assessment conducted by the FEEC revealed that variables which could best explain students' low learning outcomes from different language groups were related to students' socio-economic background. In all, the connection between the socio-economic background and learning outcomes was significant (Kuukka & Metsämuuronen, 2016).

In these as well as many other studies, the ESCS has not been controlled. Kilpi-Jakonen (2012, p. 167) found that differences between immigrant and non-immigrant student groups in Finland are relatively small after controlling for parental resources. Kilpi-Jakonen (2012) concluded that parental education and parental income have smaller and larger effects, respectively, for children of immigrants than for non-immigrants. This leads to a disadvantaged group with migrant parents who have high education levels but low incomes.

According to Kalalahti, Varjo, and Jahnukainen (2017) youth with immigrant background in Finland, and especially boys, share a "paradox of immigrant schooling" which refers to the positive attitude towards education while simultaneously facing difficulties in learning and studying. According to Kilpi-Jakonen (2011), immigrant students' school drop-out rates can be mostly explained by school success along with family-related resources. When families' labor market status is controlled, second-generation students (immigrant and non-immigrant) with equal grades perform equally, although this does not apply to the lowest performing students with a immigrant background. Among these low performers, immigrant students also drop out of school more frequently than other student groups (Karppinen, 2008). Overall, according to Kilpi-Jakonen (2012), children of immigrants can be seen to benefit from the relatively equal Finnish education system while remaining disadvantaged by their parents' difficulties in the labor market. However, according to Kalalahti et al. (2017) the immigrant-origin youth confront the upper secondary choices in a much more complex and multidimensional situation than their Finnish-origin counterparts. This leads to a growing inequal situation in educational choises and in future prospects.

Education Acts and Policies for Children with a Migration Background

Finland has a statutory law system and there is a hierarchy of statutes. Acts are on the highest level and after that the President can issue lower level statutes (called decrees) for the implementation of acts. Several laws, regulations, and policies protect the rights of all individuals in Finland when it comes to education and equality. The constitution of Finland is established in the Constitutional Act (1999, section 16), which stipulates that everyone is equal before the law. According to the constitution, no one without an acceptable reason can be treated differently from other persons on the basis of sex, age, origin, language, religion, conviction, opinion, health, disability, or other reason that concerns his or her person. Section 16

of the constitution stipulates further that everyone has the right to basic education free of charge, and that "The public authorities shall, as provided in more detail by an Act, guarantee for everyone equal opportunity to receive other educational services in accordance with their ability and special needs, as well as the opportunity to develop themselves without being prevented by economic hardship. The freedom of science, the arts and higher education is guaranteed."

The Finnish constitution highlights the equality of all citizens, but the equality in school settings is also highlighted in a separate Non-Discrimination Act (2014). The purpose of this Act is to promote equality and prevent discrimination as well as to enhance the protection provided by law to those who have been discriminated against. The Act stipulates that all institutions that organize education must assess how well the Act is put into practice in their institution and to take needed actions if there are concerns regarding discrimination. Those actions taken in schools need to be effective and appropriate. Therefore, learning should not be hindered in Finland or in any way restricted if a child comes from a poor family, has a immigrant background, is raised by a single parent, or has limited resources at home. This is something that most successful educational systems understand, and such systems have found many ways to allocate resources in order to level the playing field (OECD, 2016).

All of those who have been granted Finnish residency are considered as aliens by the government. The purpose of the Aliens Act (2004) is to implement and promote good governance and legal protection in matters concerning aliens. In addition, the Act seeks to promote managed immigration and provision of international protection with respect for human rights and basic rights and in consideration of international agreements binding on Finland. Further, the purpose of the Act on the Promotion of Migrant Integration (2010) is to support and promote integration and make it easier for immigrants to play an active role in Finnish society. The purpose of the Act is also to promote gender equality and non-discrimination and positive interaction between different population groups.

All of these acts, as well as many decrees, are put into practice in a school context. The curriculums and other educational steering documents reflect the main ideas of these acts and decrees. Hence the Finnish educational system strives for equality in all areas of education. According to the Basic Education Act (1998), education is publicly funded and free of charge on all levels. The basic funding is covered by taxation, and all municipalities and states each have their own right to levy taxes.

During 2012–2017, the basic education steering documents in Finland underwent a huge reform. The National Curriculum Guidelines for Education for different levels of the educational system were renewed in broad-based co-operation with educational experts and various stakeholders. Several educational aspects were highlighted in the renewed National Curriculum Guidelines on Basic Education (2014), including: equality in all areas of education; meeting pupils' needs and supporting their well-being, as well as any other prerequisites for learning; and an awareness of the importance of learning continuums and the richness of languages and cultures. The National Curriculum Guidelines for Basic Education also emphasizes guardian involvement and the family perspective; for example, there has to be

"a possibility for guardians to participate and be a part of school's work and in the development of it. This is a central part of the school's working culture. The home and school's co-operation in upbringing strengthens student's, classroom's as well as the entire school's well-being and security" (p. 35). Therefore, in Finland guardians are expected to be involved in the development of local curriculum and in schools' everyday work, and to get information about their children's learning and development. This type of co-operation gives new possibilities for parents to be involved and have realistic expectations towards the child.

According to the National Curriculum Guidelines for Basic Education (2014, p. 48), students' language background as well as the developing national language is taken into account in the assessment of immigrant students. In the assessment, a special focus is directed towards appropriate, versatile, and flexible assessment practices. A immigrant student is carrying out the subject Finnish or Swedish as a second language if the linguistic competence in either of the national languages is not at a sufficient level. Students are also entitled to receive education in developing their own mother tongue. They are also entitled to get support in any other areas of education in order to develop equal learning possibilities. Students with a immigrant background are also entitled to a learning plan, which can be a part of a student's integration plan.

Despite many acts, decrees, and other steering documents, Finland is facing the same challenges as many other countries when it comes to the immigrant population. Many of the needed educational practices can be difficult to arrange, support services are scattered, and co-operation amongst official authorities could be better. It is sometimes difficult to find specialized teachers and schools' economic resources are modest. Also, co-operation between school and home often is hindered by the dearth of interpreters.

The topics addressed in this chapter raise many questions. On the basis of the report conducted by Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2014) as well as other studies, the central emerging issue seems to be if enough is done in Finland to support immigrant students' language proficiency both in their mother tongue as well as in the language of instruction at school. This is a crucial question, especially when language is seen as central to learning. Another question is if students are achieving sufficient knowledge level to cope later in post-compulsory education. A third question is if teacher competence and teacher education in Finland is up to date given the fast changes in the Finnish demography? What kinds and levels of competence do teachers have when it comes to supporting, understanding, and facing bi- and multilingualism as well as other cultures? According to Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2014), teachers in Finland's new social reality need in-service training not only for multicultural education and communication, but also for issues related to bi- and multilingualism as well as support provided for students with a immigrant background (see also Harju-Luukkainen, Kuukka, Paavola, & Tarnanen, 2015).

Nevertheless, despite the acts, decrees and a curriculum that strives for equality in education for all of the people living in Finland, the PISA and other national assessments clearly show that children with immigrant background are not obtaining anything near equal levels of education outcomes than their peers with no immigrant

background. They also are confronted with more complex and multidimensional situations when making choices for their upper-secondary education (Kalalahti et al., 2017) which in its turn have implications for immigrant students' future prospects. This evidence has led the Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland to propose future actions (MEC, 2017). The Ministry of Education and Culture has proposed to allocated more money towards research of immigrant children and in early childhood education as well as on other levels of education more effort is put into supporting immigrant children's learning of the national languages. This is due to the fact that language is important in the societal integration. The Ministry of Education and Culture also proposed programs, where immigrant children would get access to free summer activities as well as programs supporting the education of teachers. Despite all of these propositions, the question remains, if these actions are enough to ensure equality in educational for immigrant students in Finland. Or are more radical reconstructive actions of the policies and practices of Finland needed in order to ensure the equality and equity of the education system?

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Chapter 7
Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy in the Netherlands

Jaap Scheerens and Greetje van der Werf

Introduction

This chapter mainly addresses the position of students in the Netherlands whose parents and/or grand parents have a non-Western background (non-Western immigrants). In general the parents of these students have a low level of education, which is the reason why they belong, together with the native Dutch students with low educated parents, to the target groups of the Dutch Educational Priory Policy, aimed at improving the educational outcomes of students from disadvantaged families.

The largest non-Western immigration groups in the Netherlands are (the descendants) of guest-laborers from Turkey and Morocco, who started to arrive in the Netherlands in the 1960s, as well as people from Surinam, a former Dutch colony, and people from the Dutch Antilles, which is still associated with the Netherlands. Along with these four main groups, we distinguish a broad category of other non-Western immigrants: refugees from countries like Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Somalia, and a large immigrant group from China. Currently the four main groups and other non-Western immigrants make up 12.5% of the Dutch population (Table 7.1 presents the share and increase of these groups). By far the largest groups are the immigrants from Turkey and Morocco, and more than half of these are currently second-generation immigrants (Huijnk, 2016).

The share of immigrant students with a non-Western background in Dutch primary education increased from 13 to 15% between 1995 and 2008, after which it declined to 11% in 2010 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [CBS], 2015). After

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Table 7.1 Share and increase of share of immigrants in the Dutch population, per 1 July, 2016

	Number of persons	Share in population	Increase since January 2000		Share 2nd generation
	× 1000	%	× 1000	%	%
Non-western, of which	2.134	12.5	726	51	45
Turkish	399	2.3	90	29	52
Moroccan	389	2.3	127	48	57
Surinamese	350	2.1	47	16	49
Antillean	152	0.9	45	42	46
Other non-western	845	5.0	417	97	34
Western[a]	1.668	9.8	301	22	45
Native-Dutch	13.220	77.7	132	1	–
Total	17.022	100.0	1.158	7	–

Source: Huijnk (2016), CBS population statistics

[a]People from Indonesia belong to the group of Western immigrants because they have been living in the Netherlands for a much longer period, with major influx after World War II

2010, the CBS no longer updated this statistic, and only figures corresponding to the percentage of students affected by the special supportive educational policy (described in a subsequent section) are accounted for since then. The breakdown of non-Western immigrant students is almost proportional to the shares of the population shown in Table 7.1.

More recent Data from the OECD PISA study provide the percentage of immigrant students in secondary schools. In 2015, this percentage was estimated at 10.7%, slightly below the OECD average of 12.7%; the estimate based on PISA 2006 was 11.3%, slightly above the then OECD average of 9.5% (OECD, 2016, Table 17.1, p. 421).

Most of the students who are currently in primary and secondary school are second or third-generation immigrants. Most of the parents of these students have completed secondary education in the Netherlands. This has implications for the way schools with a large proportion of immigrant students are funded under the Dutch educational equity policy. This funding fully depends on the attained level of secondary education of these students' parents. Only students whose parents who at most have completed junior vocational education are counted as disadvantaged. The information summarized in Table 7.2 shows a steady improvement in the educational attainment levels of the parents of immigrant students. The consequence is that a smaller share of students with an immigrant background was categorized as disadvantaged in 2011(about 35%) as compared to 1995. Still, the education level of

Table 7.2 Highest level of education of parents of native Dutch and immigrant students, 1995–2011

	1995	1999	2003	2008	2011
Native Dutch					
Primary education	2.5	1.7	1.3	0.9	0.7
Junior vocational	33.1	25.4	20.0	13.3	10.0
High school/senior vocational	41.3	40.9	46.6	49.1	45.9
Higher professional/university	23.2	32.1	32.1	36.7	43.4
Immigrants					
Primary	32.8	28.1	29.8	21.7	16.3
Junior vocational	30.3	29.3	24.1	20.0	14.9
High school/senior vocational	24.7	22.1	27.3	34.2	35.5
Higher professional/university	12.2	20.5	18.8	24.0	33.3

Source: Fettelaar, Mulder, and Driessen (2014)

parents of immigrant students remains lower than that of the native Dutch students, of whom only around 10% belonged to the target group of disadvantaged students in 2011.

Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

The figures that we present in this section illustrate the educational outcomes of immigrant students. They apply to all students with a non-Western background who are/were in the year of data collection participating in education, irrespective whether they belong to the first-, second- or third-generation of immigrants. The figures consider both attainment and achievement indicators. Attainment indicators reflect the educational position (e.g. graduation rates, drop out) immigrant students have reached. Also enrollment in preschool, which is not obligatory, can be considered as an indicator of attainment, as well as, because of the hierarchical structure of Dutch secondary education, enrollment in the various school categories.

Enrollment in Preschool and Secondary Education

Table 7.3 shows clearly that the enrollment of immigrant children in pre-school has caught up almost completely to that of native Dutch children over time. This is definitely a positive outcome, given the expected positive influence of attendance at pre-school playgroups on further school experiences.

Table 7.4 presents the share of immigrant students among the total enrollment in upper secondary education (i.e., Grade 3 of the two highest tracks of high school between 2002 and 2016).

Table 7.3 Attendance at pre-school playgroups, by immigrant background

	Turkish	Moroccan	Suriname/Antilles	Native Dutch
1997	46%	25%	63%	81%
1999	59%	38%	65%	82%
2001	67%	39%	71%	80%
2003	75%	51%	63%	79%
2005	75%	52%	61%	76%
2008	83%	70%	64%	73%

Source: Adapted from Luyten (2011, Table 4.12, p. 93)

Table 7.4 Immigrant background of year three students in the two highest tracks of secondary education (HAVO/VWO), as percentage of total enrollment in 2002, 2006, 2008, and 2016

	2003	2006	2008	2016
Turkish	21	22	22	23
Moroccan	19	20	22	28
Surinamese	30	30	34	35
Antillean	28	29	32	31
Native Dutch	46	46	48	48

Source: Luyten (2011) and CBS (2016)

Although there was slight improvement over time, the number of Turkish and Moroccan students in these academic tracks of secondary education remained significantly lower than for native Dutch students in this period. Across the longer interval between 2008 and 2016 these figures hardly changed, indicating an essentially stable situation. A more fine-grained picture of the share of the different groups of students in all tracks of secondary school in 2016 shows a relatively high representation of non-Western immigrant students in the lower tracks (between 37% for the Surinamese students and more than 40% for the Turkish, Moroccan, and Antillean students), as compared to Dutch students with a lower track enrollment of 23%. The category of other non-Western immigrant students, with an enrollment of 44% in the two highest tracks and 30% in the two lowest tracks, does much better than the other three groups (CBS, 2016).

Attainment in Secondary and Senior Vocational Education

The highly differentiated Dutch secondary school system stratifies students' careers. In this way the representation of groups with different immigrant backgrounds foreshadows educational attainment and graduation levels.

The CBS publishes graduation rates for each secondary track. The figures for the period from 2005 to 2015 show a stable pattern of 90% graduation rates for Dutch students and 75% graduation rates for students with a non-Western immigrant background in the HAVO/VWO tracks. In the lowest tracks of secondary education and basic and advanced junior vocational education, the differences in graduation rates between Dutch and non-Western immigrants are smaller, roughly 10%, but still

Table 7.5 Early school leavers from senior vocational education

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2012/′13	2013/′14	2014/′15*
Native Dutch	11.7	10.00	9.6	9.4	5.2	4.7	4.3
Turkish	18.6	15.5	14.7	13.5	9.1	8.9	8.4
Moroccan	17.7	15.7	15.9	15.8	10.6	10.5	9.8
Suriname	19.5	16.5	15.6	15.7	9.4	8.8	8.4
Antilles	20.1	17.0	17.4	17.7	11.6	10.7	9.7
Other non-western					9.6	9.4	9.0

Source: CBS (2008, 2016)

relevant and persistent over time (CBS, 2016). All-together, the CBS figures show little progress over time for students with a non-Western background and stable gaps with native Dutch students and students with a Western immigrant background.

Indicators on "drop out" and early school leaving provide further measures of attainment. Table 7.5 shows early school leaving percentages for senior vocational education (MBO) to which students have access after having graduated from junior general or vocational education. Four levels are distinguished within senior vocational education, of which Level 2 is minimally required for getting a "starting qualification" for the labor market. Students who leave education without this qualification are considered as early school leavers. Most early school leaving takes place in senior vocational education. The figures show a substantial decrease in early school leavers when comparing the situation in 2005 with 2015 for all groups. Still, the percentages for non-Western immigrant students are about twice as large as compared to native Dutch students.

Achievement in Primary and Secondary Education

Table 7.6 shows the results on the final school leaving test (CITO-test), which is taken in grade 8 when the students are around 12 years old. The average score of the Dutch students (535/536) is almost stable across the period 1995–2014. The average score of the immigrant students has steadily increased across this period by approximately 5 points, implying that their disadvantage in comparison with the native Dutch students reduced over time by almost 50% (Luyten, 2011). A similar picture appears from the large-scale cohort studies in primary education (PRIMA, COOL5-18). These studies show that immigrant students' scores improved over time (from 1999 to 2014), more for arithmetic/mathematics than for comprehensive reading, and most for the students with a Moroccan background. However, the scores of the Dutch students declined during the same period, which may explain a part of the decrease of the achievement difference between immigrant and Dutch students. Another part of the decrease might be explained by the fact that the level of parental education has increased during the period 1999–2014 (Herweijer, Iedema, & Andriessen, 2016). When the level of parental education is taken into account, the

Table 7.6 Final school leaving test results, per category of immigrant background and school year

	Turkish	Moroccan	Surinamese	Antillean	Dutch
1995	524	525	527		535
1997	525	526	528		535
1999	527	527	529	526	535
2001	527	527	530	525	535
2003	527	528	528	526	536
2005	527	528	529	526	535.
2008	528	529	530	527	535.
2011	529	530	531	530	536
2014	529	531	531	528	535

Source: Herweijer et al. (2016)

improvement in the achievement of immigrant students appears substantial, both on the final school leaving test as well as on the tests that were taken in the cohort studies. Moreover, this category of students improved much more than the other target group of the educational equity policy—that is, Dutch students with low educated parents which hardly has profited from this policy (Driessen, 2012; Roeleveld, Driessen, van der Veen, & Ledoux, 2012).

The overall picture on the test results in primary education is a steady decreasing achievement gap between minority-group students and Dutch students, and a substantial improvement over time for the minority students. Still, immigrant students achieve less well in primary education than their Dutch peers, although they do equally well or even better than the Dutch peers whose parents have a similar level of education as their own parents.

The PISA 2015 data in Table 7.7 show that immigrant students achieve less well than native Dutch students on all three domains of science, readings skills, and mathematics. The difference between native Dutch students and second-generation immigrants is very large, the largest for science (55 points), the smallest for reading (40 points), and mathematics in between (46 points). The differences between the second- and third-generation are not relevant, though it is interesting that the largest difference is for reading.

An interesting performance indicator developed in PISA is the performance gap between immigrant and non-immigrant students. Results for science performance, established in PISA 2015, indicate that the unadjusted performance gap for the Netherlands was 60 points on the PISA scale, above the OECD average gap of 43 points. After adjusting for socio-economic background, the Dutch gap reduced to 33 points, while the OECD average gap reduced to 31 (OECD, 2016, Table 1.7.4a, p. 427). These figures show the strong determination of performance differences by socio-economic background (this finding applies across OECD countries, but quite strongly in the Netherlands). In comparison to results from PISA 2006, which also had science performance as the focal subject matter domain, the gap in 2015 was

Table 7.7 Achievement scores in secondary education of immigrant and native Dutch students in the Netherlands for science, reading, and mathematics

	Native Dutch	Immigrants 2nd generation	Immigrants 1st generation	Total
Mathematics	520	474	452	512
Reading	510	470	434	503
Science	517	462	438	509

Source: Feskens, Kuhlemeier, and Limpens (2016)

Table 7.8 Differences in achievement between immigrants and native Dutch students

	The Netherlands		OESO	
	Uncorrected	Corrected	Uncorrected	Corrected
Science				
2006	75	42	53	37
2015	60	33	43	31
Mathematics				
2003	66	41	47	33
2012	57	35	34	21

Source: OECD (2013, 2016)

16 points lower than in 2006 for unadjusted performance, while the OECD average gap reduced by 9 points. When considering the results adjusted for socio-economic background, the gap in the Netherlands was reduced by 10 points while the OECD average showed a 6-point decrease in the gap (OECD, 2016, Table 1.7.15a, p. 440).

The trends shown on the basis of PISA 2006 and 2015 for science performance—namely a slow decrease in the gap between immigrant and non-immigrant students over time, the important influence of socio-economic status on the estimate of the performance gap, and the Netherlands scoring that is close to the OECD average on the estimates adjusted for socio-economic status—are corroborated by the results from PISA 2003 and 2012 with respect to mathematics performance. Between 2003 and 2012 the performance gap in mathematics between immigrant and non-immigrant students decreased from 66 points in 2003 to 57 in 2012 for the unadjusted results, and from 41 to 35 for the adjusted results (OECD, 2013, Tables II3.4a, II3.4b, pp. 228–229). These results are summarized in Table 7.8.

The overall picture from these data is that the achievement differences between Dutch and immigrant students have declined over time, that a large part of the differences can be explained by the level of education of immigrant students' parents, but that the influence of immigrant background nevertheless remains important for student performance in secondary education.

Understanding the Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

Pedagogical Orientations Towards Minority Students

Dutch pedagogical thinking about minority students has evolved, which is reflected in different subsequent priorities in educational policy. Initially, minority students were seen as having certain deficiencies that required a specific approach, particularly tuition in the Dutch language. This approach, indicated as a "deficiency paradigm" (van Leewen & Limpens, 2007), was the underlying theoretical position in a period (before 1970) when there was a strong emphasis on introduction into the Dutch language, paired with the expectation that minority students would return to their own country. This led to an additional emphasis of tuition in the language and culture of the country of origin.

In a subsequent phase, educational policy towards minority groups changed to what could be termed a "developmental perspective" in which integration and (inter) cultural development were given priority, introduction to the Dutch language increased in regular schooling, and education in "own culture" gradually diminished and was removed from the public school program. The third phase, referred to as the "citizenship paradigm," extended the developmental perspective in the sense that citizenship competencies are considered equally important to immigrant and non-immigrant students, with goals such as furthering social competencies and democratic skills, and dealing with the school as a "test bed" for exercising democratic skills and cultural integration.

The Highly Tracked Dutch Secondary School System

Figure 7.1 depicts the school structure in the Netherlands. There are perhaps two features that are particularly worth mentioning. The first is that there is a strong vocational strand, manifested by specialized vocational schooling at the junior secondary level (VMBO). The second, related feature is the strong structural differentiation or tracking at the secondary level, combined with relatively early selection into a particular school category. The degree of differentiation is even greater than shown in Fig. 7.1, as the VMBO track has three different sub-tracks: a basic track, a vocational track, and a theoretical track.

As this highly differentiated system "locks" students at a relatively young age into particular tracks, it is generally considered to be unfavourable to equity. Immigrant students are highly represented in the two vocational VMBO sub-tracks and the lack of flexibility and uncommon "upstreaming" (moving to a "higher" track) could be considered as a handicap to overcome their disadvantaged position.

