EDUCATION AND MIGRATION

strategies for integrating migrant children in European schools and societies

A synthesis of research findings for policy-makers

Report submitted to the European Commission
by the NESSE network of experts

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Foreword

With increasing **migration** into and within an already culturally diverse EU, there is an urgent need for more knowledge sharing on the nature and effectiveness of cultural and social integration processes. This report focuses on the part played by formal **education** systems in the integration process.

- What is the situation of migrant students in European education systems?

- Which education policies and practices contribute to the successful integration of migrant children in European schools and societies?

This report is of interest and relevance to a large number of policy-makers primarily in but also well beyond the field of education. It highlights key conclusions emerging from state-of-the-art European and international research and their implications for policy. It aims to inform policy-makers and support their decision-making in the ongoing process of system reform.

To contribute to the promotion of quality and equity in European education and training systems, the European Commission's Directorate-General for Education & Culture is preparing **a Green Paper** on the links between education and migration. It will be issued in the summer of this year as a basis for a wide public consultation on this subject. This report has supported the preparation of the Green Paper.

Brussels, April 2008

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Executive Summary

This report addresses the nature, causes and possible remedies for the educational disadvantages experienced by migrant students in EU schools. Migrant students (or synonymously students or pupils/children of migration background or minority students) are disadvantaged in terms of enrolment in type of school, duration of attending school, indicators of achievement, drop-out rates and types of school diploma reached. The topic of education and migration is relevant in the context of European economic development, social cohesion and the stabilization of democratic cultures. The report presents explanations for the given situation and elaborates policies, programmes and measures to improve the situation.

Explanations for educational disadvantage are given at the macro-, meso- and micro-levels.

The main findings at the macro (national policy) level are that:

- Migrant students are disadvantaged in terms of enrolment in type of school, duration of attending school, indicators of achievement, dropout rates, and types of school diploma attained.

- The degree to which migrant student achievement is related to socio-economic origin depends much on the specific national education system and context.

- The educational attainment of migrant students is comparatively higher in countries with lower levels of economic inequality, high investments in child care and a well-developed system of preschool education.

- Investing in quality early childhood education and care is crucial, as it is at this stage that the foundations are laid for subsequent learning and achievements, and also because it is shown by research to contribute significantly to breaking the cycle of disadvantage.

- The educational attainment of migrant students is better in comprehensive systems with late selection of students to different ability tracks and worse in systems of high selectivity.

At the meso-level, the report finds that: (a) at the level of the school:

- Integration into the culture of the immigration country is a major function of schools in immigration countries. Therefore, the relative absence or distorted presentation of migrants in the school curriculum, in textbooks and in other materials and in school life, harms the self-image and self-esteem of minority group children and youth and negatively affects their chances of school success.

- The single school matters. Quality of school research supports the hypothesis that schools of good general quality are also good for migrant children and their educational opportunities.

- Peers have a substantial influence on the achievement of migrant children. Concentration of migrant children in schools hinders their academic performance. Minority children exposed to classmates with better performance and higher educational aspirations tend to increase their own.

- There is an over-representation of migrant children in schools for children with special needs.

- Discrimination is often a major factor affecting the achievement of migrant students. Research shows that denied support is the most significant form of discrimination in the education of migrant children.

- Strengthening the support function of schools with large numbers of migrant students requires extra financial resources.

(b) in terms of the teacher-student relationship:

- Low teachers' expectations towards minority students generally have a negative influence on their performance.

- Teachers of a migrant and minority background have a positive influence on migrant achievement in schools.

- Parent involvement is positively associated with achievement of children in school. Immigrant parents generally do not seek contact with schools.

- Mentoring in different forms and by different actors can substantially improve school attainment.

The report's main findings at the micro-family and home-level are:

- Weak family resources and activities for the socialization of children in migrant and low income families can be somewhat compensated by different kinds of early childhood programmes which support general development and learning the language of the immigration country. Many programmes have been scientifically evaluated and proven effective.

- Apart from compensatory policies and programmes diversity policies and "soft" forms of affirmative action can contribute to raising educational opportunities of migrant children.

- Language issues are a core part of educational policies and integration processes in immigration societies. They should be discussed differently for migrant minorities who are in an integration process, and national or autochthonous minorities who have the right for cultural autonomy. Immigrants, particularly their children, need a full command of the lingua franca of the immigration country for full integration. There is no compelling research evidence regarding the interdependence of learning first (family language) and second (lingua franca) languages and for the assumed effects of bilingual education. There is evidence for a critical period of learning the second language more easily before puberty.

- Foundations and other civil society actors have begun to create programmes for very talented and engaged migrant students. This will contribute to upward social mobility of migrants, create role models and help to change the image of migrants as primarily a problem group.

The basis for these summary findings is fully articulated in the body of the report, and in the conclusions to be found in Chapter 9.