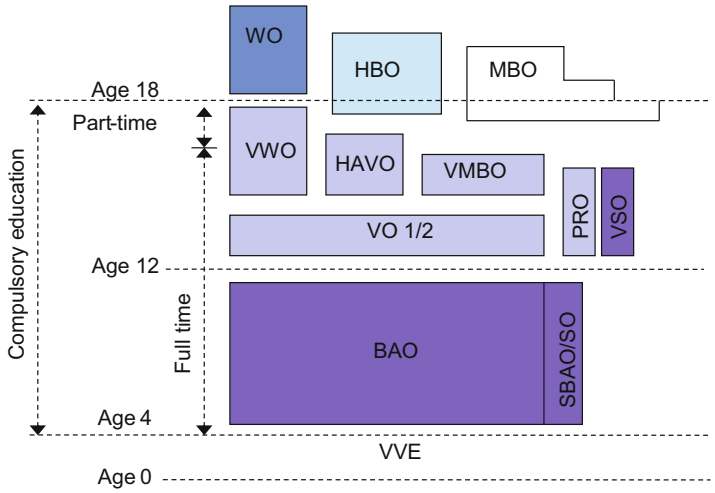

Fig. 7.1 The Dutch educational system: *BAO* Mainstream primary education, *HAVO* General secondary education, *HBO* Higher professional education, *MBO* Vocational education, *PRO* Practical training, *SO* Special education, *VMBO* Pre-vocational secondary education, *VVE* Early childhood education, *VWO* Pre-university education, *WO* University education
Early childhood education comprises of "pre-school" education (2–4) and the initial 2 years of mainstream primary education, formerly nursery school, and now sometimes indicated as *Vroeg school* (early school)

High School Autonomy

Dutch policy-making has a long tradition of power-sharing and consensus decision-making. The government is typically formed by a coalition of political parties. Trade unions and employer organizations alike are consulted in economic and social decisions and meet regularly with the government within the *Sociaal-Economische Raad* (SER, Social-Economic Council) (Nusche, Braun, Halasz, & Santiago, 2014).

The Netherlands has one of the most devolved education systems among industrialized countries, with schools enjoying a high degree of autonomy. Responsibility for education is shared almost entirely between schools and the central government, with no significant formal intermediate level of educational administration. Shared responsibility between the central government and the school boards is differentiated in the sense that the government establishes "non-negotiable" norms with respect to educational content, attainment targets, examinations, and teacher qualifications, while the school boards have much leeway in implementing the rather open curriculum frameworks. With regards to ensuring teaching quality, the Dutch government describes the distribution of responsibilities for educational reform as follows: "the government will establish the objectives of the policy measures ('what') while the field itself will decide how best to pursue those objectives ('how')" (Nusche et al., 2014, p. 22). The Inspectorate of Education supervises education on facets of compliance with regulations and quality. The Inspectorate has the authority to

suggest changes for improving school policies, to deliver fines, and to close schools (in cases of severe malfunctioning).

The tradition of non-centralistic educational policy and high school autonomy is an important element in understanding educational policy-making and enhancing the position of immigrant students. As discussed in the next section, it could also explain a certain degree of "structural inefficiency" in equity and improvement-oriented educational policy in the Netherlands.

Education Policies for Children with a Non-western Background

Education policies for children with a non-Western background can be divided in two orientations: one that is dedicated to changing policy perspectives associated with specific societal and pedagogical perspectives (see the previous section), and a second in which the issue of immigrant students has become fully integrated into the longer existing policy strand aimed at enhancing equity in education.

Policies Specifically Dedicated to Immigrant Students

The Foundation for Curriculum Planning (*Stichting Leerplanontwikkeling Nederland* [SLO]) distinguishes three major subsequent policy orientations in educational policy dedicated to immigrant students.

1. Integration and return to the country of origin; until 1980

Although in this early period the basic orientation was a double perspective of integration on the one hand and return to the country of origin, this double perspective was not strongly articulated in educational policy. Instead, it was believed that the existing stimulation programs for disadvantaged (e.g., low SES) students were also appropriate for cultural minority students. These early stimulation programs were inspired by U.S. compensation/funding programs such as Head Start and Follow Through, and developed in large cities, most notably in Rotterdam, Utrecht, and Amsterdam.

2. Integration while preserving "own" culture; 1980s and 1990s

A first Ministerial report on specific educational policy for ethnic minority students was issued in 1981. Although the idea of students going back to their country of origin was abandoned, there was still a strong sentiment to support preserving the culture of origin. This lead to a policy mix that included:

- Dutch as a second language
- Education dedicated to the language and culture of the immigrant students

- Intercultural education aimed at getting to know different cultures, which involved both immigrant and non-immigrant students.

At the same time, compensatory programs became embedded in the so-called educational priority policy, oriented to diminishing deficits of all disadvantaged groups, particularly students from low SES backgrounds and children with an immigrant background.

During the late 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, certain adaptations and reorientations took place in the national educational priority policy. These will be mentioned in the next section, which describes the overall policy aimed at enhancing equity in education.

3. Current emphases in equity oriented policies regarding immigrant students: social integration and active citizenship

Over time, the policy to enforce minority students' "own" language and culture was completely abandoned. All special funding for living languages of allochthone students was terminated in 2004. Social integration and active citizenship were the new keywords to structure educational policy in a multiform, intercultural society. Education for active citizenship entailed the following:

- The furthering of social competencies
- Acceptance of an open society and an active stance towards participation in society
- Furthering of democratic skills and knowledge
- The school as a "test-bed" of active citizenship and social integration

We now turn to a description of the national equity oriented educational policy, in which the developments described above became increasingly integrated, after which we provide evaluative remarks with respect to the success of the more dedicated and general policies.

General Policy to Enhance Equity in Education in the Netherlands

The current and most recent developments in equity oriented policies in Dutch primary and pre-primary education should be considered from a historical perspective spanning about 40 years. Table 7.9 provides an overview of the main phases and emphases between 1974 and now.

The most constant policy instrument used in the Dutch equity oriented policy has been the extra funding of schools based on school composition. Low SES and cultural minority students count as more than one student in the formulas for the school budget, which are based on the number of students enrolled. In the past (from 1986 to 2006) native Dutch students with low educated parents counted for 1.25 student and students with a non-Western immigrant background counted as 1.90. In

Table 7.9 Subsequent phases in educational priority policy in the Netherlands: policy levers and budget indications

Phase	Policy levers and instruments	Budget indications
Educational stimulation policy (1974–1982)	Special funding on the basis of pupil-weights, educational support	100 million guilders per annum (Source: Scheerens, 1987)
Educational priority policy (1982–1998)	*Same as above* + educational priority areas (school networks and a regional support organization)	*Extra for the Area component:* 22 million guilders (figure for 1986) (Source: Scheerens, 1987)
Educational policy oriented at disadvantages (1998 onwards)	*Same as above* + additional focus on the pre- and early school phase (VVE)	700 million EURO per annum (Source: Mulder & Meijnen, 2013)
	Decentralization to municipality level	
Additional components since 2010	Extra financing of so called *Impulse areas* poverty zones)	*???*
	Further decentralization to school board level	
	Initiative to harmonize pre-school provisions	
	Pull-out strategies (Dutch: "*Schakelklassen" and "Startgroepen")*	
	Extended school time	
	Differentiation component in general quality oriented educational policy: "effectiveness by measure"	

the current "weights regulation" no distinction is anymore made between native Dutch and non-Western immigrant students. Only the level of education of the parents determines the weight factor. Students whose (both) parents have completed at maximum lower vocational education count as 1.3, students of whom one of the parents have just completed primary education and the other only preparatory lower vocational education count as 2.2. Schools are eligible for extra funding when they have a certain percentage of students meeting the selection criteria for educational priority (see above); and, since the 2006–2007 school year, the threshold has been lowered from 9 to 6%. Since 2010, eligible schools in the so-called Impulse areas receive another increment in their budget over and above the student weight-based formula.

Schools are expected to spend the extra funding on measures that enhance the position of their disadvantaged learners, but they are free to decide how they do so; extra teaching and support staff, partly used for class-size reduction, and bringing in external support are the main "treatments" that schools are likely to choose. There is no precise information on these funding decisions, because schools cannot be held accountable for how they spend their budget. Finally, there are no evaluation studies that can attribute results of equity oriented policies to the actual treatments that schools implement on the basis of their extra funding, not only because of local

control over the use of the funding, but also because of frequent refusals from schools to participate in research and evaluation studies. Thanks to a long tradition of cohort studies, the outcomes that are most relevant to equity oriented policies can be monitored quite well, but it is very difficult to find schools that are ready to cooperate in experimental or process-outcome evaluation studies (Scheerens & Doolaard, 2013).

From 1998 onward, pre-school education (VVE) became a second major target area for equity oriented policy, next to regular primary education. The policy levers are exactly the same as described above: extra funding based on the "weights regulation," and pre-school institutions and schools free to choose treatments. Since 2010 extra measures have been stimulated by the government and key stakeholders, like employers of education. These involve different kinds of pull-out strategies, where special classes are formed of eligible students who get extra treatment like additional Dutch language education and extended learning time (longer school day, school week, or summer schools).

An approach by the Inspectorate of Education, known as "risk based" inspection, which has been used in the field since 2007, deserves specific attention. Within the framework of risk-based inspection, the Inspectorate uses annual risk analyses to target inspection visits to potentially failing schools. When a school is diagnosed as showing "weak" or "very weak" performance, intensified follow-up inspection and extra support for these schools follow. According to internal evaluations by the Inspectorate, this policy has been quite successful in diminishing the number of weak schools (De Wolf & Verkroost, 2011).

Finally, equity stimulation is more recently getting an extra boost, as it is currently being profiled as a dedicated component of more general educational policy that is aimed at enhancing quality and performance—known as *Basis voor Beter Presteren* (Driessen, 2013; Mulder & Meijnen, 2013).

Discussion and Conclusion

On the basis of Dutch longitudinal data sets, it can be concluded that the educational achievement and attainment of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands are showing slow but steady improvement. This is particularly true of the Turkish and Moroccan communities, although their overall educational level remains below that of the "native" Dutch population. The improvement might be due to the fact that second-generation immigrants have been able to complete their full education in the Netherlands. To the degree that gaps between immigrant and non-immigrant students are declining, it should be noted that this is also partly due to a deterioration in the scoring levels of Dutch low-SES students.

Between 1997 and 2008 immigrant children appeared to be catching up almost completely with Dutch students in their participation in pre-school playgroups. Between 2005 and 2008, the percentage of early school leavers showed a downward trend in all student groups, although non-Western immigrant students remained

more likely to "drop out" than their Dutch counterparts. The same trend continued until the most recent assessment reported in 2015, which showed that the rate of early school leavers dropped by half between 2005 and 2010. A situation that has proven particularly difficult to resolve is the high concentration of ethnic minority students in some schools in the large cities. During the 2006–2007 school year, ethnic minority students made up over 80% of the student body in some 40% of primary schools in Amsterdam and Rotterdam (Luyten, 2011, p. 85).

Results from PISA 2006 showed that Dutch students from first- and second-generation minorities lag further behind the average scores among OECD countries. For example, in mathematics second-generation minority students scored on average 66 points on the PISA performance scale below the average of Dutch native students, compared to an OECD overall average of second-generation minority students lagging behind 45 points (Luyten, 2011).

More recent PISA-based results, summarized in Table 7.8, show that the gap between immigrant and non-immigrant students in the Netherlands is considerably above the OECD average. Next, the scoring gap in the Netherlands is due substantially due to students' socio-economic background. A third trend is that the gap is declining over time, as comparisons between 2006 and 2015 show for mathematics, and between 2003 and 2012 show for science achievement.

Students from non-Western immigrant groups are still overrepresented in the lower tracks of secondary education (VMBO basic and lower vocational education), but their enrollment in the higher tracks is also growing. However, their graduation rates in secondary education are still lagging behind. After secondary education, a growing number of students enroll in upper secondary vocational education (MBO) and the participation rate in tertiary education is increasing, but immigrant students again are less successful than Dutch students in these levels of education (Herweijer et al., 2016).

All in all, it can be concluded that despite incidental successes and overall slow but steady improvement, the educational lag experienced by cultural minority students remains a serious issue. Moreover, the educational disadvantages of Dutch students with low-educated parents still present a serious and persistent problem. After more than 40 years of equity oriented policies in the Netherlands, this is a rather disappointing conclusion, which needs to be commented on. The core instrument that has been used during this 40-year period in the history of educational equity policy in the Netherlands was funding, based on the share of disadvantaged students per school. It has been quite difficult to assess its effects in a precise way, because there is limited information about the way autonomous schools implement the extra budget. The overall effect of these funding arrangements could be hypothesized as the explanation of the relatively high achievement of Dutch students at the low end of the performance distribution as compared to other countries as established in the various waves of PISA (Scheerens, 2015).

When it comes to an assessment of the effectiveness and efficiency of the equity oriented policies in the Netherlands, there is a striking consensus among all evaluators and reviewers of these policies. They invariably point at the lack of coherence, clear planning frameworks, and limited evaluability of the way schools use extra

funding and work towards the rather general policy objectives (Driessen & Mulder, 1999; Mulder & Meijnen, 2013; Scheerens, 1987). The implicit message is that school autonomy has long gone over the edge in the Netherlands and is preventing policies that are effective and efficient. In the most recent evaluation study, Mulder and Meijnen (2013) are very explicit in their recommendations to have clearer targets from the center, more explicitly planned programs, stricter accountability requirements, and better conditions for program evaluation. The inefficiency in equity oriented policy is part of a larger syndrome in Dutch education, in which innovation and reform are framed to be "bottom up," leading to many fragmented local initiatives in which the wheel is reinvented over and over again (Scheerens, 2013a, 2013b). Despite the recommendations in practically all evaluation studies, the counsel to make better use of evidence-based comprehensive school reform programs has never been followed up in a consistent way so far (although there is a very recent initiative to implement the "Success for All" program in the Netherlands).

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Chapter 8
Immigrant Student Achievement and Educational Policy in Ireland

Merike Darmody and Emer Smyth

Introduction

The economic boom, otherwise known as "the Celtic Tiger", which took place in Ireland from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s prompted rapid and large-scale immigration, transforming Ireland from a country of emigration to a "new immigrant-receiving country." The flow of immigrants into Ireland was modest before this period of economic prosperity, averaging only 800 persons annually (Central Statistics Office [CSO], 2012a, 2012b), but it grew substantially in the following years. In 2002, the number of non-Irish individuals living in Ireland stood at 224,261 but the following Census (2006) saw the figures grow to 419,733, with a further increase to 544,357 by 2011 (CSO, interactive tables). There was some decrease in the rate of flow of immigrants during the recession but non-Irish nationals still made up 11.6% of the population in 2016, down marginally from 12.2% in 2011 (CSO, 2017). The number of asylum seekers showed a similar trend, with increases during the boom years, peaking in 2002 and declining significantly over the course of the recession (Quinn & Kingston, 2012; ORAC, 2017).

Compared to the native population, immigrants to Ireland are highly educated, with a higher proportion having tertiary education compared to the native Irish (Darmody, McGinnity, & Kingston, 2016; Röder, Ward, Frese, & Sánchez, 2014). However, despite their high levels of educational attainment, existing research finds that immigrants to Ireland fare less well than Irish nationals in the labour market across a range of dimensions, including access to higher paid and higher status jobs, experience of discrimination at work, and levels of unemployment (Barrett, McGinnity, & Quinn, 2017; McGinnity & Lunn, 2011; O'Connell & McGinnity,

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2008;). In addition, Barrett and Kelly (2012) found no evidence to suggest that this occupational gap became smaller as immigrants spent longer time in Ireland. Some groups of immigrants seem to fare less well compared to others. For example, the highest unemployment rate has been found among adults from outside the European Union (EU) (Watson, Lunn, Quinn, & Russell, 2011).

A further distinctive feature of the immigrant population in Ireland is its heterogeneity in terms of country of origin, language proficiency and legal status. The immigrant population is drawn from 180 countries, with the largest national groups being from Poland, the U.K. and Lithuania (CSO, 2017). This diversity may hinder the development of ethnic enclaves in the Irish context. Over two-thirds (68%) of the immigrant population speak a language other than English (or Irish) at home (CSO, 2017). The Census of Population also provides information on (self-reported) ability to speak English.[1] Over half (55%) of those who speak a language other than English report that they speak English 'very well.' English language proficiency varies significantly by length of time living in Ireland and national origin (CSO, 2017). In addition to differences in language and nationality of origin, the immigrant group also varies in their legal status. EU nationals are free to live and work in Ireland but non-EU groups must enter the country on the basis of an employment or student visa or as an asylum seeker or programme refugee. Thus the immigrant population in Ireland differs along the dimensions of nationality, English language proficiency and legal status, factors that are likely to shape their experiences of the educational system.

The educational outcomes of immigrant-origin children and young people are considered in the next section. Since immigration to Ireland has been a recent phenomenon, the children and young people being discussed are largely, but not wholly, first-generation immigrants. Due to the small number of second-generation immigrants, first- and second-generation immigrants are generally grouped together into one 'immigrant origin' group (though PISA data distinguish between the two groups). The analyses focus on immigrant-origin students in secondary schools, while placing these findings in the context of achievement levels earlier in the school system.

Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

According to student data collected by the Department of Education and Skills for the 2015–2016 academic year, children and young people born outside Ireland made up 11% of the student body in mainstream secondary education, with most of this group coming from other European Union countries (see Table 8.1).

[1]Those who spoke language other than English or Irish were asked to assess their ability to speak English. The categories include "very well," "well," "not well," and "not at all."

Table 8.1 Immigrant-origin youth in Irish secondary schools by country of birth (2015/16)

Country of origin	% of immigrant-origin students
UK	20.4
Poland	16.0
Spain	6.6
Lithuania	5.5
Romania	3.4
Latvia	3.0
Other European Union	9.9
Non-European Union	35.2
Total number	41,782

Source: Department of Education and Skills, Schools Database

The availability of information on the academic outcomes of immigrant children and young people in Ireland is quite sparse. Ireland has participated in the TIMSS and PISA studies so cross-nationally comparable information on achievement test scores is available for some cohorts of young people. In addition, the *Growing Up in Ireland*[2] study provides detailed information on (to date) test scores at 5, 9, and 13 years of age as well as on other outcomes such as educational aspirations among a large national sample that includes both immigrant and native Irish children. However, there is currently no information available on differences in the achievement levels of Irish and immigrant-origin students in the State exams conducted at the end of lower and upper secondary education. This lacuna is particularly important given the influential role of upper secondary exam grades in ensuring access to higher education and good quality employment. The Department of Education and Skills (DES) carries out regular estimates of school retention but immigrant-origin students cannot be distinguished in these analyses. However, national data for 20–24 year olds suggest that rates of early school leaving are roughly comparable for immigrants and Irish young people (Barrett et al., 2017). Another gap relates to information on post-school transitions. While the domicile of origin of entrants to higher education is recorded, it is not possible to distinguish those who were foreign-born (or whose parents are foreign-born) and are domiciled in Ireland. In order to ensure that immigrant-origin students can reach their full potential in the Irish educational system, it is important to be able to monitor their outcomes, as well as their distribution across different kinds of schools.

International research points to immigrants being a positively selected group, a phenomenon which explains, at least in part, relatively high educational expectations among immigrant groups (Feliciano, 2005). In the Irish context too, immigrant parents tend to hold high educational expectations and aspirations for their children. The analysis of *Growing Up in Ireland* data collected on 9-year-old children in Ireland shows that, as with Irish mothers, the majority of mothers with immigrant

[2] *Growing Up in Ireland* is a government-funded national longitudinal study of children, carried out by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) and Trinity College Dublin (TCD). For more information see: http://www.esri.ie/growing-up-in-ireland/

Table 8.2 Mean test scores in mathematics, reading, and science by immigrant background for Ireland (Mean scores) – PISA 2015

Immigrant background	Mathematics	Reading	Science
Immigrant generation:			
Native Irish	506.19*	524.71*	505.06
1st generation	497.10*	508.54*	500.16
2nd generation	502.66	519.48	500.58
Language among immigrants:			
English speaker	503.40*	522.84*	507.85*
Non-English speaker	493.61*	499.70*	492.94*

Note: * significant difference at the $p < .05$ level

backgrounds across all national groups expect their child to go on to tertiary education and expectations among some mothers, especially from Africa and Asia, are somewhat higher than those of Irish mothers (McGinnity, Darmody, & Murray, 2015). Furthermore, immigrant-origin children are generally perceived by school teachers and principals as highly motivated, in some cases seen as "model students" (Smyth, Darmody, McGinnity, & Byrne, 2009).

While immigrant parents and their children may have high aspirations regarding educational pathways, one needs to consider how they fare academically in order to assess how realistic these expectations are. Proficiency in the language of instruction is an important factor enabling immigrant-origin children to access the curriculum and participate in classroom activities. English—the language of instruction in the vast majority of Irish schools—is a mother tongue to only a minority of immigrant students (see above). In the following discussion, we therefore discuss the role of both immigrant background and language spoken in influencing achievement levels.

Drawing on PISA 2015 data,[3] the initial analysis explores differences between native, first-generation and second-generation[4] immigrants[5] in their performance in standardized tests (mean scores in Mathematics, Science, and Reading skills). At 15 years of age, first-generation immigrant students achieve significantly lower test scores in Mathematics and Reading than their native Irish peers, with a bigger achievement gap for Reading than for Mathematics (see Table 8.2). The small number of second-generation students do not differ from native Irish students in their test scores. Science test scores do not vary significantly by immigrant background, though scores for native Irish students are slightly higher than those found

[3]In 2015, 167 secondary schools in Ireland took part in PISA. After exemptions, refusals, and absences were taken into account, 5741 students completed the assessment. In Ireland, Third Year students account for 60.5% of students in PISA 2015, Transition Year students for 26.7%, Fifth Year students for 10.9%, and Second Year students for 1.9% (Shiel, Kelleher, McKeown, & Denner, 2016).

[4]The number of 15-year-old second-generation students is relatively small in Ireland because of the recency of large-scale immigration (n = 179 or 3%; first-generation n = 581 or 11%).

[5]OECD categorizes a student as having an "immigrant" background if the student was born in the test country and both parents were born elsewhere, or if the student and parents were born outside the test country; this chapter defines "immigrants" as those children with neither parent born in Ireland.

among first- and second-generation immigrant students. As expected, the results vary by language spoken (see Table 8.2), with immigrant-origin youth speaking a language other than English achieving significantly lower scores in Reading than English-speaking immigrants (499.70 vs. 522.84). The pattern is similar, although the gap is somewhat smaller, for Mathematics (493.61 vs. 503.40) and Science (492.94 vs. 507.85). It is worth noting that the gap in test scores on the basis of language among immigrants is larger than the gap between immigrants as a group and the native Irish, highlighting the importance of taking account of the heterogeneity of the immigrant population in Ireland.

In order to gain a more complete picture of the academic achievement levels of immigrant-origin youth, it is useful to explore how they fare academically earlier in their educational career. In doing so, the rest of the chapter draws on data from three waves of the *Growing Up in Ireland* national longitudinal study, relating to the wave at 5 years of age for the infant cohort and 9 and 13 years of age for the child cohort.[6] At the age of 5 years, children took the naming vocabulary and picture similarities subscales of the British Ability Scale. Significant differences are evident between immigrant-origin[7] and native children in the naming vocabulary test results (45.75 vs. 56.65) (Table 8.3). Proficiency in the language of instruction is what matters. Among immigrants, children whose first language is English performed better in the naming vocabulary test compared to their non-English speaking counterparts (52.49 vs. 37.06). For the picture similarities test, which was designed to test non-verbal skills, results did not vary between native and immigrant children. Within the immigrant group, however, there was a significant but very small difference in test scores in favour of those from non-English-speaking backgrounds (58.56 vs. 57.98).

Turning to the 9 year olds, children were administered the standardised Drumcondra tests in reading and mathematics; these tests are commonly used in the Irish primary school system to assess children's achievement relative to that of their peers and the tests are based on the material covered in the national curriculum. The test scores were scaled to have a mean of 100 and a standard deviation of 15. In reading, the mean test score was significantly lower among immigrant-origin children compared to their Irish counterparts (98.46 vs. 102.66; almost a third of a standard deviation) (Table 8.4). As with the 5 year olds, language spoken in the home was a key driver of these patterns, with much lower test scores among those from a non-English-speaking background (99.19 for English-speakers; 92.9 for non-English speakers). Thus non-English-speaking children score almost half a standard deviation below their English-speaking peers in reading. The analysis showed a small but statistically significant difference between immigrant-origin and native students in the mathematics test (88.92 vs. 90.51) but differences in maths performance did not differ by language background among the immigrant

[6]The survey of 5 year olds and their families was conducted in 2013 while data collection at 9 and 13 years of age were conducted in 2007/8 and 2011/12.

[7]In the GUI analyses, children are defined as "immigrant" if both parents are born outside Ireland, or in case of a lone parent, the parent is born outside Ireland.

Table 8.3 Mean scores in verbal and non-verbal tests by background, Growing Up in Ireland at the age of 5, 2013

Test type	Immigrant-origin	Irish
Naming vocabulary	45.75***	56.65
Picture similarities	57.98	58.56
Immigrants only:	**Language spoken at home: English**	**Language spoken at home: not English**
Naming vocabulary	52.49	37.96***
Picture similarities	57.28*	58.69

Note: ***difference significant at p<.001 level; **p < .01; *p < .05

Table 8.4 Mean test scores in mathematics and reading by background, Growing Up in Ireland at the age of 9, 2007/8

Test type	Immigrant-origin	Irish
Drumcondra reading test	98.46***	102.66
Drumcondra maths test	88.92**	90.52
Immigrants only:	**Language spoken in the home: English**	**Language spoken in the home: not English**
Drumcondra reading test	99.19***	92.90
Drumcondra maths test	88.96	88.93

Note: ***difference significant at p<.001 level; ** p<.01; * p<.05

group. Given the heterogeneity of the immigrant group, it is important to take account of these between-group differences (Molcho, Kelly, & Nic Gabhainn, 2009). Previous research on immigrant achievement in the Irish context using the same GUI data has differentiated by country of origin, showing that the lowest levels of reading achievement among 9 year olds are found among children of Eastern European origin (McGinnity et al., 2015). In contrast, children whose mothers are from the U.K. or Western Europe resemble Irish children in their reading performance. In mathematics, the lowest scores are found among children of African origin, a pattern that is accounted for by their greater levels of financial strain.

The children tested at the age of 9 were tested again at the age of 13. This time, the tests used were not based on the curriculum but rather reflected aptitude in verbal and numerical reasoning. As with test scores at age 9, scores were scaled to have a mean of 100 and a standard deviation of 15. The comparison of mean scores in verbal reasoning showed significant differences between immigrant and non-immigrant students, with the former having lower scores (97.71 vs. 99.98) (Table 8.5). The differences between groups in numeric ability were minor and not statistically significant. However, when proficiency in English is taken into consideration, students from families in which English is spoken in the home performed significantly better compared to students from families with a different dominant language (98.51 vs. 93.51, a difference of a third of a standard deviation). For numerical reasoning, the reverse pattern was found, with slightly but significantly higher scores among non-English speakers (101.62 vs. 98.59).

While immigrant-origin students are generally seen as highly motivated and ambitious (Smyth et al., 2009), poor proficiency in the language of instruction may impair the academic success of even the most motivated and ambitious student, especially in a context where the majority of secondary school subjects require advanced fluency in English. While the overall differences between Irish and immigrant children in achievement in English reading and mathematics are relatively modest, they may lead to cumulative disadvantage as children move through the educational system (Darmody, Byrne, & McGinnity, 2012).

Understanding the Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

This section looks for explanations for the patterns found in the previous section by drawing on existing Irish research on immigrant children and young people. Education is a crucial pathway for upward mobility for all groups, but particularly for immigrants as many of these families may have experienced labour market penalties when migrating, with existing research showing that many new arrivals are working in occupations below their skill level (O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008). Despite having parents with high levels of educational attainment who show high aspirations for their children (Darmody et al., 2016), many underperform academically

Table 8.5 Mean test scores in verbal and numerical ability by background, Growing Up in Ireland at the age of 13, 2011/12

Test type	Immigrant-origin	Irish
Verbal reasoning test	97.71***	99.98
Numerical ability test	99.60	99.78
Immigrants only:	**Language spoken in the home: English**	**Language spoken in the home: not English**
Verbal reasoning test	99.88***	93.88
Numerical ability test	99.69	101.76

Note: ***difference significant at $p < .001$ level; **$p < .01$; *$p < .05$

compared to their native-born counterparts (see above; McGinnity et al., 2015). In other countries, differences in outcomes can be attributed to lower educational resources among immigrant families but, as discussed above, immigrants in Ireland tend to be highly qualified (O'Connell & McGinnity, 2008). Language emerges as the main driver of achievement differences for children of immigrant origin in Ireland (see above) and poorer language proficiency can serve to further reinforce differences; for example, if immigrant children do not participate in the kinds of out-of-school activities which contribute to their in-school learning (Devine, 2009; Smyth, 2016). Some groups, particularly those of African origin, may also have poorer levels of economic resources because they came to Ireland as asylum seekers (Darmody et al., 2016; McGinnity et al., 2015).

School factors have been found to influence the academic careers of immigrant-origin children in Ireland. A distinctive feature of the educational landscape in Ireland is the extent of active school choice, especially at secondary level. Thus, around half of the student cohort do not attend their nearest or most accessible secondary schools and families make very active choices about where to send their children to school. On the other side of the equation, if schools are over-subscribed (that is, have more applicants than places) they can use a range of criteria for deciding which students to select. These criteria include being on a waiting list, a parent or older sibling having attended the school, and, in many religious schools, being of the specified religion. These criteria are likely to have a particular effect on the options open to those newly arrived in the country.

The first comprehensive study on the experiences of immigrant-origin children and youth in Irish primary and secondary schools was conducted in 2007–2008 (see Smyth et al., 2009). This study found that most secondary schools in Ireland recorded having at least some immigrant-origin students. In contrast, primary schools were more polarized, with smaller rural schools typically having no immigrant students while certain urban schools had much higher concentrations of immigrant pupils. This pattern of differentiation by immigrant background can be further reinforced by the movement of the immigrant population to specific urban areas (Devine, 2011b, 2013a, 2013b). Immigrant children and young people were found to be more likely to be concentrated in schools serving socio-economically disadvantaged populations since immigrant families find it difficult to gain access to oversubscribed schools and thus need to take up places in schools with free capacity, many such schools catering to more deprived populations in urban areas (Byrne, McGinnity, Smyth, & Darmody, 2010). This pattern may have a negative influence on these students' academic outcomes, since research points to a gap in educational outcomes between socially deprived schools and other schools (Smyth, McCoy, & Kingston, 2015). More recent information (see Duncan, 2015; Houses of the Oireachtas, 2015) indicates that immigrant-origin children continue to be concentrated in some primary schools, some of which cater to a student population where the majority are of immigrant origin.

Teachers play a crucial role in the educational experiences of children. While the student body in Ireland has become more diverse over time, this is not reflected in the profile of teachers in Irish primary and secondary schools who are mostly white and middle class (Darmody & Smyth, 2016; Heinz, 2013; Keane & Heinz, 2015, 2016; Parker-Jenkins & Masterson, 2013). Native-origin teachers may serve to transmit dominant cultural norms, whereby minority cultural and social capital often becomes misrecognized and undervalued (Darmody, Smyth, Byrne, & McGinnity, 2011; Devine, 2005; Kitching, 2010, 2011). Some teachers lack knowledge of the background of immigrant-origin children in their class (Devine, 2011a), indicating a limited focus on diversity in initial teacher education programmes (Ní Laoire, Bushin, Carpena-Méndez, & White, 2009). Existing research also alludes to the racialised distribution of learner "ability," whereby some immigrant groups of students are perceived as less able (Kitching, 2014). Being seen as different by teachers (and native peers) is likely to reproduce negative attitudes toward immigrant and other more vulnerable children, normalizing their underachievement and seeing them in deficit terms (Devine, 2013a, 2013b).

While the role of a teacher is important for the school experiences of children, especially at younger ages, culturally responsive leadership is important in order to value all children equally (Devine, 2013a), as is a whole-school approach to supporting immigrant-origin students (Devine, 2011a, 2011b). Previous research has recognized the role of the school as an important site for learning respect for, and recognition of, other groups providing formal and informal opportunities for interaction (Darmody & Smyth, 2015; Smyth et al., 2009). Interaction of this kind is likely to foster not only social integration but also enhance student learning.

In contrast to the experience in several other countries where immigrant-origin young people report higher levels of disaffection from school, immigrant-origin children and young people in Ireland seem to resemble their native peers in their attitudes to school and their teachers (Smyth, 2017). As mentioned above, there is a lack of systematic research on achievement in State exams by immigrant status. However, a small-scale study by Ledwith and Reilly (2013) suggests that, at least in one urban area, immigrant students were significantly less likely to take higher level subjects in their lower secondary (Junior Certificate) examinations compared to their native peers, even controlling for differences in language fluency, gender and the socio-economic status of the school population. If this pattern is found more widely, it would represent a significant barrier to immigrant young people taking more advanced subjects at upper secondary level and beyond.

The academic achievement gap observed between immigrant children and their Irish peers is likely to have long-term implications for their future well-being. The role of educational policy in shaping outcomes for immigrant children and young people is discussed in greater detail below.

Education Policies for Children with a Migration Background

Over the last two decades, Irish primary and secondary schools have become increasingly culturally and linguistically diverse, raising policy challenges for dealing with a more heterogeneous student population (Smyth et al., 2009). This section begins by discussing the implications of the structure of the Irish educational system for immigrant groups before examining specific policies adopted to support these groups.

As discussed above, the interaction of parental choice of school and school admissions policies means that schools in Ireland differ in their social profile (Smyth et al., 2015). Newly arrived immigrant families have experienced difficulties in accessing more popular schools and, as a result, have been over-represented in school serving socio-economically disadvantaged populations (Smyth et al., 2009). In recognition of the way in which school admissions criteria can exclude certain groups, including children of immigrant origin, the Education (Admission to Schools) Bill was published in 2016. At the time of writing, this bill has not yet passed into law but is intended to introduce greater transparency in school enrolment policies and to abolish the use of waiting lists. This policy move is likely to have particular implications for newly arrived immigrant families by enhancing their chances of accessing a wider range of schools.

A further distinctive feature of the Irish system is the role of religion in schooling. The vast majority of primary schools are religious in character, mainly Roman Catholic, with only 4% of schools adopting a non-denominational or multi-faith approach. All religious schools provide faith formation classes. Parents have the right to opt out of these classes on behalf of their children but these children commonly remain in the class doing other schoolwork (Smyth et al., 2009). At the secondary level, around half of the schools are voluntary secondary schools generally run by a religious order or religious trust body. Schools have the right to give preference to children of their specific religious faith in their admissions policy. The issue of religion is not being addressed in new legislation around school admissions but, at the time of writing, the Department for Education and Skills is conducting a consultation process around the appropriate place of religion in school admissions.

Children and young people of immigrant origin are diverse in terms of their religious beliefs but a higher proportion are non-Catholic than among the native Irish population (CSO, 2017). The religious profile of schools therefore has significant implications for the ability of immigrant families to select schools which align with their religious or moral beliefs. Furthermore, opting out of religious education class can serve as a further signal of difference (Smyth, Lyons, & Darmody, 2012), which may negatively impact on the social integration of immigrant-origin children.

Specific policies to enhance the educational experiences of immigrant-origin children and young people fall into two main categories: intercultural guidelines and supports for English language acquisition. The National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) (2005, 2006) has compiled and disseminated guidelines for intercultural education for primary and secondary schools. This emphasis on

creating an intercultural learning environment was further reinforced by the government's *Intercultural Education Strategy* 2010–2015. This strategy document endeavours to ensure that all students experience an education that "respects the diversity of values, beliefs, languages and traditions in Irish society and is conducted in a spirit of partnership" and that "all education providers are assisted with ensuring that inclusion and integration within an intercultural learning environment become the norm" (Department of Education and Skills [DES] & Office of the Minister for Integration [OMI], 2010, Executive Summary section, para. 1). It is not known, however, the extent to which school principals and teachers implement the approaches described in these documents. In relation to teacher education, initial teacher education in diversity is not compulsory in Ireland, with intercultural modules compulsory in some colleges of education and not in others. Recent years have seen the introduction of some continuous professional development courses on intercultural education and related issues, including training for language support teachers.

Additional educational resources for pupils who are learning English as an additional language (EAL) are the main form of targeted support for immigrant-origin children and young people in primary and secondary schools (Faas, Sokolowska, & Darmody, 2015; Smyth et al., 2009; Taguma, Kim, Wurzburg, & Kelly, 2009). The Department of Education and Skills (2012a, 2012b) has identified examples of good practice across schools in supporting EAL students. However, both evaluations found scope for more effective differentiation of class programmes and lessons for EAL pupils and the need for closer collaboration between mainstream class teachers and EAL support teachers. At the secondary level, the evaluations suggest the need for a broader acceptance that every subject teacher is also a language teacher. Across both levels, the reports identify a need to provide further professional development opportunities for teachers. The nature of support allocation has since been changed, with primary schools now receiving resources to cover both learning support (for students with special educational needs) and language support. Autonomy is given to schools to deploy these teaching hours between learning and language support depending on their specific needs. A similar process of combining the allocation of learning and language support has been adopted at the secondary level. This reform makes it more difficult to assess the amount of resources allocated to immigrant-origin children and young people. Survey data indicate that 2.3% of second class (8-year old) students and 2% of 6th-class (12-year old) students are in receipt of language support for English (Kavanagh, Sheil, Gilleece, & Kiniry, 2016). This is lower than the overall numbers of immigrant-origin students who speak a language other than English at home; however, there are no available data on the extent to which language provision meets the needs of these students.

Overall, the lack of data on the educational outcomes of immigrant-origin children and young people makes it difficult to assess the impact of educational policies in Ireland. In particular, the extent to which resources are being devoted to language support at the school level and whether schools are adopting a genuinely intercultural approach in their day-to-day teaching are not known.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the academic achievement of immigrant-origin children and young people in Ireland. Empirical studies indicate that immigrant students are disadvantaged in most educational systems, but also that their outcomes vary between countries and within groups. Ireland is a particularly interesting case among other Western countries, given the relatively recent history of immigration, the heterogeneity of the immigrant population in terms of country of origin, linguistic, and religious backgrounds, and high levels of educational attainment among adult immigrants.

Rapid large-scale immigration to Ireland has meant that the country has had to move quickly in order to address the needs of these new arrivals. This resulted in a somewhat reactive rather than proactive approach to policy-making, with initial efforts focused on providing language supports for newly arrived children and young people. Greater attention to broader issues of inclusion, especially the need to promote intercultural education, has developed over time. Analyses in the chapter have highlighted the significant impact of language proficiency on the academic achievement of immigrant-origin students. However, changes in the allocation of resources to schools means that it is not possible to identify the extent to which language needs among immigrant-origin children are currently being met. The chapter has pointed to other lacunae in data availability, with no information available on State examination results among immigrant-origin young people. Such empirical evidence is vital in order to prevent the emergence of potential differentiation in educational outcomes in the longer term. In its absence, there is a risk that children and young people of immigrant origin will become invisible within the educational system.

The nature of the Irish educational system, specifically its religious character and the degree of school choice, has significant implications for the inclusion of immigrant-origin children and young people. It is hoped that new policy developments, including changes in the school admissions criteria and the types of schools available, will make access to education more transparent and equitable to all families and their children. However, the debate about the role of religion in schooling is likely to take longer to resolve, posing challenges for some groups of immigrant families in locating a school that reflects their religious or moral belief systems.

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Chapter 9
Immigrant Student Achievement and Educational Policy in Canada

Liying Cheng and Wei Yan

Introduction

Canada is a country in the northern part of North America. Its ten provinces and three territories stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific and northward into the Arctic Ocean, covering, vast and far, 9.98 million square kilometers (3.85 million square miles). This makes Canada the world's second largest country by total area and the fourth largest country by land area, yet with a relatively small population of approximately 35 million people.

Demographically, 1 out of 5 people in Canada's population is foreign-born. According to the data from the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), Canada had a total of about 6,775,800 foreign-born individuals who arrived as immigrants. They represented 20.6% of the total population, the highest proportion among the G8 countries.[1] Between 2006 and 2011, around 1,162,900 foreign-born people immigrated to Canada. These recent immigrants made up 17.2% of the foreign-born population and 3.5% of the total population in Canada.

Asia (including the Middle East) has been Canada's largest source of immigrants during the past 5 years, although the share of immigration from Africa, the Caribbean, and Central and South America increased slightly. The vast majority of the foreign-born population lives in four provinces: Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, and Alberta, and most live in the nation's largest urban centers.

[1]The Group of Eight (G8) refers to the group of eight highly industrialized nations – France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Japan, the United States, Canada, and Russia – that hold an annual meeting to foster consensus on global issues like economic growth and crisis management, global security, energy, and terrorism.

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Linguistic Diversity

Canada has two official languages, French and English (although Inuktitut is an official language in Nunavut, a federal territory of Canada). In term of linguistic diversity, more than 200 languages were reported in the 2011 Census of Population as a home language or mother tongue. In 2011, 80% of the population who reported speaking an immigrant language (a language other than English, French, or an Aboriginal language) most often at home lived in one of Canada's six largest census metropolitan areas.[2] In 2011, 11.5% of the population reported speaking both English and a language other than French at home. The corresponding figure in 2006 was 9.1%. This is an increase of 960,000 persons, compared with about 410,000 between 2001 and 2006. In 2011, 17.5% of the Canadian population, or 5.8 million persons, reported speaking at least two languages at home. In 2006, 14.2% did so (nearly 4.5 million persons). Most importantly, this linguistic diversity is consistently valued as an asset and encouraged to be used in schools across Canada that supports the learning of immigrant children inside and outside of the school (Coelho, 2004). The educational systems in Canada, more details below, work within this pluralistic society to eliminate discrimination and provide equitable and fair access, linguistic diversity included, to quality education for all (Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 2012).

Education in Canada

Elementary education began in eastern Canada during the 1850s with the need for secondary level schooling emerging in the second half of the nineteenth century (Nagy, 2000). In the early years, there was an emphasis on educating the upper social class with a focus on academic standards. Today, Canada's education system is publicly funded and accessible to all children up to Grade 12, with compulsory elementary schooling typically beginning in Kindergarten (ages 4–5). Education in Canada is decentralized with each of the ten provinces and three territories responsible for the educational system within its jurisdiction (Klinger, DeLuca, & Miller, 2008; Volante & Jaafar, 2008). Each of the 13 systems has its own educational policies governing educational standards, curriculum, classroom practices, and assessment; however, the nature of these policies is typically not prescriptive, leaving a range of possible interpretations for student learning and outcome across schools in Canada.

Unlike other countries around the world, there is no national policy that establishes a countrywide curriculum for students and teachers in Canada (e.g., Common Core Standards in the United States). Instead, each provincial and territorial ministry of education assumes responsibility for overseeing compulsory elementary and

[2]They are Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Calgary, Ottawa-Gatineau, and Edmonton.

secondary schooling through smaller bodies called boards or districts of education. As such, policies regarding the education of immigrant children are established by ministries of education with enactment occurring through local school boards and districts under the professional discretion of educational leaders (Scott, 1995; Volante & Jaafar, 2008). Despite the different policies in individual provinces, there is a common commitment to an equal chance in school with fairness and equal access. This common commitment sets the foundation for education in Canada. In relation to educational policy supporting immigrant children (see e.g., Alberta Education, 2009; British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2017; Ontario Ministry of Education, 2005, 2007; The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2013), a highly valued policy recognizes the importance of first language use and the respects for cultural identity and diversity in the context of language and academic development simultaneously.

Historically, the *Official Languages Act* of 1969 provoked a climate of linguistic uncertainty for non-official languages; the 1971 policy of multiculturalism hinted at some recognition of them. In 1977, under that policy, the federal government created the Cultural Enrichment Program. It included support for the teaching of non-official languages, primarily to children of communities where the target language was a 'heritage language' (the mother tongue or ancestral language of the children). Since 1977, some programs have been associated with the schools and at least partially publically funded, and new ones have been created in the schools, but most remain non-academically-recognized add-ons (Burnaby, 2008).

In Canada, education is a significant human right that is guaranteed in federal, provincial, and territorial legislation. Within the framework of legislation and policy, the rights of students to be free from discrimination encompass not only access to education, but also the quality of the educational experience itself. Educational jurisdictions in Canada are reaching beyond the idea of anti-discrimination to the concept of truly inclusive education. In inclusive education, educational values and beliefs are centred on the best interests of the students, promoting social cohesion, belonging, equal opportunities for success, and active participation in learning. The *Multiculturalism Act* (1988) mainly fosters non-English and French cultures, anti-racism, and affirmative action in support of visible minorities to maintain the use of first languages.

Children with a Migration Background: A Historical Overview

One in every three newcomers to Canada is under 24 years of age (Statistics Canada, 2013). About half of these youth are from Asia. Most newcomer youth 15–24 years of age (79.8%) are from racialized "visible minority" backgrounds. Further nearly 1 in 2 Canadians (or between 44.2 and 49.9%) could be an immigrant or the child of an immigrant by 2036. In contrast, the combined population of immigrants and

second-generation immigrants represented 38.2% of the Canadian population in 2011. For a historical comparison, Statistics Canada indicated that, by 2036, the proportion of immigrants could be twice as high as it was in 1871, when the first Canadian census was conducted. Sustained immigration, a rising number of deaths, and low fertility rates since the early 1990s are factors together contributing to the current growing proportion of immigrants in Canada irrespectively of the fact that Canadians tend now to live longer.

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) came into force in 2002, and defined three basic categories of immigrants, which correspond to major program objectives: reuniting families (family class), contributing to economic development (economic immigrants), and projecting refugees (refugees) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014). Among the 271,847 immigrants that came to Canada in 2015, 60.2% were economic immigrants. Family class is the second largest group (27.0%), followed by refugees (11.4%).

According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2015), there are 54,385 immigrants below 15 years old who came to Canada in 2015, which indicates an increase over the past 5 years. The ratio of male and female is rather balanced: 51.5% male and 48.5% female. Asia and Pacific areas are the biggest source (47.4%). Other sources of immigrants below 15 years old include Africa and Middle East (31.5%), Europe (10.0%), Central and South America (6.5%), and the United States of America (4.3%). The distribution of young adult immigrants who are 15–24 years old showed similar patterns over the years. Among 33,083 young adults who came to Canada in 2015, there are 47.2% male and 52.8% female. The biggest source for this group of immigrants is still Asia and Pacific areas (54.5%), followed by Africa and Middle East (24.0%), Central and South America (9.9%), Europe (8.7%), and the United States of America (2.4%).

With this growing number of immigrants, there has been an increasing proportion of immigrant children entering educational systems throughout Canada. These children with little or limited English are defined as English Language Learners (ELLs) in a majority of the provinces of Canada. ELLs are an increasing group of student population in urban K-12 systems across Canada (Roessingh & Kover, 2002). For example, across Ontario, 72% of English elementary schools and 55% of secondary schools have English Language Learners (or English as a Second Language, English Language Development students); in the Greater Toronto Area, the figure increases to 85% in elementary schools. An average of 8% of elementary and 4% of secondary school students are English Language Learners (ELL) (People of Education, 2013). The Ontario curriculum defines ELLs as "students in provincially funded English language schools whose first language is a language other than English, or is a variety of English that is significantly different from the variety used for instruction in Ontario's schools, and who may require focused educational supports to assist them in attaining proficiency in English. These students may be Canadian born or recently arrived from other countries. They come from diverse backgrounds and school experiences, and have a wide variety of strengths and needs" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 8). A detailed breakdown of ELLs is included in Table 9.1, which shows the heterogeneity of this population.

Table 9.1 Definition of ELLs in Ontario

Canadian-born ELLs	Newcomers from other countries
Aboriginal students	Children involved in "voluntary, planned immigration"
Students whose families have "maintained a distinct cultural and linguistic tradition that is not English"	Children who have left their homeland "under conditions of extreme urgency"
Children from immigrant communities in which "languages other than English are primarily spoken"	Fee-paying international/visa students

Source: Ontario Ministry of Education (2007)

These students need to learn the language of instruction in English language schools at the same time as they are working towards meeting the curriculum expectations. Please note this chapter focuses only on the newcomers from other countries to Canada.

Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

The achievement gap between immigrant and non-immigrant students is a well-established regularity in several Western countries. However, immigrants' performances and their relative positions compared with their native peers are highly heterogeneous (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2016). The Programme for International Student Assessment (hereafter PISA) is issued by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that tests the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students in mathematics, reading, and science (OECD, 2017). PISA is administered every 3 years, and each administration focuses on one of the above three subject areas. In its most recent 2015 assessment with a focus on science, a total of 72 countries and economies participated. In PISA 2015, "countries with relatively large immigrant student populations" were defined as countries where more than 6.25% of 15-year-old students have an immigrant background. As a comparison, 30.1% (much larger than 6.25%) of Canadian students were claimed to be immigrant students in PISA 2015, which indicates a 9% increase from PISA 2006.

Despite having such a large immigrant student population, Canada is one of the few countries with *negligible* performance differences in PISA 2015 between immigrant and non-immigrant students (OECD, 2016). As indicated in Table 9.2, the average score obtained by immigrant students in all three subjects (science, reading, and math) is not significantly different from their non-immigrant peers.

PISA 2015 consists of seven levels of proficiency to interpret students' final scores. Six levels are aligned with the levels used in the previous PISAs, ranging from the highest Level 6 to Level 1a, formerly known as Level 1. At the bottom of the scale, a new Level 1b is described, to "indicate the knowledge and skills of some of the students performing below Level 1a" (OECD, 2016, p. 59). Students whose scores are below Level 2 are defined as *low performers* while Level 5 and above are

Table 9.2 Canadian students' performance in PISA 2015

		Science	Reading	Math
Non-immigrant students	Mean score (S.E.)	530 (2.2)	528 (2.3)	514 (2.7)
	Percentage of low performers (below Level 2) (S.E.)	10.3% (0.6)	10.4% (0.7)	14.5% (0.8)
	Percentage of top performers (Level 5 or above) (S.E.)	12.5% (0.7)	13.9% (0.8)	14.7% (0.9)
Immigrant students	Mean score (S.E.)	531 (3.1)	534 (3.4)	525 (3.1)
	Percentage of low performers (below Level 2) (S.E.)	10.5% (0.8)	9.3% (0.8)	12.0% (0.9)
	Percentage of top performers (Level 5 or above) (S.E.)	13.5% (1.0)	15.7% (1.2)	17.4% (1.3)
Second-generation immigrant students	Mean score (S.E.)	533 (3.6)	538 (3.8)	522 (3.8)
	Percentage of low performers (below Level 2) (S.E.)	9.8% (1.0)	8.1% (1.0)	12.3% (1.2)
	Percentage of top performers (Level 5 or above) (S.E.)	13.5% (1.2)	16.1% (1.5)	16.2% (1.8)
First-generation immigrant students	Mean score (S.E.)	530 (3.4)	530 (4.3)	527 (3.7)
	Percentage of low performers (below Level 2) (S.E.)	11.3% (1.1)	10.7% (1.2)	11.7% (1.2)
	Percentage of top performers (Level 5 or above) (S.E.)	13.5% (1.2)	15.2% (1.6)	18.6% (1.7)

top performers. The gap of low and top performers between immigrant students and their non-immigrant peers are also negligible for Canada. Many immigrant top performers were considered disadvantaged in terms of their low value on the PISA index of economic, social, and cultural status. In addition, second- and first-generation immigrant students do not display a huge gap in their performances either. Second-generation immigrant students had fewer low performers than their first-generation peers. More importantly, although Canadian immigrant students in PISA 2015 increased 9.0% from PISA 2006, their performances in terms of average scores obtained in all three subject areas have improved: 7 points in science, 11 points in reading, and 1 point in mathematics.

In terms of other educational outcomes measures[3] reported in PISA 2015, the differences between Canadian immigrant students and their non-immigrant peers are again negligible. For example, 5.2% of immigrant students have repeated a grade while 5.7% of non-immigrant students have done so. Second-generation immigrant students indicated the lowest rates in grade repetition (3.7%), and first-generation students in this case had the highest rates (6.9%).

[3]The Pan-Canadian Education Indicators Program (PCEIP) is another indicator. However, the PCEIP results are reported as a portrait of the whole student population in Canada rather than immigrant students versus non-immigrant students, and hence this indicator was not included in this chapter.

Table 9.3 Differences in PISA 2015 science performance between immigrant and non-immigrant students in four popular immigrant settlement provinces of Canada

	Percentage of immigrants	Non-immigrants	Immigrants	Second-generation	First-generation
Alberta	28.0% (2.1)	543 (4.1)	541 (5.4)	548 (6.6)	535 (6.3)
British Columbia	39.4% (2.7)	540 (4.6)	544 (6.3)	541 (6.9)	548 (7.7)
Ontario	37.1% (2.4)	526 (4.2)	530 (5.1)	529 (5.3)	531 (6.5)
Quebec	23.3% (3.9)	541 (4.3)	531 (9.5)	535 (10.0)	527 (11.2)

Table 9.4 Successful rates for all students and English language learners in 2015–2016 Ontario provincial assessments

	Grade 3 Reading	Grade 3 Writing	Grade 3 Math	Grade 6 Reading	Grade 6 Writing	Grade 6 Math	Grade 9 Math[a]	Grade 10 OSSLT[b]
All students	72%	74%	63%	81%	80%	50%	83%	81%
English language learners	68%	72%	60%	73%	76%	46%	81%	71%

[a]Grade 9 Academic Math
[b]Results are from fully participating first-time eligible students

Table 9.3 presents more detailed results of students' performance in the focus of PISA 2015 (Science) at the four most popular immigrant settlement provinces of Canada, namely Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec. The results are in alignment with the above national performance: no significant differences between immigrant students and their non-immigrant peers. The patterns show a province difference, though. For example, immigrant students in British Columbia and Ontario obtained slightly higher average scores compared to their non-immigrant peers. On the contrary, non-immigrant students slightly outperformed their immigrant peers in Alberta and Quebec.

Considering that Ontario is the province with one of the highest number of immigrant students, we took a specific look at the provincial assessment in Ontario (Education Quality and Accountability Office, 2016a, 2016b). Within this context, four provincial assessments are conducted yearly: Grade 3 and Grade 6 Reading, Writing, and Mathematics, Grade 9 Mathematics, and Grade 10 Ontario Secondary School Literacy Test (OSSLT). The numbers of ELLs performing at or above the provincial standards in 2015–2016 Ontario provincial assessments are slightly lower than the non-immigrant peers overall, and yet much lower in the Grade 6 Reading and the Ontario Secondary School Literacy Test (OSSLT). This lower achievement comes with no surprise as these tests requires a higher language proficiency demand in English (see Table 9.4), which ELLs are developing at the time of these assessments.

From a time trajectory point of view, in the 2015–2016 Ontario Provincial Assessment of Reading, Writing, and Mathematics, there were 13% ELLs in

Grade 3 and 10% in Grade 6. Over the past 5 years, the percentage of Grade 3 ELLs performing at or above the provincial standard has increased by 13 percentage points in reading (to 68%) and by two percentage points in writing (to 72%), while it has decreased by one percentage point in mathematics (to 60%). Over the past 5 years, the percentages of Grade 6 ELLs performing at or above the provincial standard have increased steadily in reading and in writing (a 16-percentage-point increase to 73% and a 13-percentage-point increase to 76%, respectively). In mathematics, the percentage of Grade 6 ELLs performing at or above the provincial standard has been variable (between 46% and 53%). It decreased by five percentage points (to 46%) since 2013–2014.

In 2015–2016, there were 6% of ELLs in Ontario Provincial Assessment of Grade 9 Academic Mathematics, and 7% in Grade 10 OSSLT. Compared to 2011–2012, the percentage of ELLs who performed at or above the provincial standard in the assessment of Grade 9 academic mathematics has remained the same, and has decreased by one percentage point, to 81%, since 2013–2014. Over the past 5 years, the percentage of fully participating first-time eligible ELLs who completed the OSSLT successfully has increased by five percentage points (to 71%). However, the percentage has decreased by two percentage points since 2015, and by four points since 2014. These above results from the Ontario provincial assessments are strong evidence showing the complexity of achievement gaps between immigrant students and non-immigrant students, and yet the pattern is similar with international assessments such as PISA with provincial assessments far more complex and intriguing. Please note the slight discrepancy in statistics of immigrant student number from the provincial and international assessments.

Understanding the Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

The educational outcomes of children with a migration background are complex in Canada. In the research literature, many terms are used to refer to these children: non-immigrants, first-generation immigrants, and second-generation immigrants. First-generation immigrants are individuals who were born in another country and relocated to Canada. Second-generation immigrants are the children of first-generation immigrants. In the literature that specifically examined second language students, the term Generation 1.5 is often used to indicate immigrants (first-generation immigrants), children of immigrants (second-generation immigrants), ESL students (possibly non-migrants: international students), and non-native English and French speakers (Garnett, 2012). Embedded in this complex is the phenomenon in regards to the large variations by ethnicity or source country among the children of immigrants.

The varying definitions of immigrant children yield fairly diverse results of academic achievement across studies and challenge the understanding of the

multiple realities of students subsumed by this label. Garnett (2012) pointed out that "Immigrants may be children who arrive at Canadian schools after beginning educational programs elsewhere, or they may be children of immigrants who have only attended Canadian schools. They may be fluent, illiterate, or any point between in the language of instruction and/or the language of their parents. Like all students, they come from a variety of family and socioeconomic backgrounds. Perhaps most important, they arrive from every region of the globe and its systems of education and values" (p. 8). Although the children of immigrants in Canada perform compatibly with their peers with Canadian-born parents in educational achievement overall, and the two groups have similar labor market outcomes, research literature provides a far complex picture of the academic achievement of these immigrant children, and such results need to be interpreted with caution.

As one of the traditional settlement countries, Canada attracted large proportions of highly educated immigrants. Among the 271,847 immigrants who came to Canada in 2015, most belong to economic immigrants (60.2%). Approximately 1 in 2 people is either foreign-born or has at least one foreign-born parent. Parents who are more educated might value education more for their own children and may be better placed to assist with homework or navigate the host country's education system, facilitating their children's academic success (OECD, 2016). Further, in Canada as well as Australia and New Zealand, immigrant students and non-immigrant students attend schools with similar resources and climates (Stanat & Christensen, 2006).

The sustained high levels of immigration to Canada over the past several decades have fueled intensive interest in the socioeconomic integration of immigrants and their children. In Canada, admission class is a major government policy lever, and immigration program policy and class composition has been altered frequently to meet the main objectives of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* with the key goal of improving the overall economic performance of new immigrants. As mentioned earlier, immigrants in Canada are admitted through three main classes: the economic class, the family class and refugees. These classes correspond to three of the main objectives of the nation's immigration policy: contributing to economic development, reuniting families and protecting refugees.

Hou and Bonikowska (2016) pointed out that the variations by ethnicity or source country have been observed among the children of immigrants in Canada. This heterogeneity has been interpreted as the result of differences in vulnerability and resources between immigrant groups, in terms of individual and family socioeconomic background – particularly education and official language ability – and group cultural and community characteristics. Their study examined the academic achievement of immigrant children by admission classes. The results showed that immigrant children from different admission classes achieved very different levels of education with children from the economic class of the highest achievements. This is particularly true in terms of completing a university degree, and this, in turn, led to large variations in average earnings by admission class. Such a result is due to the varying role of parents' ability in the official languages. While the official language proficiency of parents did not matter to pre-school-aged arrivals, its effect was substantial

on adolescent arrivals. This suggests that early exposure to the host society helps to mitigate the effect of parents' lack of official language ability.

The age of arrival is another factor influencing the academic achievement of immigrant children. Corak (2011) documented the degree to which high school graduation for immigrant children may change discretely after a particular age at arrival in Canada. The risks of not graduating from high school are estimated to be about 15% for boys and 11% for girls who came to Canada before 9 years of age. They increase by more than one percentage point for every year past this age, reaching 20–25% for those arriving in the country after the age of 13.

Many studies tend to show that the overall outcomes of Generation 1.5 equal or exceed those of later generations (Garnett, 2010; Garnett, Adamuti-Trache, & Ungerleider, 2008; Gunderson, 2007). However, the major observation is: while Generation 1.5 students, on average, appear as successful as Canadian-born students, outcomes of identifiable subsets of students under the Generation 1.5 label vary widely. For example, academic success and vulnerability vary across ethnocultural groups with Asian "model minorities", and underachievement and downward mobility of socially and economically disadvantaged immigrant groups such as Haitians and Mexicans (Garnett et al., 2008). Academic success and vulnerability also vary by English proficiency level on entry to high school. There is a disproportionate risk of dropout and academic failure to students who enter high school with low levels of English proficiency.

In his study of immigrant students' achievement in British Council schools, Gunderson (2007) found that immigrant students in secondary schools were in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes on average for 3.60 years. The achievement data showed that the better the students did in ESL courses, the better they performed in their academic subject classes. Although there was no significant difference in grade point average between students who spent 1, 2, or 3 years in ESL classes, as students exited the ESL program, their grades, particularly in English, fell (Gunderson, 2007). Other studies on high school ESL support by Roessingh and Field (2000) found that timing and time-tabling of ESL support mattered. No data, however, was available on the type and level of ESL support young immigrant children receive in Canadian schools since they are often placed in mainstream classes from day one in Kindergarten.

Within the context of OSSLT on ELLs, Cheng and colleagues (Cheng, Klinger, & Zheng, 2007; Fox & Cheng, 2007; Zheng, Cheng, & Klinger, 2007) examined the impact of the OSSLT on test performance and the relationship between test performance and students' outside school reading and writing activities, computer use, as well as their first language (L1) use at home. They also probed students' interpretations of the OSSLT test constructs in relation to their literacy development. Students' feelings, perceptions of the OSSLT, and alignments to classroom literacy activities were also explored. In addition, the progress of a number of ELLs was observed and tracked in relation to the OSSLT.

The results of these studies showed that ELLs' OSSLT test performance, when compared with the general student population, was about 15–20% lower in all test formats (e.g., multiple choice, constructed responses, and constructed responses with

explanations) and in test constructs (e.g., reading types, skills, and strategies) and writing tasks. In terms of test item difficulty, ELLs and the general student population were, however, similar (e.g., both ELLs and non-ELLs found reading information type of materials most difficult). However, with regard to differences of the two groups, narrative (text type), indirect understanding (reading skill), and vocabulary (reading strategy) were specific to ELLs and had the largest performance gap compared with non-ELLs.

The investigation of the relationship between test performance and students' outside school activities revealed that the more reading and writing activities students did outside school, the more frequent their use of computers for school work and the better their OSSLT test performance (Cheng, Klinger, & Zheng, 2009). When comparing the performance between ELLs' and non-ELLs' respective pass and fail groups, the biggest gap and difference are among two groups of ELLs: ELLs as newcomers to Canada and Canadian-born ELLs (see Table 9.1). This finding reinforces the Ontario definition of ELLs and the double-edged challenges facing these students – that is, they not only must learn the language of instruction in English but also work towards meeting the curriculum expectations in English. Unexpectedly, but echoed with previous research (Bernhardt & Kamil, 1995; Cummins, 1982, 1983), the results showed that the group who spoke their first language at home had the highest OSSLT performance whereas the group who spoke only English at home had the lowest performance (Cheng, Klinger, & Zheng, 2013). This group of Canadian-born ELLs is the most vulnerable group in succeeding the OSSLT. This finding has policy implications for the use of students' L1 to support their learning in and outside school, and also instructional implications for focusing on the literacy (reading and writing) development of this group of ELLs in schools.

Cheng, Fox, and Zheng (2007) and Fox and Cheng (2007) sat down with students (both ELLs and non-ELLs) immediately after they had taken the OSSLT and listened to their accounts as to how they tackled each testing format and each reading and writing tasks. The researchers tested the hypothesis whether these first- (non-ELLs) and second-language students (ELLs) were taking (experiencing) the same test, and concluded that we need to do further analyses of "how test-takers interpret test constructs and the interaction between these interpretations, test design, and accounts of classroom practice" (Fox & Cheng, 2007, p. 9). Results from surveying students who took the test and those who had not taken test at the time of our study revealed further relationship of test performance and literacy activities in schools as well as the interaction of affective factors such as motivation and test anxiety with their test performance (Doe, Cheng, Fox, Klinger, & Zheng, 2011; Zheng, Klinger, Cheng, Fox, & Doe, 2011). These findings have provided information on features of literacy learning and for identifying those students most at risk of failure. In addition, the tracking study of a number of ELLs over 3 years (Han & Cheng, 2011) helped to illustrate how each ELL dealt with their learning English and reaching curriculum expectations while fulfilling the requirements of the OSSLT.

Education Policies for Children with a Migration Background

Canada is one of the few countries with the world's largest foreign-born immigrant population. Unlike most countries in which first-generation immigrant students perform worse than students without an immigrant background, and second-generation immigrant students perform somewhere between the two (OECD, 2015), the children of immigrants in Canada perform compatibly with their peers with Canadian-born parents in educational achievement overall, and the two groups have similar labor market outcomes. However, as pointed out by previous studies (e.g., Hou & Bonikowska, 2016), large variations by ethnicity or source country have been observed among the children of immigrants. For example, children of immigrants from the Philippines and the Caribbean tend to lag significantly behind children of immigrants from East and South Asia in completing university education (Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2009). This heterogeneity has been interpreted as the manifestation of the different paces or paths of integration experienced by various immigrant groups, as a result of their unique vulnerability and resources and of the different socioeconomic contexts they encounter in the host society.

In terms of the heterogeneity of the immigrant children, not all of them perform equally well when considering factors such as the ethnicity or country sources of immigration, the age of arrival, gender difference, and English language support in schools. Among many ethnocultural groups, better English proficiency was an excellent predictor of better trajectories. The academic advantages of the high-performing ethnocultural groups probably could be attributed to their previous education. As discussed earlier, this academic achievement is situated in the complexity of the Canadian immigration policies and in the heterogeneity of the immigrant children. However, education policies also matter. Schools across Canada work toward reducing substantive inequality of opportunities and outcomes by providing increased instructional support in language and content development to immigrant children (Garnett, 2010).

Although Canada does not have a federal ministry of education and an integrated national system of education, the ten provinces and three territories' ministries of education are responsible for the organization, delivery, and assessment of education at the elementary and secondary levels and for postsecondary education. Despite the different policies in individual provinces, there is a common commitment to an *equal* chance in school with fairness and equal access. This common commitment sets the foundation for education in Canada (Council of Ministers of Education, 2008). Ministry of Education policy clearly states that Ontario's publicly funded education system supports and reflects the democratic values of fairness, equity, and respect for all. For example, recognizing the importance of education, the Ontario government has established three core policy priorities: (1) high levels of student achievement, (2) reduced gaps in student achievement, and (3) increased public confidence in publicly funded education (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013). British Columbia Ministry of Education also values diversity and equity, and mandate all BC schools

to provide "equitable access to and equitable participation in quality education for all students" (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 4).

The history of accommodating the needs of diverse learners in contemporary educational settings parallels the evolution of social, anthropological, and psychological systems of our time. Without going into the details of this history, a global shift in thinking on methods schools use in responding to the needs of diverse learners has occurred. Nowhere is this more evident than in Canada, where "inclusive education is an issue within the context of Canadian society, not just within the context of Canadian schools . . . In Canada, if we choose to teach, we are choosing to teach in inclusive settings" (Hutchinson, 2007, p. xxv). When schools include all students, then equality is respected and promoted as a value in society. In fact, Canada as well as four other countries and areas achieved high levels of performance and equity in education outcomes (OECD, 2016).

The aforementioned policy sets the foundation of including immigrant children into mainstream classroom instruction with their non-immigrant peers. The value of such instruction is supported by empirical research (Coelho, 2004; Collier & Thomas, 2007; Cummins, 1982, 1983). This educational policy (see e.g., Alberta Education, 2009; British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2017; Ontario Ministry of Education, 2005, 2007; The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2013) supports immigrant children by recognizing the importance of first language use and the respects for cultural identity and diversity in the context of language and academic development simultaneously. Language acquisition (achievement) is the greatest predictor of a child's success in school and in later life. Parents new to Canada can provide optimal stimulation for their children and support cultural identities by speaking their first language at home. Research also demonstrates that children with a strong first language base learn a second language more easily (Bialystok, 2006; Genesee, Paradis, & Crago, 2010; Goldenberg, 2008).

In the end, "the policies and practices that countries design and implement to support immigrant students have a major influence on whether integration in the host communities is successful or not. How well immigrant students do at school is not only related to their attitudes, socio-economic status and prior education, but also to the quality and receptiveness of the host country's education system" (OECD, 2016, p. 274). The decentralized educational system of Canada might contribute to the variations in achievements for different provinces, which needs to be carefully studied at the provincial level. A successful policy response is to provide sustained language support for immigrant students with limited proficiency in the language of instruction, an approach that is widely used in countries that seem most successful in educating immigrant students including Canada (Christensen & Stanat, 2007). Offering high-quality early childhood education, tailored to language development, is another immediate policy response. A third high-impact policy option is to build the capacity of schools receiving immigrant children, as the successful integration of immigrant children depends critically on having high-skilled and well-supported teachers.

Michael Adams, in his optimistic work Unlikely Utopia: The Surprising Triumph of Canadian Pluralism (Adams, 2007), describes our Canadian national project this way:

> It is the effort to live in a country of peace and prosperity, with laws that are just, with people who are humane, and where citizens of all backgrounds encounter equal opportunities when they set out to realize their potential, contribute to their communities, participate in the Canadian economy, and engage the Canadian political system. (p. 149)

As Canadian citizens, a country with tremendous diversity, a thorough understanding of immigrant student academic achievement and educational policy in Canada facilitates the removal of all systemic barriers that impede student achievement and student success.

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Chapter 10
Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy in Australia

Anthony Welch

Introduction

Australia is a nation of immigrants. With a population of barely 24 million, it receives around 190,000 immigrants annually.[1] Like the USA, Israel, and Canada, Australia's migration history, which includes schooling, is inextricably tied to colonization and its aftermath. Australia boast the world's longest continuous civilization of some 65,000 years, with sophisticated associated educational practices and rituals (Foley, 2017; Welch, Königsberg, Rochecouste, & Collard, 2015). All others are immigrants, and compared to both the USA and Canada, the proportion of immigrant stock is greater. In the three decades after World War II, Australia had the second-largest migration program per head of population (after Israel): currently, 24% of current Australians were born overseas, 50% have one parent born overseas, and 32% have both parents overseas-born. Forty percent of immigrants now stem from Asia (ABS, 2017a; Welch, 2017, p. 154).

The immigrant schooling experience has often been one of struggle against a system that, for much of its history, made little provision for difference but insisted on cultural accommodation to mainstream Anglo norms and practices. While immigrant stories often feature the desire of parents to afford their children a better life and greater opportunities than in the old country, notably through education, this often involves considerable sacrifice by parents and children alike. As seen below, even recent history—what the British historian and analyst Timothy Garton Ash

[1] A separate category of refugee settlers accounted for approximately 13,750 individuals, but the federal government agreed (under pressure) in late 2016 to boost this number permanently by a further 5000 (Welch & Rose, 2017).

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calls "the history of the present"—reveals systemic failures to respond adequately to the experience and needs of refugee children in Australian schools (Garton Ash, 2001; Welch & Rose, 2017).

While Australia is often characterized as one of the most successful multicultural nations – with immigrants from more than 200 countries, many of whom have achieved considerable success, including within education – the history of schooling for immigrant children has been both more complex and more contested. The various British colonies that had been created in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries only banded together into a single nation in 1901 and, even thereafter, ritual obeisance to the institutional and ideological legacy of "Mother England" persisted. Some communities (such as the Germans) established early schools, but these were mostly shut down during World War I (Welch, 1996).

The British legacy was not challenged in any serious way until the period after World War II when, in the context of an increasingly diverse immigrant intake (initially from other parts of Europe and increasingly from Asia from the 1970s onward), non-discriminatory migration was finally formalized. The last few decades have marked a more serious (if not always sustained) attempt to engage with Asia, and a parallel rise in Asian migration, now forming around 40% of total annual intake. Although, as seen below, immigrant children from East and Southeast Asian families now often number amongst the highest achievers, notable success has often been accomplished despite rather than because of the norms and practices of the prevailing schooling system: "For much of Australia's history, it was often assumed that immigrants should simply abandon the culture of their homeland in order to fit into the Anglo cultural norms of majority Australian society" (Welch, 2017, p. 142). Within an overall federal governance structure (again, somewhat like the USA and Canada), multicultural policies at state and federal levels, including in education, date from the 1970s in most Australian states (Welch, 2015, 2017).

Australian ethnic diversity is (mostly) celebrated as a recent development,[2] but its migration history shows this not to be the case. As early as 1901, when, after constitutional conventions, the various British colonies merged into a Federation, 20% of Australia's population was already overseas-born, including for example, significant Chinese and German minorities, and smaller populations of Pacific Islanders[3] and Afghans. But the fact that one of the first Acts of the new federal parliament was the 1901 *Immigration Restriction Act* (widely known nationally and internationally as the "White Australia" policy) meant that little or no attention was

[2]In part because until 1948 (again, rather like Canada), Australians were deemed British subjects (Parliament of Australia, 2009).

[3]The Pacific Islander story is particularly tragic. Often coerced or tricked into coming to Australia as indentured laborers to work Queensland sugar plantations in the nineteenth century, many had been deported by 1908 under the "White Australia" policy, specifically the *Pacific Islander Labourers Act* of 1901, which ordered the deportation of all South Sea Islanders to their home islands. Of those who remained, most suffered harsh treatment and discrimination, including in education (Miller, 2017).

paid to the particular needs of immigrant populations in either public or private schools in the various Australian states.

Early settlers in Australia included Chinese and "Afghans" (although the latter, widely used term included individuals from current Pakistan). Each community has been in Australia for at least 150 years, and in the case of Muslims more generally, as far as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, well before European migration.[4]

Each community suffered systematic discrimination, and violence. Chinese workers were pilloried as "filth-eating and disgusting Tartars, idolatrous pagans, yellow and beastly strangers, cut-throats and barbarians," while Afghans were described as "the filthiest lot" and "saddle-coloured aliens" (Kabir, 2004, pp. 52–54; see also Deen, 2011; Jones & Kenny, 2007). Such sentiments drew on pseudo-scientific ethnologies, and craniometry, but also Social Darwinism, widely believed at the time, in Australia and abroad (Welch, 1996).

Chinese migration dated from the 1840s; by 1859, Chinese settlers (overwhelmingly male) formed almost 20% of Australia's still-small male population (Sherington, 1990). Expanding numbers of Chinese immigrants, often attracted by the discovery of gold from around 1851,[5] not uncommonly met racism and riots. Many simply returned home (Jupp, 2001; Megalogenis, 2015; Sherington, 1990). As a result, China-born settlers declined precipitously: from 38,142 in 1861 to 6404 in 1947 (Hugo, 2005).

The prevailing view was that Chinese settlers should be non-permanent, ineligible to intermarry, and restricted to relatively menial occupations (Welch, 1996). Somewhat like Canada and the USA, the various colonies employed poll taxes and residence fees to effectively bar Chinese settlers. After 1901, the notorious *Immigration Restriction Act*,[6] meant settlers had few prospects for marriage and children; hence educational implications were minimal.

Afghan settlers faced similar prejudices (Deen, 2011), but their numbers were much smaller (in 1891, Buddhists—overwhelmingly Chinese—numbered 22,717, relative to an estimated 3000 Muslims). In the absence of much road or rail, the overwhelmingly male Afghan camel drivers were vital (McHugh, 2008). However vital, they faced discrimination and occasional violence. Most had to live on the margins of society, in "Ghantowns". While many tried to adhere to the Five Pillars of Islam—sincerely professing the faith (*Shahadah*), offering prayers (*Salat*) five times daily, fasting (*Sawm*), making the pilgrimage to Mecca (*Hajj*), and providing acts of charity (*Zakāt*)—what little is known about educational options at the time indicates

[4]During this period, Indonesians (known as "Macassans") traded, lived with, and married local Indigenous people in northern Australia (Department of Social Services [DSS], 2009; Hassan & Lester, 2015).

[5]Australia was dubbed as the New Gold Mountain, after the Gold Mountain of California in North America. See C. F. Yong's (1977) *The New Gold Mountain: The Chinese in Australia*.

[6]In both the USA and Canada, too, anti-Chinese policies and practices were common, as was legislation to restrict non-Caucasian immigrants. See, inter alia, A. Markus's (1979) *Fear and Hatred: Purifying Australia and California 1850–1901*.

that mosques were only established in larger population centers, inaccessible to camel drivers in remote locations.

While a few Afghan males did marry, little is known about the education of their children. Mosques were only established in larger population centers, with imams available for teaching purposes. If *madrassahs* (religious schools) existed, little if anything is known of them. Overwhelmingly male, Afghan settlers were, like Chinese, prevented from bringing potential brides from the homeland; hence few children resulted, and educational implications were limited. A peripatetic lifestyle also militated against stable schooling for any children, and as with Chinese settlers, the *Immigration Restriction Act* (1901) forced many Afghans to return home.

Widespread prejudices, and the long-standing use of a dictation test, invariably in a language unknown to the immigrant, meant that, by 1947, the proportion of the Australian populace neither Caucasian nor Aboriginal was a mere 0.25% (one in 400): "Australia had become one of the whitest countries in the world, outside northwestern Europe" (Jupp, 2002, p. 9). Unsurprisingly, the schooling systems of the various states had, to this point, made little or no concession to the culture of immigrants. Multiculturalism, including in education, was still decades away, dating only from the late 1970s.

In recent decades, the overall balance between skilled and family migration categories has tilted strongly towards the latter, with family migration accounting for 44.3% of overall migration in 1990, but only 29.6% in 2015. Correspondingly, skilled migration rose from 39.8% to 60.4% of the total during the same period (Welch, 2017, p. 165).

Immigrant Children and Educational Outcomes

In a country that features such diversity, it is only to be expected that educational performance also varies. This includes within and between specific ethnic communities, although the official analysis of PISA results used only 3 categories: Australian-born students – students born in Australia with both parents born in Australia; first-generation students – students born in Australia with at least one parent born overseas; and foreign-born students – students born overseas with both parents also born overseas (ACER, 2017, p. xxxvi). Migration patterns of recent decades, underpinned by Australia's points-based scheme that, from the 1970s, favored skilled immigrants over other categories, has seen Chinese and Muslim migration expand significantly.

The largest cohort of Muslim immigrants stem from Lebanon, and more generally from the Middle East, but with an increasing number from Muslim-majority nations in Southeast Asia, particularly Malaysia and Indonesia. The 2011 Census showed 380,000 Australians identifying as Muslims, and 287,000 as Arabic speakers (Welch, 2017, p. 159). Major sources of Muslim immigrants included Lebanon, Turkey, and Afghanistan. In the 2011 Census, of almost 30,000 responses by Afghanistan-born people, major reported affiliations were Afghan (20,008) and

Hazara (4903) (DSS, 2014a). 34% aged 15 years and over held higher non-school qualifications (compared to 55.9% of the Australian population), and 24.1% were still enrolled in education (compared to 8.6% of the Australian population overall). By the next Census (2016), Muslims numbered 604,000, or 2.6% of the Australian population (about the same as Aboriginal Australians).[7] Together, Pakistan and Afghanistan constituted 26% of overseas-born Muslims.

The number of Chinese settlers in Australia has also risen sharply in recent decades.[8] Currently, 5.6% of the Australian population claim Chinese ancestry, with China-born settlers accounting for 8.3%, or 526,000 individuals, of overall overseas-born immigrants. Residents from China now total 1.2 million, and Chinese is now the fastest-growing community language in Australian schools.

Chinese-Australian Pupil Performance

As indicated above, educational performance varies widely, both among immigrant groups, and non-immigrants. Somewhat like Canada and the USA, indigenous minorities, especially those in remote locations, exhibit some of the weakest school performance, with attrition rates high and achievement rates low.

Clearly, differences also occur within specific ethnic communities. Despite such differences, of the two communities sketched above, Chinese Australians[9] display some similar educational characteristics as their peers elsewhere (Chua, 2011), although practices varied among families with respect to child-rearing and education. A recent research project found continuity, change, and hybridity (Da & Welch, 2016). Mother-tongue maintenance was generally valued, as was education in general and test performance in particular. Discipline and close parental involvement in schooling was widely valued (Chua, 2011; Da & Welch, 2016).

Studies in Australia have shown that pupils of Chinese background are the most successful at securing entry to the range of academically selective public high schools (present in all states, but of which the state of New South Wales has by far the greatest number).[10] Chinese-background pupils were the most successful at gaining entry to the selective public high school that each year exhibits the highest Year 12 results across the state of New South Wales (NSW). When entry data

[7]By contrast, the Christian proportion of the population had fallen to little more than 50%, compared to 88% 50 years earlier.

[8]Definitions of ethnic origin have changed over time, with current definitions allowing individuals to nominate up to two different affiliations (e.g., Vietnamese, Chinese). See Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2016, 2017b).

[9]In the research project sketched below, interviewees were all mainland Chinese. In general, Australian definitions of China-born exclude Special Administrative Regions such as Hong Kong and Macau; as well as Taiwan (DSS 2014b)

[10]For a list of such schools, see NSW Department of Education, 2017. Entry to such schools is via a competitive entry examination.

corresponding to the "Top 10" such schools in NSW were analyzed, the overall success rate of applicants was 20%. The success rate for Chinese-background pupils was more than double, at 53% (Da & Welch, 2016, p. 240; Patty & Stevenson, 2010). Subsequently, concerns were raised by some scholars of "hyper-racialization" at such schools, with enrolments at one such institution showing that a mere 3–7% of successful applicants were from English-speaking backgrounds. The majority of pupils were from Asian (predominantly Chinese) families (Ho, 2017; Neill, 2016). In other such schools, the pattern is similar, with 80–90% of pupils from non-English backgrounds, particularly from a Chinese background.

This unbalanced enrolment (also related to Australia's decades-long preference for high-skilled immigrants) that now sees over 80% of Chinese immigrants fall into the highest skill categories nationally, sparked criticism that public schools, rather than being a haven for talent, "are increasingly bastions of inequality" (Ho, 2017, para. 5; see also Butler, Ho, & Vincent, 2017). The pattern parallels neighboring Victoria (the next most populous state) which has only four selective public high schools.[11] In both states, disproportionately high enrolment by East Asian children is fueled by common extracurricular practices, most particularly attendance at private coaching colleges, that focus specifically on preparation for selective admission tests (Ho, 2017; Singhal, 2017). East Asian parents more commonly engage in this practice, paralleling practices in China and other East Asia. In turn, this has led to such parents being unfairly demonized as "tiger parents" (Butler et al., 2017).

Muslim Australian Pupil Performance

Given the diverse origins of Muslim Australians cited above, it is no surprise to find that educational outcomes vary significantly. As with Chinese Australians, the number of Muslim Australians has grown significantly over recent decades, and while some are refugees, many are skilled immigrants (Welch & Rose, 2017, Welch, 2017, pp. 171–4). Among Afghan settlers, however, this bias is mediated by the humanitarian intake, which has included significant numbers of the persecuted Hazara minority (McCarthy & Vickers, 2012).

Although the very large majority of Muslim students enroll in their local public school, private Islamic schools now exist across the country, particularly in New South Wales, to cater to parents who wish to have their children educated in a more faith-based environment. Although Australia's skilled migration policy meant that a larger percentage of Muslims possessed higher degrees than did the general Australian populace (and almost as many had Bachelor degrees), in practice, the educational outcomes of Muslim students varied widely (Welch, 2017). Some Islamic schools (including some that are academically selective, and deliberately 'weed out' lower performing pupils) achieve excellent results, while others,

[11] By contrast, NSW has more than 30, including some that are only partially selective.

particularly in areas of substantial poverty, continue to struggle. As with other faith-based schools, private Islamic schools receive substantial levels of support from government, particularly the Commonwealth (federal) government.

Most Muslim Australians are Sunni, but with a significant Shia minority, and smaller communities of Alawis, Ahmadis, Druze, and Bektashis. Two-thirds are overseas-born, and almost one-third are aged under 24 (Hassan & Lester, 2015). Sydney contains by far the largest Lebanese community: 114,491 in 2001. Currently, of those born in Lebanon, almost half are Maronite Christian, while 20% are Sunni Muslim and a further 16% Shia Muslim. Of the Afghan born population, (overwhelmingly Muslim) approximately 70% had arrived post-2000. At the 2011 Census, of the almost 30,000 responses that nominated Afghan ancestry, leading reported affiliations were Afghan (20,008) and Hazara (4903) (DSS, 2014a).

Given the growing numbers of Lebanese and other Islamic immigrants, and the fact that 40% of Muslim Australians are aged under 20 years, Islamic education has understandably grown. Unemployment remains a problem, with some studies showing rates to be as high as 25%. Language issues were in part to blame: "Some Arabic-speaking children dropped out of school early, especially if they had an inadequate command of English . . . for them employment would be difficult. Some also left school because they could not relate to the school's dominant culture" (Kabir, 2004, p. 275. Discrimination is another factor, especially since the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001, and the Bali Bombing in 2002. The years since have seen rising stereotyping and demonization of Muslims in general, and of Muslim women (who are often more recognizable) in particular. Surveys in 2001 and 2016 that appeared to show substantial anti-Muslim sentiment were stoked by some conservative media "shock-jocks" and a few politicians. Other surveys, however, found less than 30% of Australians really feared Muslims, with rates rising with age, and declining by level of education (Hassan, 2017).

In practice, levels of achievement vary considerably, with some Islamic schools already very successful in the high-stakes Year 12 results race, which both determines university entry and also functions as a powerful recruiting tool for schools. Some such schools deliberately "weed out" lower performing pupils: "Despite having paid the full year's fees, the students had been forced out of the private school because they were not expected to score 90 or above in their subjects" (Welch, 2017, p. 162). While several Islamic schools perform highly, others, often located in poorer suburbs, perform less well. All private schools gain substantial subsidies from government, with the current federal formula allocating more to disadvantaged schools.

Literacy levels, especially among young males identifying as Muslim, especially in areas of poverty and high unemployment, are still well below average, which denies access to many job opportunities: "Literacy . . . is a huge issue. And with that comes low or no qualifications and high levels of unemployment" (Davies, 2005, para. 6). Analysis of the 2001 Census data for males who identified themselves as Islamic aged between 15 and 24, living in Bankstown and Lakemba, pointed to "a pattern of underachievement" (Davies, 2005, para. 6). Such pockets of disadvantage are, however, abnormal: overall, more Muslim males graduate from Year 12, attend

Technical and Further Education (TAFE), and attend university than the national average (Cultural and Indigenous Research Centre Australia, 2010, p. 18). Higher proportions of Australians who identify as Muslim, both males and females, hold a Year 12 qualification (the final year of high school). A higher proportion of Muslims are engaged in full-time education than the average for all Australians, a fact that is related in part to a younger demographic. Males are more likely to hold Bachelor degree or higher than the Australian average overall; females slightly less so. But educational achievement does not necessarily translate into equivalent incomes: for both males and females, earnings by level of education are significantly lower for Muslim immigrants than for immigrants in general, or non-Muslim locals (Hassan & Lester, 2015).

Understanding Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children

How does the sketch of the two immigrant groups above relate to the PISA results? Understanding the educational outcomes of immigrant children in the Australian schooling system is complex, and related to a number of other elements, notably socio-economic conditions, and, as seen above, specific ethnic status (Welch, 2017, pp. 141–5). At the same time, it is important to point out that both Muslim, and Chinese pupils, cannot be pigeon holed into any of the three categories used in the Australian PISA analysis. This is important, since although country of origin was taken into account in analyzing performance results in some other PISA-related research (Dronkers & de Heus, 2013), as seen below, the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), defined immigrant background only in terms of the three categories listed above: Australian-born, first-generation, and foreign-born. Overall, approximately 50% of pupils were Australian-born, 30% were first-generation, and 12% were foreign-born. Using this typology, results by level of parents' education were examined for three group: native-born, first-generation immigrants, and second-generation immigrants (Table 10.1).

The data above reveal that second-generation immigrant pupils consistently outperform both other categories, with (somewhat counter-intuitively, perhaps) the most striking performance differential operating at the lowest level of parental education (those holding only primary levels of schooling). The performance advantage of second-generation pupils tended to flatten out at the highest levels of parent education, where all parents held postsecondary or higher education qualifications.

Although ACER's official report did not drill down to the level of specific origin of immigrant children, especially country-level origin, Dronkers and de Heus's

Table 10.1 PISA 2015: reading performance by level of parent education, and pupil origin

Level of parent education	Mean native-born score	Mean first-generation score	Mean second-generation score
ISCED 1	417	417	505
ISCED 2	470	461	495
ISCED 3	490	N/A	N/A
ISCED 4	476	465	504
ISCED 5	496	481	502
ISCED 6	534	527	549

Source: OECD PISA database
Note: Educational levels refer to the UNESCO International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced

Table 10.2 Australian PISA high-performers, Sci-Lit., by country of origin (PISA 2006)

Country of origin	Mean performance
China	562
India	551
South Africa	541
UK	542
USA	571

Source: Adapted from Dronkers and de Heus (2013)

(2013) analysis of PISA 2006 did so for a range of destination countries, including Australia. Somewhat counter-intuitively, perhaps,[12] the data show that the highest performing pupils stemmed from the USA,[13] while China was not far behind.

At first sight, the simplest conclusion that might be drawn from the above is that in Confucian heritage, cultures such as China that also feature an ethic of hard work, a strong test-tasking orientation in their national educational culture, as well as the common practice of extensive extracurricular classes, superior performance is to be expected (Da & Welch, 2016; Ma, Jong, & Yuan, 2013). While this explanation may support the generally high-performance of (other East Asian) Confucian heritage systems such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, Japan, and Korea in more recent PISA tests, it does not however account for the USA-born or India-born results in Table 10.2, that also feature high performance. Nor does it account for the relatively poorer performance of the Republic of Korea-born participants in the above PISA 2006 Science-Literacy test, where such pupils' mean score of 514 was actually below the average for local-born pupils of 524 (Dronkers & de Heus, 2013).

Here, the work of Feniger and Lefstein (2014), combined with the more ethnographic research of Da and Welch (2016), may throw some additional light on

[12] As seen above, Australia's skilled migration program means that the large majority of immigrants now fall into the high-skilled category. This means that immigrants from the USA are quite selective, as are also those from China and India, for example.

[13] This may again reflect a preponderance of highly skilled immigrants from the USA.

differential performance of Australian pupils, by country. Chinese-Australian parents, rather like Chinese-American parents (Chao, 1994; Chua, 2011), generally prize educational success highly, tend to value close parental involvement in their children's schooling, are far more likely than locals to send their children to out-of-hours coaching colleges (a large part of whose raison d'être consists of the promise to boost test-scores of their pupils), and to engage in strategies such as moving house, to maximize chances of securing a place at a high-performing school. Recent research found some 40% of Chinese heritage pupils in Australia send their children to out-of-hours mathematics enrichment classes, for example, compared to 10% of local-born pupils—and 60% of the famed Shanghai PISA cohort (Da & Welch, 2016; Feniger & Lefstein, 2014).

Da and Welch (2016) found evidence of hybrid models among a number of mainland Chinese parents in Australia: "both maintain(ing) cultural traditions, while imbibing influences from mainstream society" (p. 241). The strategy of combining elements of the traditional Chinese model, with openness to some components of the local Australian model, may be seen as attempts to preserve the best of both. If so, the strategy seems to be successful, and may help to explain the superior performance of Chinese-Australian pupils, who not merely outperformed the national average for Australia on recent PISA Mathematics tests, but actually scored even more highly than the celebrated Shanghai cohort (Buckingham, 2013; Dodd, 2014; Feniger & Lefstein, 2014).

Testing Times: Immigrant Pupil Performance in High-Stakes Achievement Tests (NAPLAN)

The PISA phenomenon cannot be understood without reference to the international groundswell of moves towards implementation of national high-stakes tests. As with numerous other nations, Australia has introduced high-stakes national achievement tests in recent years, despite evidence of the perverse effects of such testing regimes in earlier times, and of serious problems in countries (such as the USA and the UK) that had recently also introduced parallel testing regimes nationally (Au, 2008; David, 2011; Ravitch, 2010a, b; Sanchez, 2013; Watanabe, 2007; Welch, 2017). Australia also participates in international achievement tests such as OECD's PISA and the IEA's TIMMS. Both have major limitations. Domestically, the national test, which all students are required to take in years 3, 5, 7 and 9, is known as NAPLAN (National Assessment Program–Literacy and Numeracy). As with other such tests in the UK and USA, NAPLAN has been widely criticized for narrowing the curriculum, reducing teacher professional autonomy, spurring the development of a test industry of resources and consultants, encouraging cheating, and increasing stress

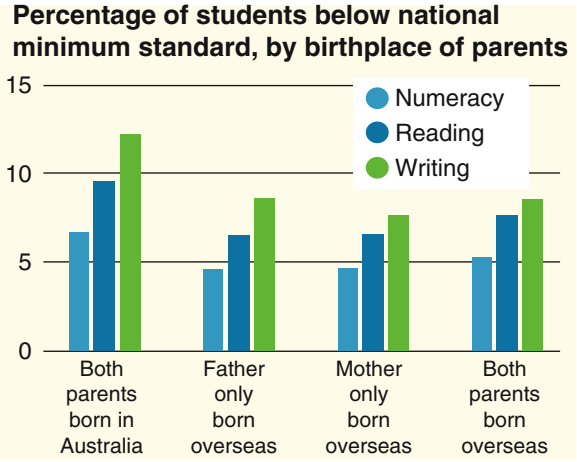

Fig. 10.1 NAPLAN Performance by Birthplace of Parents (*Source*: Australian Bureau of Statistics (as cited in Smith, 2015))

levels among pupils, families, teachers, and principals (Comber, 2012; Dulfer, Polesel, & Rice, 2012; Lingard, 2010; Welch, 2017). At the same time, the tests are only of aggregate immigrant performance which, as indicated above, conceals as much as it reveals. While the analysis below shows superior performance by children with at least one parent born overseas ("Migrant Students Lead," 2016; Smith, 2015), without disaggregating pupil performance to the level of specific ethnic communities, and linking this to issues of social class and gender, the results are less-than-telling (Fig. 10.1).

PISA, Politics, Perverse Effects

At an international level, Australia is one of many countries to participate in the PISA program. Overall, approximately half-a-million students from 72 countries and economies (all 35 OECD countries, and 32 partner countries and economies) undertook the PISA 2015 test. The 256,330 Australian participants were drawn proportionally from Government, Catholic, and "Independent"[14] schools, in all six states and two Territories (ACER, 2017).

The PISA experience is, however, revealing on a number of fronts, political as much as educational. In a number of cases, the test results reverberated strongly at

[14]The term "Independent" in the Australian context refers to all non-Catholic private schools, and as argued above, are highly dependent on government funding.

the national level and created shock waves that were used to justify reforms, particularly around standards and testing. For example, Germany (like Australia a federal system, but which had long abstained from engagement with international achievement test regimes) took part in both TIMMS and PISA in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The PISA 2001 results (widely referred to as "Pisa Schock" in Germany) revealed some apparently troubling patterns, some of which parallel those for Australia (notably, moderate performance overall and large socio-economic differentials).

Major concerns were not entirely different to those expressed in Australia, and included that average literacy levels of German pupils were mediocre compared to those of other OECD countries; the relatively high proportion of pupils who left school without even basic competences in reading, mathematics, and natural science; the large difference between the lowest and highest achievers; and huge differences in achievement and opportunities between different social groups, between different states (Länder), and between those of immigrant and non-immigrant background (Welch, 2011). The latter finding was that immigrant pupils in the German system experienced something like a 1-year disadvantage (although the performance differentials were attributed to phenomena such as late enrolment and grade repetition) (Meyer & Benavot, 2013). The "Tsunami-like effect" of the results included the mandating of educational standards,[15] and the introduction of *Ganztagschulen* (whole-day schools, as distinguished from the traditional half-day school). In both cases, such reforms were not new (nor was the performance data and differentials unknown); rather, PISA lent legitimacy to them (Waldow 2009). In Australia, too, PISA results lent legitimacy to the introduction of the national high-stakes testing program (NAPLAN), and, over time, to the mandating of standards in individual states.

More broadly, PISA's claim to objectivity has been widely contested, as also the claim to act as a measure of the quality of a nation's schooling system (Meyer & Benavot, 2013). As, *inter alia*, Heyneman (2013) pointed out, the use of narrow confines of academic achievement tests omits key functions of schooling that are an important component of overall quality, such as social cohesion and civic responsibilities (where diverse systems such as those in Australia and the USA may perform well, relative to systems such as China, that display high test performance).

As indicated above, ACER's analysis of Australian immigrant performance in the PISA 2015 survey confined itself to three categories: Australia-born, first-generation, and foreign-born. Perhaps partly as a result, differences by immigrant status were in fact significantly less than socio-economic differences, as shown in the following tables.

As might be expected, test performance of foreign-born pupils (who are often of Non-English-Speaking-Background, or NESB, and in some cases may be refugees,

[15]With the exception of one state, Rhineland-Palatinate, which resisted introducing a Gymnasium (academic secondary school) leaving examination.

Table 10.3 Average scores and distribution, scientific literacy, by immigrant status (PISA 2015)

Immigrant background	Mean score	5th to 95th percentile difference	5th percentile	25th percentile	75th percentile	95th percentile
Australia-born	510	329	339	441	581	669
First-generation	520	333	349	450	593	682
Foreign-born	505	349	326	428	583	675

Source: ACER (2017)

Table 10.4 Average scores and distribution, reading literacy, by immigrant status (PISA 2015)

Immigrant background	Mean score	5th to 95th percentile difference	5th percentile	25th percentile	75th percentile	95th percentile
Australia-born	501	331	325	435	571	655
First-generation	517	332	342	450	588	674
Foreign-born	500	355	314	425	577	669

Source: ACER (2017)

with interrupted school attendance) was slightly lower than either Australia-born or first generation. Nonetheless, the performance data on scientific knowledge shown in Table 10.3 reveal only minor differences in scientific literacy by immigrant status, either at the 5th or 95th percentile, or on average. Differences in achievement levels were much greater by socio-economic status. Mean performance differences by immigrant status in PISA 2015 were no greater than 15, whereas mean differences between highest and lowest socio-economic quartiles over the various PISA tests (2006–2015 inclusive) were all approximately 90 (ACER, 2017, Fig. 2.29) (Table 10.4).

Differences in Reading literacy (where it might be expected that immigrants and refugee pupils, often of NESB, would be at a more significant disadvantage than in mathematics, for example), were also much greater by socio-economic status than by immigrant status. While, as in earlier PISA tests, first-generation immigrant pupils scored above both Australia-born and foreign-born pupils, mean differences by immigrant status in PISA 2015 were no higher than 17, whereas mean differences between highest and lowest quartiles over the various PISA tests (2000–2015 inclusive) ranged from 94 to more than 100 (ACER, 2017, Fig. 4.24; Welch, 2011) (Table 10.5).

For math literacy, too, socio-economic status (SES) was in fact a much more substantial discriminator than immigrant status. Although, as with earlier PISA cohorts, first-generation pupils generally outscored both their Australia-born and foreign-born peers, mean differences by immigrant status in PISA 2015 were

Table 10.5 Mean scores and distribution, mathematics literacy, by immigrant status (PISA 2015)

Immigrant background	Mean Score	5th to 95th percentile difference	5th percentile	25th percentile	75th percentile	95th percentile
Australia-born	491	299	339	429	554	638
First-generation	505	303	351	441	570	654
Foreign-born	497	324	333	429	566	658

Source: ACER (2017, Table 5.25)

modest—no more than 14 on average, and even at the 95th percentile only 20. By contrast, mean differences between highest and lowest SES quartiles over the various PISA tests (2003–2015 inclusive) ranged from 80 to 90 (ACER, 2017, Fig. 5.24; Welch, 2011).

Educational Policies and Immigrant Children

As indicated above, for much of the history of schooling in Australia, no concession was made to the needs of immigrant communities. Indeed, for the nineteenth century, and at least the first half of the 20th, it would have scarcely have been thought of, and if so, dismissed as inappropriate. During the first century and a half of Australia's colonial and postcolonial history, the trinity of values—Christianity, Science, and Capitalism—reigned supreme. Only in the post-World War II environment, when migration substantially outgrew its British roots, was the need for reforms to pedagogy, curricula, textbooks, and teacher training gradually recognized, a protracted process characterized by some as a form of ethno-cultural reproduction and resistance. As late as 1971, the relevant federal Minister could still claim, falsely, that Australia was 97% British (Welch, 1996).

The first Multicultural education policies to be enacted in the various state schooling systems date from the late 1970s, and even then, largely ignored the close connections of ethnicity to issues of class and gender (Jakubowicz, 1981; Rizvi, 1986). The "White Australia" policy was finally abandoned and replaced by a non-discriminatory migration program that has now been in place for some four decades. By the 1980s, it was argued that related educational policies needed to include a normative component: "Multiculturalism requires more than a recognition of demographic facts" (Welch, 1996, p. 109). The teaching of both English as a second language (TESOL) and languages other than English (LOTE) were both acknowledged on a needs basis, although distinctions between foreign and community languages were not always carefully drawn.

More recently, under a more overtly neo-liberal regime, specific policies aimed at immigrant communities have often been mainstreamed, with a consequent reduction in specialist units that supported schools' multicultural or language programs, or those for refugees for example. The retort that mainstreaming meant such programs became everybody's business, but no-one's job, underlined the problematic effects of reduced support for hard-pressed schools, and principals. Most states have also introduced policies of decentralization over the past decade or two, that have shifted responsibilities for results to school principals, without consequent increases in resource levels. This means that principals must decide, in a context of straightened resources, and heightened demands for accountability and improved levels of test performance, how much to devote to immigrant education, multiculturalism, anti-racist education, language classes, and the like that must compete with pressing demands from other programs and priorities.

The introduction of high-stakes achievement tests such as NAPLAN domestically, and Australia's participation in the international PISA surveys, has done little to address the real educational needs of immigrant communities. While as was noted above, first-generation immigrant performance in PISA 2015 was generally superior to both local-born and foreign-born, as was the performance in NAPLAN of pupils from families with at least one parent born overseas, such generalized results are not particularly useful; indeed, they arguably conceal as much as they reveal. It is clear from the above analysis that some ethnic communities fare much better than others within the Australian schooling system, a finding that the Australian report's failure to disaggregate the PISA immigrant data actually obscures.

Lastly, policies and programs to respond to the needs of refugee children struggle to succeed, against the above constraints, and a common lack of knowledge on the part of schools and teachers, as to the background characteristics and levels of schooling within refugee children's originating system. It is still not uncommon for teachers to not know exactly who is, and who is not, a refugee in their own classrooms. In such a context, refugee children become invisible, and even well-meaning teachers struggle against the odds (Welch & Rose, 2017; Welch, 2017, pp. 171–4).

Current moves to introduce a needs-based school funding model, jointly funded by state and federal governments, that provides a standard level of resources to all schools, together with additional resources to schools with, for example, larger proportions of children from a non-English speaking background, or refugee children, has the potential to address some of the failures of the current system. More precise data about the differential performance of specific ethnic communities (some of which reveal persistently superior performance, while others continue to struggle), together with a more integrated analysis that linked ethnicity to class and gender, would do much to provide better data, and better policy tools, to respond to ongoing issues of persistent educational disadvantage, among some immigrant communities.

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Chapter 11
Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy in New Zealand

Jenny Poskitt

Introduction

New Zealand's relatively isolated location in the Pacific Ocean, south east of Australia, and a land area of 271,000 km^2 (Statistics New Zealand, 2015), combined with a small population of 4.8 million people (Statistics New Zealand, 2017) creates a particular backdrop for immigration. To increase its economic base, New Zealand has been and continues to be reliant on trade (especially agriculture and food-based sources), technology, and tourism. Immigration is perceived as a means of increasing trade and tourism (Law, Genç, & Bryant, 2013).

Immigrants arriving in New Zealand have increased in number and diversity over recent decades. Between 1981 and 2013, the number of overseas-born people usually resident in New Zealand rose from approximately 450,000 to 1,001,787, an increase of over 100% (Law et al., 2013, p. 583; Statistics New Zealand, 2017). Moreover, the countries of origin from which at least 1000 immigrants arrived in New Zealand grew in number from "28 in 1981 to 55 in 2006" (Law et al., 2013). By the 2013 census, 25% of New Zealand's population was overseas-born (Statistics New Zealand, 2017). The largest group of immigrants were classified in the 2013 New Zealand census as Asian (316,464), with the next biggest group classified as being from the United Kingdom and Ireland (265,206), Pacific Islands (151,530), Middle East and Africa (90,282), and Europe, excluding the U.K. and Ireland (71,433). This increasing number and diversity of immigrants impact the New Zealand economy and infrastructure in areas such as housing, roads, employment, health, and education. The latter is the focus of this chapter.

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The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) data indicate that New Zealand is ranked third of 38 participating countries in providing support for new immigrants in integration through education (Huddleston, 2015). New Zealand does a lot to assist immigrants with specific learning needs, guarantees access to education regardless of immigrant status, performs well in targeting individual support and inclusion of multiculturalism in the curriculum, but is less responsive to recognizing and optimizing the knowledge and cultural experiences immigrants bring (Huddleston, 2015). Data from the 2015 PISA results indicate that "students in schools with a high concentration of immigrant children perform better" (OECD, 2016, p. 258), though marginally so in New Zealand. Differences in science performance with immigrant and non-immigrant students between 2006 and 2015 were not statistically significant in New Zealand, although there was a slight difference according to socio-economic status (OECD, 2016, p. 261). However, more detailed country-level and national achievement data analysis reveal some interesting trends that are examined in the chapter.

Categorisation of immigrants and non-immigrants in New Zealand is complex, because some government departments ask applicants to indicate the ethnic group to which they belong or identify with, while other applications ask for country of origin or citizenship. The New Zealand Ministry of Education states, "ethnicity is the ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to. Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship" (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 1). Consequently, school enrolment requires two types of information: classification for funding purposes (domestic [NZ citizen or resident], student visa, or international fee paying), and ethnicity. To enrol, students may identify with up to three ethnic groups, but statistical returns to the Ministry of Education allow only one ethnic grouping to be reported. On education databases, a person born in the Cook Islands, for example, is considered to be a New Zealand citizen and the only indication that they may be an immigrant is their eligibility for second language support. Thus classification of immigrant and non-immigrant students becomes complex. To that end, ethnic data are reported in this chapter. The ethnic group in which the majority of students are most likely to be non-immigrant are the Māori students, for they are the first peoples of New Zealand. The next grouping with the highest proportion of non-immigrants is the European/Pākeha, (Pākeha means non-Māori but is commonly used to refer to 'white' people in New Zealand) followed by the Pasifika, then Asian, Middle Eastern/Latin American/African and lastly 'other'.

The chapter begins with a brief history and overview of population settlement in New Zealand, with associated political and economic influences. From there, changes over time to the immigrant school population are explored, followed by an examination of student achievement trends for immigrant and non-immigrant students. The final section considers educational policy responses to immigrant student achievement results by way of three intervention programs.

Historical and Cultural Factors Influencing Immigration Policy and New Zealand's Population

The first immigrants to New Zealand were the Māori people in the 1400s (Butcher & Wieland, 2010). They were accorded first nation or *tangata whenua* (original people of the land) status, as recognized in the founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty was an agreement signed in 1840 between the Māori people and the British Crown related to ruling authority, land ownership, and equal rights. The next wave of immigrants came after Able Tasman (1642) and James Cook (1769) chartered waters in the southern hemisphere (Butcher & Wieland, 2010); many of such immigrants were whalers, sealers, merchants, and missionaries.

Early immigrants largely derived from Europe, predominantly the U.K. and Ireland in the late 1700s–1800s, in search of freedom from financial, political, and societal oppression. Migration accelerated with the discovery of gold reserves (1860s), optimal farming and food growing conditions, and perceptions of a land of freedom and equal opportunity. The gold rush attracted Chinese immigrants, but since that time, Asian immigrants have come largely for education, work, lifestyle, or refugee status reasons (Butcher & Wieland, 2010). Although the majority of early (and later) immigrants were from English-speaking countries, small groups also arrived from Germany, Greece, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, and Dalmatia.

Other influences in immigration include evangelization and the arrival of refugees. English and Scottish peoples brought Anglican and Presbyterian strands of Christianity, the Irish and French brought Catholicism, and Asian immigrants brought both Christian and non-Christian religions and established mosques and temples (Butcher & Wieland, 2010). Groups of refugees have also arrived over time in New Zealand. For example, towards the end of World War II, 834 Polish citizens (732 children and 102 adults) arrived in November 1944 after a special invitation by the Prime Minister of New Zealand, though typically New Zealand has a quota of about 750 refugees per year. Since 1945 New Zealand has resettled over 33,000 refugees (Immigration New Zealand, 2017).

Other influential factors in immigration include colonial ties and proximity to multiple small nations located in the South Pacific Ocean. Through these colonial ties, New Zealand has offered financial, educational, and compassionate aide to the Polynesian Pacific Island nations (Spoonley, 2006). For example, Tokelauans, Cook Islanders, and those from Niue have had New Zealand citizenship rights since 1948, and "Labour recruitment from the 1960s also extended to [people from] Tonga and Fiji" (Spoonley, 2006, p. 18). Special entry regulations were introduced in the 1970s to fill low-skill gaps in the labour market (Butcher & Wieland, 2010; Moore & Smith, 1995), which accelerated the numbers of Pacific peoples residing in New Zealand. Growing effects of climate change, and associated detrimental consequences on food supplies, employment, and rising sea levels (Moore & Smith, 1995) have also increased the numbers of peoples from the Pacific in New Zealand from 98,040 in 2001, to 135,852 in 2006, and 151,530 in 2013 (refer to Fig. 11.1).

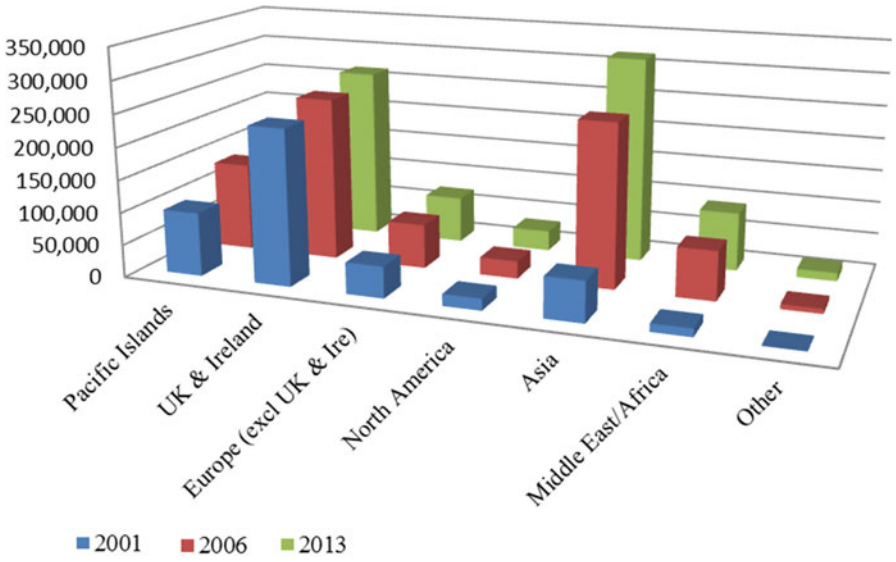

Fig. 11.1 New Zealand census data on overseas born 2001–2013 (*Source*: Statistics New Zealand, 2017)

In 1986, the immigration policy in New Zealand was revised to minimize preferential entry of peoples from the U.K. to instead give preference to people with skills and wealth, and to develop trading relationships with areas such as Asia (Spoonley, 2006). "Between March 1986 and March 2006, New Zealand's resident population born in countries of Asia increased sevenfold, from 32,685 to 248,364" (Butcher & Wieland, 2010, p. 3). Thus the 1986 policy change resulted in diversification of the New Zealand population, particularly from Asian, Middle East, and African countries, as displayed in Fig. 11.1. More recently, New Zealand's geographical isolation has attracted further immigration for people disaffected by political change, such as in the UK and USA (Abrams, 2016; Perry, 2017; Roy, 2016), or in search of educational opportunities at reduced cost.

Acceptance of immigrants in New Zealand has traditionally been greater towards those with English-speaking backgrounds, and somewhat discriminatory towards Asians, especially Chinese peoples, and Pacific Islanders (Butcher & Wieland, 2010; Spoonley, 2006). People with English-speaking backgrounds have experienced higher employment participation rates and remuneration (Earle, 2009; Spoonley, 2006), with implications for family income levels and educational opportunities.

Children with a Migration Background in New Zealand: A Historical Overview

Consistent with changes in the general population statistics, students of school age in New Zealand have become increasingly ethnically diverse over time. In order to understand these trends, an explanation is given about the classification and categorization system used in New Zealand to report ethnicity.

Ethnicity Classification System

Since 2005 in New Zealand, a four-level classification system has been used for ethnicity (Reid, Bycroft, & Gleisner, 2016). The classification system uses the four levels of categorization, from the more detailed (Level 4) to the more general classification (Level 1), to simplify reporting systems. At collection point, people are usually able to record their country of origin or their specific ethnicity. Starting from this point of detail, Level 4 classifies that information into 233 categories of data, Level 3 reduces it into 36 categories, Level 2–21 categories, and Level 1 into 7 categories:1 European, 2 Māori, 3 Pacific Peoples, 4 Asian, 5 Middle Eastern/Latin American/African [MELAA], 6 Other ethnicity, 7 Residual categories (Reid et al., 2016, p. 10). The MELAA category was first used in reporting educational statistics in 2012, at which time people originating from these countries were of sufficient number to warrant differentiation from the "Other" category. With respect to education, the Ministry of Education starts with Level 3 classification data for its School Student Management Systems, compulsory schooling, and tertiary student enrolment systems; Level 2 ethnic groupings for school roll returns but Level 1 (more general) for public reporting (Ministry of Education, 2014).

Although 33 ethnic groupings are used at school level, nationally reported data are only reported in six categories: Māori, Pasifika, Asian, MELAA, Other, and European/Pākehā. This point has implications for the level of national student achievement data able to be reported in this chapter. Moreover, information is only systematically collected and reported in education about the country in which the child was born, not their parents. It is difficult therefore to interrogate data about second-generation immigrants in comparison with first-generation or New Zealand-born students. Notwithstanding points made in the introduction about immigrants in each ethnic grouping, on the basis of historical immigration trends, the reader can generally assume that non-immigrants are more highly represented in the Māori and European/Pākehā than in other ethnic groupings.

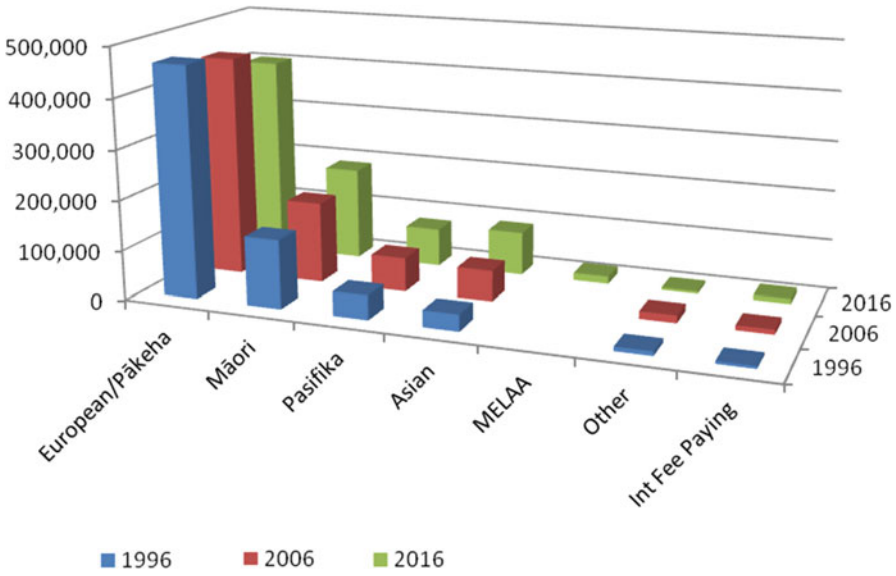

Fig. 11.2 Changing ethnic composition of New Zealand school roll 1996–2016 (*Source:* Ministry of Education 2017d)

Demographic Changes in the School Population

Statistical data (Ministry of Education, 2017d) reveal changing demographics of the schooling population in New Zealand (based on children aged from 5 to 19). Data are displayed in Fig. 11.2. In a 20-year period (1996–2016), the numbers of European/Pākeha students declined by 58,960, while all other ethnic groups increased (Māori 50,133; Pasifika 28,191; Asian 54,573; Other 11,777; International fee paying students 5931). The greatest increase in Asian students came from India and South-East Asia. As noted earlier, the numbers of students originating in the Middle East, Latin American, and African areas only became sufficient in 2012 to be differentiated from the 'Other' category. This point explains why MELAA statistics only appear in the 2016 period in the figure, and why the Other category drops. Numbers from MELAA appear to be increasing, judging by 13,500 students on school rolls in 2012, and 15,276 by 2015.

New Zealand's total school population grew in this 20-year period (1996–2016) from 696,335, to 760,745 in 2006, with an additional increase to 787,960 in 2016. Furthermore, the school population became increasingly diverse, with potential impact on student achievement. Discussion now turns to examine impacts on student achievement over time.

Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children in New Zealand

In order to situate New Zealand immigrant children's achievement in relation to international data, a brief description is given of the New Zealand schooling system. International performance data are then considered, firstly with PISA and TIMSS data, followed by New Zealand national data to investigate nuances in the trend data. New Zealand PISA data are analyzed across four ethnic groupings: Pākeha/European, Māori, Pasifika, and Asian. Results are discussed in this order of ethnic groupings so that immigrant student performance can be compared against average New Zealand and OECD scores.

Brief Description of the New Zealand Schooling System

The education system is organized nationally. New Zealand offers three levels of education: early childhood, compulsory sector (primary school, aged 5 to 11 years – classified as Years 0–6); intermediate/middle years (aged around 11–13 years – classified as Years 7–8/9–10 respectively); secondary (aged 13–18 years old – Years 11–13), and tertiary education (Poskitt, 2016). New Zealand has a decentralized educational governance system. Simply, this means schools have flexibility to interpret national requirements in accordance with local community needs and preferences, whilst being legally required to adhere to statutory demands. National requirements—known as the National Education Guidelines (NEGs)—ensure system level consistency and coherence.

PISA Science Results

Discussion of PISA results is based on data presented by May (2016) in a New Zealand country level report. There was little change in the Pākeha/European average scores from 2012 (539) to 2015 (533), both of which were higher than the OECD average scores of 501 and 493, respectively. However, there was an overall decline of 18 average points from 2006 (551) to 2015 (533). This change was represented in an increased percentage of low achievers—23% in 2006 to 29% in 2015—combined with a drop in the numbers of top achievers from 21% in 2006 to 15% in 2015.

In the same period, Māori average student performance in science declined 14 points from 2006 (480) points to 2015 (466) points. While the average score point drop of 14 is less than the 18 average point score decline for the Pākeha/European students, the Māori average student performance was lower than the Pākeha/European students (446 c.f. 533) and the OECD student average (493) in

2015. Compared with the 23% of Pākeha/European students who performed in the low achiever level, 25% of Māori students performed below Level 2 in science; and only 4% performed in the top achiever level (Level 5 or above).

Pasifika students performed at lower levels in PISA Science, although the average point score decline was only 7 points (2006, 453 points; 2015, 446 points). Their performance was considerably lower than the OECD average (close to 500 on both occasions) and the Pākeha/European students (2006, 551 points; 2015, 533 points). Low achievers in science (below Level 2) comprised 37% of the Pasifika student group, and only 4% of the Pasifika group performed at Level 5 or above. The Pasifika student group was the lowest performing ethnic group in New Zealand.

The Asian students who sat the PISA tests performed above the Pākeha/European average student scores in 2006 (538) and in 2015 (525). Their average scores declined in that period but by 13 rather than the 18 point decline of the Pākeha/European average score. Of this Asian group, 31% performed at low levels (Level 2 or below) and 19% at the top (Level 5 or above). The Asian immigrant group performed, on average, better than all of the other ethnic groups in New Zealand, with a higher percentage of top achievers. However, they had a marginally higher percentage of lower achievers than the Pākeha/European group (31% compared with 29%) so there is considerable disparity in results for the Asian immigrant group.

PISA Reading Results

There was little change in the Pākeha/European average reading scores from 2012 (533) to 2015 (528), both of which were higher than the OECD average scores of 496 and 493, respectively. However, there was an overall decline of 12 average points from 2006 (540) to 2015 (528). This change was represented in an increased percentage of low achievers (24% in 2006 to 27% in 2015), combined with a drop in the numbers of top achievers from 19% in 2006 to 16% in 2015.

Māori average student performance in reading declined 12 points from 2006 (477) points to 2015 (465) points. The average score point drop of 12 is the same as that for Pākeha/European students. However, as with science, the Māori average student performance in reading was lower than the Pākeha/European students (533 in 2006; 528 in 2015) and the OECD student average (the latter was close to 500) in 2006 and 2015. Compared with the 27% of Pākeha/European students who performed in the low achiever level in 2015, 25% of Māori students performed below Level 2 in reading and only 4% performed in the top achiever level (Level 5 or above), compared with 16% Pākeha/European students.

Pasifika students performed at lower levels in PISA Reading than the other ethnic groups in New Zealand, although the average point score decline was only eight points (2006, 458 points; 2015, 450 points). Their performance was considerably lower than the OECD average and the Pākeha/European students at 521 points in 2006 and 509 points in 2015. Low achievers in reading comprised 32% of the

Pasifika student group, and only 3% of the Pasifika group performed at Level 5 or above. The Pasifika student group was the lowest performing ethnic group in New Zealand.

Asian average student scores (525 in 2006 and 521 in 2015) were below the Pākeha/European average student scores in PISA Reading (540 in 2006 and 528 in 2015). The Asian student average scores also declined in that period but by four rather than the 12 point decline of the Pākeha/European average score. Within this Asian group, 11% performed at low levels (below Level 2) and 12% at the top (Level 5 or above). The Asian immigrant group performed, on average, better than the Māori and Pasifika groups in reading but less well than the Pākeha/European grouping. However, they had the same percentage of top achievers as the Pākeha/European grouping.

PISA Mathematics Results

Over the 2006 to 2015 period there was a decline of 27 points in the average Pākeha/European group scores in mathematics (from 536 to 509 in 2015). However, during this same period, there was a decrease in the percentage of low performers in mathematics, from 25% in 2006 to 21% in 2015. This trend coincided with a decrease in percentage of top performers in mathematics from 21% in 2006 to 13% in 2015 for the Pākeha/European group.

Māori average student performance in mathematics declined 27 points from 2006 (479) points to 2015 (452) points. The average score point drop of 27 is the same as that for Pākeha/European students. However, as with science and reading, the Māori average student performance in mathematics was lower than the Pākeha/European students (536; 509) and the OECD student average (the latter was a little under 500) in 2006 and 2015. Compared with the 38% of Pākeha/European students who performed in the low achiever level for mathematics in 2015, 37% of Māori students performed below Level 2 in mathematics; and less than 4% performed in the top achiever level (Level 5 or above).

Pasifika students performed at lower levels in PISA mathematics than the other ethnic groups in New Zealand, although the average point score decline was only seven points (2006, 453 points; 2015, 446 points). Their performance was considerably lower than the OECD average and the Pākeha/European students (536 points in 2006; 509 points in 2015). Low achievers in mathematics comprised 42% of the Pasifika student group, and less than 4% of the Pasifika group performed at Level 5 or above. The Pasifika student group was also the lowest performing ethnic group in New Zealand for PISA mathematics (as well as PISA science and reading).

The Asian average student scores in mathematics (543 in 2006 and 515 in 2015) were above the Pākeha/European average student scores of 536 (2006) and 509 (2015). The Asian student average scores declined in a similar number (28 compared with the 27 point decline of the Pākeha/European average score) in that time period. Within this Asian group, 17% performed at low levels (below Level 2) and

16% at the top (Level 5 or above). The Asian immigrant group performed, on average, better in mathematics than all of the other ethnic groups in New Zealand, with a higher percentage of top achievers compared with the Pākeha/European grouping.

In summary, the immigrant groupings performed the best (Asian – in science and mathematics) and the worst (Pasifika) of all of the New Zealand ethnic groupings, and well below the OECD average in science, reading and mathematics. The Pasifika group had a particularly high percentage (42%) of low achievers in mathematics. Of great concern is the 32% performing below Level 2 in reading—a point at which such students' reading skills are unlikely to support their learning. With respect to the non-immigrant groups, the Pākeha/European grouping performed best in reading while students in the Māori grouping performed consistently lower than the Pākeha/European grouping in science, reading, and mathematics, but higher than the Pasifika grouping.

TIMSS Results

Discussion in this section is based on data presented in two Ministry of Education (2017b, 2017c) country level reports. As with the PISA results, the country level data were analyzed into four major ethnic groupings: Pākeha/European, Māori, Pasifika, and Asian. Numbers in the 'Other' category were insufficient for reliable statistical analysis. The overall New Zealand results showed consistent results between 2006–2014 for the Year 5 students' science (504 in 2006; 506 in 2014) and mathematics average scores (492 in 2006; 491 in 2014). There was a similar trend with the Year 9 students in science (518 in 2006; 513 in 2014) and mathematics (493 in 2006; 493 in 2014). Note the Year 9 scores were interpreted from graph gradients since testing was in a different year, but the interpretive score allows comparative time intervals for comparisons with other Year level students. There was a significant decline, however, in the 15-year-old cohort for science and mathematics: The science scores declined from a 2006 score of 530 to 513 in 2014; the 27 point decline in mathematics was even greater between 2006 (522) and 2014 (495).

Detailed scores of the other ethnic groupings were not specified in the country level reports, but informative interpretive statements indicate their comparative performance. "Year 5 and Year 9 performance did not change significantly in science and mathematics" except for the "achievement of those [Year 9] classified as 'other' decreased significantly in this period" (Ministry of Education, 2017c, p. 7). "The average science scores for 15-year-old students within Māori and Pasifika ethnic groupings have not changed significantly since 2006. Students in the Asian and Pākeha/European groups had significantly lower scores in 2015 than in 2006, but similar to 2012" (Ministry of Education, 2017c, p. 7). These results mirror those of PISA, with a general decline of New Zealand student performance in science. "For 15-year-old students, the average maths scores for Māori, Asian, and

Pākeha/European students decreased significantly between 2003 and 2015"; most of the decline "occurred between 2009 and 2012. Over this period, average scores for Pasifika students did not change significantly" (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 7). Māori and Pasifika scored lower than non-Māori and non-Pasifika groups, but this gap narrowed when socio-economic factors were taken into account (Ministry of Education, 2017b).

Summary Comments from PISA and TIMSS Results

As previously argued, the non-immigrant students in New Zealand are more likely to be in the Māori and Pākeha/European ethnic groupings. Analysis of PISA and TIMSS data show that student performance in the non-immigrant population ranged from high to low performance *within* and *across* both of the Māori and Pākeha/European ethnic groupings, with greater percentages of higher performance in the Pākeha/European grouping. Similar trends occurred in the immigrant groupings. There was differential performance score spread *within* each ethnic grouping (there were high and low performers in the Asian and Pasifika groupings) and *across* the immigrant groups (the Asian grouping achieved a higher average score than the Pasifika grouping).

To further clarify the point that differences in performance appear to be more attributable to ethnic grouping than immigrant status, the two highest performing ethnic groupings in the New Zealand PISA and TIMSS data were Asian (immigrant grouping) and Pākeha/European (non-immigrant grouping). Asian and Pākeha/European groups generally performed better than other ethnic groupings across science, mathematics, and reading. While percentages of lower performers were relatively similar, the difference in achievement in the ethnic groups was more apparent in the percentages of the groupings performing at the higher or advanced levels (higher percentages for Asian and Pākeha/European groups). Māori and Pasifika students consistently scored lower than the other ethnic groupings.

It must be acknowledged students self-identify their ethnic grouping in both PISA and TIMSS, which may or may not reflect their country of origin (some may instead identify as New Zealanders or vice versa for those born in New Zealand of different ethnic descent). However, the one ethnic group who are less likely to claim immigrant status are Māori. As a group, their average performance was lower than that of Asian and Pākeha/European groupings, with lower percentages of their group in the high performers for science, mathematics, and reading. Differential performance cannot therefore be solely attributed to immigrant populations because in all ethnic groupings there is disparity of achievement between lower and higher performing students, and the highest performance occurred in an immigrant and a non-immigrant grouping.

New Zealand Generated Data

Country-wide student achievement in New Zealand is measured through National Standards (from Year 1 through to end of Year 8), and more formally in the senior secondary school through the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). National Standards are assessed in three areas only: reading, writing, and mathematics. Standards are broadly defined in relation to the New Zealand Curriculum and are based on overall teacher judgments (OTJs) in relation to those standards. Teachers draw on a wide range of data to make their judgments and report results as "above," "at standard," "below," or "well below" standard for the school-year level of each student.

For senior secondary students, there are three levels of attainment in NCEA (Levels 1–3), with most students who achieve Level 3 eligible to enrol at university, providing they have sufficient literacy and numeracy credits. Level 2 is considered by the Ministry of Education as the minimum level of achievement expected of school leavers. Students need to gain sufficient credits (points) at each level before being able to progress to the next. Subjects generally have a mix of internal and external credits available. Internal credits may be awarded by teachers (in accordance with New Zealand Qualifications Authority [NZQA] guidelines, exemplars, and moderation processes) whilst external credits are attained by sitting externally administered national exams (marked by national teams of markers).

National Standards Data

National Standards data have been published annually in New Zealand since 2013. Table 11.1 displays data for four ethnic groupings: Pākeha/New Zealander, Māori, Pasifika, and Asian. These are the four groups in which achievement data are routinely analyzed and reported by the Ministry of Education because the MELAA and Other group numbers are insufficient for valid statistical analysis at each Year Level. With the exception of Asian achievement in mathematics, in all other respects the Pākeha/New Zealander grouping had a higher percentage

Table 11.1 New Zealand national standards results 2013–2015

Percentages of students achieving "at or above" national standards according to ethnicity					
	Pākeha/New Zealander	Māori	Pāsifika	Asian	NZ average
Reading	84.3%	68.8%	66.0%	79.0%	78.0%
2013	84.0%	68.7%	64.3%	79.0%	77.9%
Maths	80.7%	65.4%	63.3%	83.4%	75.5%
2013	79.8%	64.6%	60.9%	83.2%	74.6%
Writing	77.3%	61.6%	60.6%	74.8%	77.3%
2013	76.3%	60.8%	57.6%	74.5%	70.5%

Source: New Zealand Government (2016)

Table 11.2 School leavers with NCEA level 2 by ethnic group

School leavers with NCEA Level 2 by ethnic group in 2009 and 2015				
	2009		2015	
	Numbers	Percentages	Numbers	Percentages
Māori	5298	45.7	8285	62.2
Pāsifika	3317	56.4	5019	73.4
Asian	4695	82.9	5976	90.6
MELAA	717	69.5	1060	83.8
Other	321	61.1	312	73.2
European/Pākeha	27,860	72.8	31,396	83.0
Total	39,635	67.5	48,300	79.1

Source: New Zealand Government (2016)

achieving "at or above" standard than the other ethnic groups. As with the PISA and TIMSS data, the ethnic group performing at the lowest levels was the Pasifika group.

National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) Data

With regards to the NCEA senior secondary school qualification, Table 11.2 below indicates that the Asian group achieved the highest percentage of the ethnic groups leaving school with NCEA Level 2 qualification (82.9% in 2009; 90.6% in 2015).

The ethnic group with the next highest percentage was the European/Pākeha group who reached 72.8% in 2009 and 83.0% in 2015, effectively matched in 2015 by the 83.3% of MELAA school leavers with NCEA Level 2. The Māori group had the lowest percentage of school leavers with NCEA Level 2 in 2009 and 2015. Although all of the ethnic groups improved their percentages of school leavers with NCEA Level 2, the greatest percentage gains in the 6-year period were Pasifika (17% improvement), closely followed by Māori at 16.5%. Other immigrant populations experienced smaller improvements (MELAA at 13.8%, Other at 12%, and Asian at 7.7% increase).

Understanding the Educational Outcomes of Immigrant Children in New Zealand

Changes to the immigration policy, as discussed in the introduction and historical overview sections of this chapter, resulted in an increasingly diverse migrant group in New Zealand schools. Variation of achievement in school-aged students across the ethnic groups was seen in the PISA, TIMSS, National Standards, and NCEA data. Three factors seem to be particularly influential in immigrant student

achievement: English language competency, family income levels, and education policies targeting priority learners in the New Zealand system.

English Language Competency

Findings from an analysis of the Adult Literacy and Life Skills survey indicate that "People with English as an additional language are more likely to have lower hourly wages, lower total personal income, and lower equivalent household income than people with English as a first language" (Earle, 2009, p. 2). English as an additional language creates barriers to employment and higher incomes in New Zealand. These barriers can be reduced for immigrants with qualifications, at the level of at least a Bachelor's degree. However, "difficulties with the recognition of overseas qualifications for immigrants from non-English speaking countries" create further impediments unless they gain some New Zealand educational experience (Earle, 2009, p. 1). The key point here is that immigrant children whose parents have English as an additional language face challenges not only in acquiring English themselves, but also restricted family resources to extend their educational opportunities.

Family Income Levels

Differences in income and socio-economic status influence and tend to predict educational outcomes in many OECD countries (OECD, 2013; Santibanez & Fagioli, 2016). "Socio-economically advantaged students and schools tend to outscore their disadvantaged peers by larger margins" than any other point of difference (OECD, 2013, p. 34). Despite attempts to improve students' opportunities to learn, Schmidt, Burroughs, Zoido, and Houang (2015) found that these differences persisted, even across countries compared for higher and lower incomes.

Table 11.3 displays median annual income by ethnic group from the New Zealand 2013 census data. It is no coincidence that the highest performing student group (Pākeha/European) came from the highest median income group (New Zealander) and the lowest income group (Pasifika) was also the lowest performing ethnic group on all academic measures reported in this chapter. Against the trend however, was the Asian student group performance (relatively high) in relation to the third lowest income levels. Nevertheless, in many OECD countries,

Table 11.3 New Zealand annual income according to 2013 census data

Annual median personal income by ethnicity						
Ethnicity	NZ/other	European	Māori	Asian	MELAA	Pāsifika
$ NZ	31,100	30,900	22,500	20,100	19,800	19,700

Source: Statistics New Zealand (2017)

including New Zealand, family income influences educational outcomes in that children from higher income families are more likely to experience higher educational success than those from lower incomes.

Various studies (e.g., OECD, 2013; Santibanez & Fagioli, 2016) suggest that targeting resources to students who most need it, and optimizing opportunities to learn (such as improving classroom-level instructional strategies, changing the pace and content of the curriculum, specialized curriculum and additional instructional resources), along with more inclusive approaches can reduce these achievement gaps. Teranishi and Kim (2017) argue for targeted support as well as differentiated treatment. Instead of targeting students on the basis of belonging to a particular ethnic grouping, since most ethnic groupings have bimodal distributions of students with high rates of success and others who struggle with various barriers and challenges, Teranishi and Kim argue that students should be identified on the basis of need and taught accordingly. These authors researched the achievement of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and found that adjusting learning approaches and resources to individual student (rather than ethnic group) need made a greater difference in narrowing achievement levels for those of varying socio-economic backgrounds.

Education Policies for Children with an Immigrant Background in New Zealand

Elements of targeting resources to individual students on the basis of language or other learning needs, adjusting the pace and content of the curriculum, and providing specialist support to teachers and learners—as discussed above from research literature like Teranishi and Kim (2017)—are characteristics of the New Zealand's Educational Support for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) funding. ESOL targets English Language Learners to resource schools and teachers to effectively meet their needs (Ministry of Education, 2017a). The aim of ESOL is to accelerate language acquisition and hence optimize curriculum learning. After two terms in school, immigrant and refugee students are assessed on their language capabilities (with a range of assessments such as the English Language Learning Progressions) and those with the greatest needs attract ESOL funding for up to 5 years. More intensive funding is provided for students of refugee background (because it is likely their schooling has been disrupted) and for those students entering the New Zealand school system from Year 7 onwards since they encounter more language challenges across the curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2017a). The funding covers specialist teacher support and professional development, specialist and bilingual program support, acquisition of pertinent learning resources and materials, and fostering of an inclusive learning environment to value the learner and involvement of their family. Additional scholarships are provided for teachers to deepen their learning about effective ESOL learning provision, and access to professional learning

communities for sharing of effective teaching and learning strategies (Ministry of Education, 2017a).

Student learning is personalized in order to accelerate language and curriculum learning, and supplemented with resettlement support for immigrant families through home–school partnerships. Because New Zealand is a de-regulated school system, schools determine the particular mix of support they need and provide to personalize learning for their ESOL students. However, twice yearly schools assess their ESOL students and report performance to the Ministry of Education for three reasons: monitoring of the progress of ESOL learners, checking for ongoing eligibility, and ascertaining effectiveness of the ESOL provision (Ministry of Education, 2017a). Every 3 years, ESOL verifiers from the 'Migrant, Refugee, and International ESOL' team visit or phone schools to evaluate administrative, program, and assessment procedures for accuracy and appropriateness to meet the needs of ESOL learners.

Two studies (Franken & McComish, 2003; Harvey, Richards, & Stacey, 2009) indicated that more support was needed to deepen the specialist knowledge and skills for up to half of the staff working with ESOL students, and there were tensions in some schools between, and inefficiencies with, provision of individualized learning in withdrawal programs and in-class support. The more effective schools provided whole staff professional development as well as more intensive specialist professional development for those working more closely with ESOL learners.

Nationally in 2005 fewer than 26,700 students received funding, 35% of which were born in New Zealand. By 2015 more than 36,000 students were funded, 48% of whom were New Zealand born (Wilson, 2015). In 2015, 163 ethnicities and 127 different languages were supported through ESOL. The most commonly spoken language amongst these students was Samoan (6535 students), followed by Mandarin, Tongan, and Hindi.

Pasifika learners are a particular group of immigrants who have continued to perform poorly relative to other ethnic groups, although small improvements were evident in the PISA, National Standards, and NCEA data. The Pasifika Education Plan (PEP) 2013–2017 targeted resources to increase: (a) Pasifika participation in early childhood education; (b) numbers of Pasifika achieving "at or above" National Standards; and (c) school leavers with NCEA Level 2 to 85% by 2017 (Ministry of Education, 2013a). A Pasifika Competency Framework was established to build teachers' competencies in teaching students with Pasifika heritage, along with Pasifika Success Professional Development (for schools with large numbers of Pasifika students), and Positive Behavior for Learning. Programs were also implemented to connect with, engage, and support Pasifika families to help their children with learning, such as the PAVE Pasifika, Power UP, and sPACIFICally Pacific (sPACPAC), along with Youth Guarantee Schemes to successfully transition Pasifika school leavers into further learning, training, or employment. Research and evaluation is underway but the effectiveness of the Pasifika Plan may become

evident in measures such as subsequent National Standards, NCEA, and PISA results.

The Ministry of Education also established a priority learners' strategic plan. "Priority learners" are "groups of students who have been identified as historically not experiencing success in the New Zealand schooling system. These include many Māori and Pacific learners, those from low socio-economic backgrounds, and students with special education needs" (Education Review Office, 2012, p. 4). Ka Hikitia—Accelerating Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2013–2017 (updated from a 2008–2012 program) is another example of a program targeting students who have not experienced success (Ministry of Education, 2013b). The focus is on responding in culturally appropriate ways; quality provision, leadership, teaching, and support; as well as smooth transitions to work and further training (Ministry of Education, 2013b).

Conclusion

While the New Zealand Curriculum purports to "support and empower all students to learn and achieve personal excellence, regardless of their personal circumstances" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9), international and national data on student performance revealed disparity within and across immigrant and non-immigrant groups. Although one of the two non-immigrant groups (Pākeha/European) generally outperformed immigrant populations, the other non-immigrant group (Māori) has not performed as well. Similarly, the immigrant Asian group typically performed highly, while the Pasifika immigrant group performed less well. New Zealand is one of the OECD countries in which socio-economic differences in family income relate most strongly to educational performance (OECD, 2013, 2016). This trend was most evident for the Pasifika group who, in 2013, came from the lowest median income groups in New Zealand and were the lowest performing group in PISA, TIMSS, and National Standards data.

On a positive note, in relation to percentages of school leavers with NCEA Level 2, the Pasifika group were the third highest ethnic group. Both immigrant (Pasifika) and non-immigrant (Māori) groups experienced the highest percentage improvement (17% and 16.5%) between 2009 and 2015 for school leavers with NCEA Level 2. Moreover, the immigrant (Pasifika) group experienced the lowest decline in PISA science, reading, and mathematics, and in TIMSS results for 15-year-olds.

Although there is a time lag between implementation of education policies and the effects on student achievement, the relative stalling of decline for the Pasifika group (in comparison with other ethnic groups) suggests early indicators of the effectiveness of the ESOL and PEP policy; similar effects are suggested from the Māori Education Plan. These glimmers of hope suggest that targeting resources to students who most need it is a strategy that may actually address performance differences and equity challenges associated with immigrants and students from less advantaged backgrounds.

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Part III
Conclusion

Chapter 12
Cross-Cultural Approaches to Mitigating the Immigrant Student Performance Disadvantage

Don Klinger, Louis Volante, and Ozge Bilgili

Introduction

Certainly, human migration is not a new phenomenon; it has always been a part of the human experience. Migration patterns and times of diaspora have undoubtedly shaped the world in which we live (Goldin, Cameron, & Balarajan, 2011). Nevertheless, while not new, globalization, with its potential benefits and issues, has increasingly become a focus of attention since the end of World War II. Further, the exploration of the impact of globalization is an even more recent phenomenon. Perhaps surprisingly, at just under 3.0%, the global rate of migration has been quite stable over the past 60 years (Czaikia & De Haas, 2014). Nevertheless, this stable rate of migration hides important changes. Firstly, while the proportion of migration has been relatively consistent, with small increases over the past decade, the actual numbers of people migrating is increasing alongside our exponential global population growth. During this period, the number of countries having a net emigration has been increasing, while the number of countries with net immigration has been declining (Czaikia & De Haas, 2014). The majority of migrants (approximately 60%) are found in developed countries and are themselves originally from developing countries (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2016).

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In this diverse global context, migrant receiving countries, particularly popular Western receiving nations, are facing a multitude of challenges with regards to the consequences of international migration. The effects of migration on economic development, political dynamics, as well as social cohesion are acute concerns, and not surprisingly, are subject to continuous debate. How to provide good quality education to immigrant populations and addressing their performance gaps is inextricably linked to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) in education (SDG4), which is concerned with ensuring inclusive and quality education for all and the promotion of lifelong learning (see United Nations, n.d.). It is important to note that the entire cadre of SDG's were formally approved in 2015 by 193 countries around the world. Thus it seems that governments around the world have publicly signaled a willingness to tackle the dual challenges of quality and equity in education. It is within this global context that this book has attempted to promote greater understanding of the relationship between immigrant student achievement and educational policies across a range of educational and cultural contexts – each possessing unique school systems and challenges with immigrant student outcomes.

This chapter serves to provide a brief summary of the findings and experiences of the countries presented throughout the book. Certainly, it is not intended to fully duplicate the valuable summaries and analyses presented in each of the preceding chapters. While specific references are made to the previous chapters in order to provide an introduction to and overview of the various contexts, a fuller understanding of each context can only be obtained through a reading of these previous chapters. Our intention here is to use the cases presented from each chapter to identify commonalities and unique attributes within each education and societal system that may influence immigrant children's educational outcomes.

The countries highlighted in this book have been many of those most directly affected by the massive change in migration patterns. Historically, Europe was a net source of migrants to other nations. And countries such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand (along with the USA) were the primary recipients of these European immigrants. This changed in the second half of the twentieth century. Alongside the formation of the European union, migration out of Europe has sharply declined. Currently, Europe is no longer a source of migrants, but rather is now a large recipient of migrants from increasingly diverse backgrounds (Czaika & De Haas, 2014). In place of the European diaspora that has dominated historical human migration, current migration patterns consist predominantly of a population of migrants from the diverse set of countries classified as being part of Asia. As one clear example of this shift, Asian (non-Western) migrants have largely replaced the historical European migrants in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, and they are also a large segment of the migrants in Europe itself. More recently, global events and crises have also resulted in a sudden increase in the number of refugees seeking asylum.

All of the authors in this book have noted the changing landscape of migration patterns within their countries, and their respective countries have largely been the recipients of increasing numbers of immigrants. The authors describe the changing

nature of immigration, highlighting the diversity of cultures and languages entering their countries (e.g., Harju-Luukkainen & McElvany, 2018; Poskitt, 2018; Scheerens & van der Werf, 2018). Some of these dramatic changes have been linked to the recent surge in refugees. As an example, Lundahl and Lindblad (2018) note that Sweden witnessed a sudden wave of refugee immigrants beginning in 2011 and culminating in 2015. Similarly, many of the authors within the preceding chapters describe a similar dramatic increase in refugee immigration (e.g., Teltemann & Rauch, 2018). Nevertheless, the increase in refugees is certainly not the only factor. Based on the global trends over the past decade and the numbers of second generation immigrants within these countries, the increase in cultural and language diversity has been occurring for some time.

Within our current global context, the long-term impacts of migration are generally argued to be beneficial (e.g., Goldin et al., 2011). However, several short-term challenges have been identified, both real and perceived, largely related to increased stressors on the functioning of a given society. In recognition of the ongoing and even increasing levels of immigration, governments have initiated a variety of immigrant policies. While some of these policies are intended to curtail the levels of immigration (e.g., Swedish Migration Agency, 2017), the vast majority are intended to support migrant integration and intercultural recognition. While such policies are focused on the general population of immigrants, there has been very little in terms of explicit policy initiatives directed toward the education of immigrant youth. The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, 2015) identified education as the largest weakness with respect to policies for the integration of immigrants. As Volante, Klinger, Siegel, and Bilgili (2017) summarized from the MIPEX report, the "poor outcomes of immigrant pupils are often accompanied with many new, but weak targeted policies, which are not always well implemented or effective in practice" (p. 333).

Educational Attainment of First- and Second-Generation Immigrant Children

While many may argue with the use of large-scale, international assessments such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) as a measure of student achievement, these assessments provide a defensible measure of relative student performance across jurisdictions. Moreover, the design of these assessments also enable inter- and intra-national comparisons of sub-groups of students. Based on such assessments, and consistent with other measures of achievement within countries, immigrant children are at a significant disadvantage in terms of educational outcomes. Such findings are the foundation for this book. As described by the authors, with rare exceptions, immigrant students have lower levels of academic achievement than their non-immigrant peers. Not surprisingly, differences tend to be larger for language achievement for those immigrants whose first language differs

from the dominant language of the country in which they now reside. Children who enter a country earlier in their lives or who are second-generation immigrants have greater exposure to the native languages of their new home. Yet, even for second-generation immigrants, differences in language performance largely remain, and these age- and generation-related factors provide only a partial explanation. As the chapter authors universally acknowledge, the observed performance differences are the result of a complex set of interactions.

The achievement results for immigrant children in countries such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand highlight the complexity of a simple classification of immigrant student performance (Cheng & Yan, 2018; Poskitt, 2018; Welch, 2018). For example, immigrant children from East and Southeast Asia have some of the highest levels of achievement across student groups in Australia. Based on PISA results, both first- and second-generation students in Canada generally have similar levels of performance to their Canadian peers; however, there are provincial variations. As Poskitt (2018) describes, "differences in performance appear to be more attributable to ethnic grouping than immigrant status, the two highest performing ethnic groupings in the New Zealand PISA and TIMSS data were Asian (immigrant grouping) and Pākeha/European (non-immigrant grouping)." In contrast, non-immigrant Māori and immigrant Pacifica students had the lowest levels of performance.

Australia, Canada, and New Zealand have commonly used a "points system" to attract skilled immigrants. As a result, the majority of immigrant families entering these countries have a history of economic and educational success, and higher levels of socio-economic status is linked to higher levels of educational performance for both immigrants and non-immigrants. Thus it would appear that the educational challenges for immigrant students could be attributed to socio-economic status, and that after accounting for socio-economic status, immigrant and non-immigrant educational outcomes would be similar (e.g., Lundahl & Lindblad, 2018). Once again, this seems to oversimplify the reality. Even after accounting for socio-economic status, immigrant student performance is often below average on PISA measures (see European Commission, 2016; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015). Further, Darmody and Smyth (2018) illustrate that even though immigrants to Ireland are highly educated, their children do not tend to have equal levels of attainment as measured by PISA.

Finland represents the most unique educational context to examine the immigrant student disadvantage, largely due to the historically low levels of immigration into this country. Nevertheless, as Harju-Luukkainen and McElvany (2018) explain, there have been many societal changes in Finland over the past decade. Schools have seen a sharp increase in the numbers of immigrant children who come to school with different cultural and language backgrounds. A major challenge for Finland is that while its education system has been extensively featured due to high PISA scores, first- and second-generation immigrants, while small in number, fare quite poorly on the assessment. There is a recognition of this challenge and resources have been directed to support both early childhood and subsequent education for immigrant children, largely in terms of language support. Additionally, immigrant

children will receive free access to summer activities. Once again, highlighting the complexity of our efforts to support immigrant children, Harju-Luukkainen and McElvany note a rural–urban divide. Immigrant children in rural areas of the country have a much greater disadvantage, highlighting the differential access to resources, and a likely economic factor.

As found in many of the countries reported here, the socio-economic status of immigrant families, family location (rural vs. urban), and the age of entry of immigrant children can partially explain the observed immigrant achievement disadvantage. Nevertheless, the Irish example highlights these are far from sufficient predictors of immigrant performance. Thus the second important purpose of this book is particularly important to consider: What are the implicit and explicit educational policies that may exacerbate or ameliorate the educational achievement gaps found for immigrant children?

Educational Approaches and Policies That Impact Immigrant Children's Education

The Irish example provides an example of how educational structures may differentially impact immigrant families and their children's education. As Darmody and Smyth (2018) explain, the Irish education system promotes school choice for parents. As a result, a large proportion of students do not attend their neighborhood school, especially at the secondary level. A school with excessive demand is able to implement internal practices to select students from the pool of those wishing to attend that school. The result is that "newly arrived immigrant families have experienced difficulties in accessing more popular schools and, as a result, have been over-represented in schools serving socio-economically disadvantaged populations" (Darmody & Smyth, 2018; see also Smyth, Darmody, McGinnity, & Byrne, 2009). It appears that the differential impact of this policy of school choice has negative implications for immigrant students and there are now efforts to create a more equitable system of school admission. Similarly, while the education system in the Netherlands differs from Ireland, the high level of school autonomy appears to have had a similar impact on immigrant children, albeit not in terms of school choice but rather in terms of differential policies, supports, and practices to support the education of immigrant children (Scheerens & van der Werf, 2018).

A form of school choice does in fact exist in the Netherlands in the form of secondary pathways (streams) and vocational programs (Scheerens & van der Werf, 2018). A more commonly reported model of this type of student educational system is found in Germany (Teltemann & Rauch, 2018), and as Catarci (2018) describes, Italy uses a similar model. Each of these authors notes that immigrant students, especially those from non-Western countries, are more likely to be in the less academic and vocational programs. While such programs have worthy intentions to enable students with different interests to select pathways that best meet their

learning needs and post-graduation plans, the reality is often different. Students in these contexts are often directed into these pathways early in their education, and movement upward between pathways is rare. As a result, these vocational programs have commonly been associated with lower levels of: (a) family affluence, (b) educational achievement, (c) graduation, (d) postsecondary education, and (e) employment success. Given the over-representation of immigrant students in these programs, there is clearly a greater likelihood for ongoing economic challenges for both first- and second-generation immigrant children.

Nordic countries such as Sweden have a modified model of education that provides "a 9-year comprehensive education without streaming and little separation of students" (Lundahl & Lindblad, 2018). While Sweden has very few specific policies directed towards immigrant students, other than those directed towards Swedish language instruction, it does appear to be one of the few jurisdictions to provide mother-tongue instruction until Grade 6, and this may even include a portion of instruction in other subject areas. This would suggest a very equitable system for immigrant children. Nevertheless, other educational policies in Sweden seem to serve to diminish these "immigrant-friendly" practices. As with the example in Ireland, privatization of schools and school choice have led to differential access to schools. The result is that immigrant families have less accessibility to more affluent schools and neighbourhoods.

The Dutch model illustrates the evolution of educational and immigrant policy, typically beginning with a focus on full integration into the dominant society, followed by an increasing focus on maintaining immigrant culture. Catarci (2018) highlights even more significant policy initiatives in Italy, a country in which first-generation immigrants have much lower levels of achievement, higher levels of vocational education, and higher levels of school leaving, in comparison to their second-generation immigrant or non-immigrant peers. These initiatives highlight an "intercultural approach in the educational context as a deliberate project to promote dialogue and cultural exchange for all" (Catarci, 2018). Subsequently, further policies have been implemented to provide educational guidelines for supporting the learning of immigrant students and implementing an intercultural approach to meeting the learning needs of immigrant students. Contrast this with the current trend in Australia to mainstream immigrant educational policies within the broader educational policy realm resulting in a system in which these polices have become "everybody's business, but no-one's job" (Welch, 2018).

While the efforts in the Netherlands and Italy highlight explicit examples of educational policies and efforts to ameliorate immigrant student achievement, accompanying societal policies may provide even further benefits and may be even more effective. Collectively, the chapter authors have highlighted the complexity of integration and inclusion for immigrants not just in terms of education but also in terms of social integration and inclusion. There is a long-standing belief, supported through correlational PISA evidence, that centralized systems with appropriate provisions to address unique contextual issues, are better able to support the educational needs of children. Perhaps such similar centralized approaches have the potential to better support immigrant families. As an example, Canada has one of the

highest proportions of immigration. In spite of this, Canadian immigrant students also have relatively comparative levels of achievement as their non-migrant peers. Educational policies in Canada commonly focus on language and cultural development along with dedicated efforts to enhance equity and inclusion (Volante et al., 2017). As Cheng and Yan (2018) further highlight, federal immigration policies have often been modified "with the key goal of improving the overall economic performance of new immigrants" while also "reuniting families and protecting refugees."

Overall, the chapters in this book provide little evidence supporting or refuting the premise that centralized efforts are more effective. As an example, England and Finland highlight how structural differences within each country are still resulting in similar efforts to address the achievement disadvantage of immigrant children. As Jerrim (2018) acknowledges, there are no centralized educational policies in England directly related to supporting immigrants. Nevertheless, Jerrim highlights a series of initiatives and interventions to enhance immigrant children's educational outcomes. In contrast, Finland, a country with a history of low levels of immigration, is striving to live up to its education mission of equality of education for all students. The Finnish constitution, includes a separate Non-Discrimination Act focused on education. As part of the Act, educational institutions must assess the effectiveness of their efforts to meet the intentions of the act, and ensure that interventions and supports are both "effective and appropriate" (Harju-Luukkainen & McElvany, 2018). Alongside the policies directed towards specific providers, centralized immigrant initiatives in Finland are focused on research, teacher education, and accessibility with respect to immigrant children.

Not surprisingly, and given the changing landscape of immigration across the countries highlighted in this book, the predominant approach to immigrant education has focused largely on language acquisition and the supports and resources required to accelerate the attainment of "language" within the new country of residence. In some cases, explicit supports are provided for the maintenance of first languages, on the premise that first-language literacy can benefit second-language acquisition. While these policies should benefit first-generation immigrants, it is not as clear that such policies will sufficiently benefit second-generation immigrants. The country chapters highlight very different educational outcomes for second-generation immigrants. Perhaps the complementary policies and practices that attempt to address issues of social integration and cultural acceptance, both for immigrants and non-immigrants, will have promise here.

Moving Forward

Consistent across the chapters has been an acknowledgement of the lack of firm evidence regarding the effectiveness of policies and efforts to not only support immigrant students and their families but also to ameliorate the immigrant student disadvantage (e.g., Harju-Luukkainen & McElvany, 2018; Jerrim, 2018; Teltemann

& Rauch, 2018). While there may be a lack of firm evidence, there are signs of progress. First and foremost, dedicated language supports are common for immigrants who do not have the language skills for their new country of residence (e.g., Jerrim, 2018; Teltemann & Rauch, 2018). While causal links to current educational policies are not possible at this time, the chapter authors have noted that the immigrant disadvantage appears to be shrinking, albeit slowly. And this is in the presence of increasing numbers of immigrants. In addition, there has been a fundamental shift in the conception of what integration means. Scheerens and van der Werf (2018) report that the improvement in educational attainment for immigrant children in the Netherlands, after accounting for parental education, represents a significant change. The gaps are declining and immigrant students are increasingly selecting academic pathways.

There is also an open recognition that language acquisition is not sufficient for educational and economic success of immigrants. The authors have identified a series of both specific and broad efforts already in place or soon to be enacted to address the broader issues of language acquisition and social and cultural integration. Countries such as Finland and Germany are funding both research and initiatives to support language education of immigrants. Specific training for teachers is described with respect to immigrant children, and more recently, refugees (e.g., Canada, Finland). Countries are also revisiting their long-standing practices. As an example, policy developments in Ireland are revisiting the admissions criteria to "make access to education more transparent and equitable to all families and their children" (Darmody & Smyth, 2018).

Interestingly, these experiences related to educational access and cultural integration have led us to think about Ogbu once again. When one considers the research highlighted in this book with respect to the educational experiences and achievement of immigrant children across jurisdictions, it seems that Ogbu's previous research (1974, 1978, 1987; Ogbu & Simons, 1998) continues to have relevance and importance to our subsequent efforts. Evidence of his relevance is illustrated in the example of New Zealand (Poskitt, 2018). The Māori population in New Zealand is a significant proportion of the country's population. Yet, as Poskitt discusses, the educational attainment of Māori children lags behind many of the immigrant groups. While not a focus of this book, similar experiences are found with respect to Aboriginal learners in both Australia and Canada. Admittedly, Ogbu has been criticized with respect to key aspects of his theories regarding voluntary and involuntary immigrants (e.g., Foley, 2004). Nevertheless, the efforts described in this book clearly resonate with Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory (e.g., Ogbu, 1981; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). His argument regarding the importance of societal and school factors is clearly evident in some of the policy initiatives highlighted in this book. Further, the economic and social barriers associated with the educational disadvantage experienced by sub-groups of immigrants parallel Ogbu's conceptions of instrumental, relational, and symbolic discrimination (Foley, 2004). Lastly, many of the policies described in this book are clearly intended to address these explicit and implicit forms of discrimination. We cannot help but acknowledge the impact that Ogbu has had on these current efforts. Our future success with respect to

eliminating the immigrant student disadvantage will likely owe its foundation to creating the types of socio-cultural communities Ogbu envisioned.

A Final Word

Admittedly, the ability to show the impact of educational policies directed to support immigrant children's education is difficult to demonstrate. Large-scale effects take time to demonstrate their influence, and measures such as PISA and TIMSS are notoriously insensitive to change. Nevertheless, the findings presented here provide evidence not only of focused efforts to address the immigrant disadvantage, but also the emerging positive impacts of these initiatives. More importantly, the collective efforts highlighted here suggest the most promising directions for policy and resources need to differentially target sub-populations of immigrants and non-immigrants. To repeat the conclusions of Poskitt (2018) in her analysis of targeted policy initiatives in New Zealand: "These glimmers of hope suggest that targeting resources to students who most need it is a strategy that may actually address performance differences and equity challenges associated with immigrants and students from less advantaged backgrounds."

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