Introduction

Immigration has been in the past and will be in the future a main feature of European societies. Today, the successful integration of migrant children in European schools and societies is both an economic necessity and a pre-condition for democratic stability and for social cohesion. With increasing **migration** into and within an already quite culturally differentiated EU and with a high proportion of such immigrants from countries whose social and political cultures are significantly different and where levels of economic prosperity are much lower than most EU Member States, there is an urgent need for more knowledge sharing on the nature and effectiveness of cultural and social integration processes. The **education** (formal, informal or non-formal) of children, adults and community leaders can play a vital role in this process and there are important benefits to be gained from sharing knowledge about successes and failures to date.

This study focuses on the part played by the education of migrant students in the integration process[1]. On the basis of available research, it describes the present position of migrant students in the education system and schools, presents explanations for the situation and proposes policies and measures to improve the situation.

The entry-point chosen for consideration of this important topic is the **under-achievement of migrant children**.

We will talk about "migrant students", "migrant children" or "migrant young people" in this study. These terms are meant to be synonymous with "immigrant students" or "children/students of migration background", terms that we find in the literature and in political and public discourse. "Migrant children" or "migrant young people" shall signify that immigration plays a key role in the biography of persons, whether they or their parents migrated. Quite often relevant research also speaks of minority students or of ethnic minority students. In some countries, for example the United Kingdom, the term refers to migrants and their descendents. In other countries and more frequently, the terms 'ethnic minority' or 'minority' designate indigenous groups that are culturally different, but are not migrants. Frequently low income groups are also included in research that is relevant for our analysis of migrants, or these categories converge in certain population groups.

The PISA results of 2003 have shown significant differences between migrant students born abroad and those born in the immigration country. The ones born abroad are the more motivated learners and have positive attitudes toward school. Second generation migrant youth born in the immigration country seem to have adapted to the less positive attitudes to school of native youth (Stanat and Christensen 2006, 2). Rumbaut's research in the United States demonstrates that even among those born abroad, but immigrating at different ages – he talks of 1.25, 1.5 and 1.75 generations - significant differences in academic achievement exist (Rumbaut 2004, 1169). Due to the restrictions given by the scope of this study we will, however, not be able to focus on such generational and age cohort differences in our report.

This report is a review of a very large body of research in this field and it is partly a review of reviews. In no way does it claim to cover all aspects of the extremely complex relationship between education and migration. Restrictions of time and resources imposed their limits. As a result, this report does not cover issues of training, issues of religious instruction, the education of Roma children, and issues of schooling and language of indigenous and national minorities. The Roma people comprise about 10 million EU citizens and are the largest and the poorest minority in Europe. Roma education is one of the most challenging and complicated issues in European social and education policies. It deserves a special report and cannot be discussed adequately in the context of this exercise.

Our study will be focussing mainly on European research. At the same time there is a very rich research tradition and a body of knowledge in the "classical" immigration countries which we must refer to. Research from the United States plays a central role in this respect and will frequently be reported in our analysis.

This study aims at giving answers to the following questions:

- ▶ What is the current position of migrant students in the education systems?
- ▶ How can disadvantages be explained, on a macro, meso and micro level?
- ▶ What policies on a societal level can remedy the situation?
- ▶ How can schools be improved to better meet the needs of migrants?
- ▶ What kind of support for individuals can be given, within which programmes and which measures? What kind of evidence is there for the efficacy of the programmes and measures?

The report starts with a concise description of the situation of migrant students in the educational systems (chapter 1). Chapter 2 presents explanations for the disadvantaged situation of migrant students on a macro, meso and micro level. Chapters 3–6 discuss policies, programmes and measures for raising opportunities of migrant children in education on the societal, school and individual levels. One possibility of looking at the situation of migrant children in European schools is to perceive it as a case of discrimination. Anti-discrimination policies are an effort to combat that situation; they are discussed in Chapter 7.

The issue of language learning and teaching in the integration process touches upon many of the subjects covered. Chapter 8 provides a brief discussion of some key issues.

This report has a different focus than the EURYDICE study "Integrating Immigrant Children into Schools in Europe" (EURYDICE 2004). Whereas the EURYDICE study focuses in basic information regarding demographics, institutional arrangements for newly arrived students and aspects of intercultural teaching, this report focuses clearly on the issue of achievement and underachievement of migrant students.

The report will show some of the serious problems of migrant children in European education systems and societies. We do not mean, however, to present a "deficit" model of the young migrant populations. There is a huge amount of talent among them and some groups are already outperforming native peers. For developing this potential, however, huge efforts are necessary. The recommendations given in Chapter 9 show the direction these efforts should take.

Chapter 1.   The situation of migrant students in the education system[2]

The situation of migrant students in the education system will be described according to enrolment in type of school, duration of attending school, indicators of achievement, school diploma reached and ethnic-migrant segregation of schools.

Enrolment in pre-school has improved in many countries, but migrant children in some countries, for example in Germany, still enrol at a later age and overall at a lower ratio compared to their native peers (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales 2007a, 43). There appears to be no evidence that enrolment of migrant children **in primary education schools** is lower than that of their native age cohort. However, again, "the comparability of primary school enrolment data from the EU Member States is low" (EUMC 2004, 14).

Enrolment in **secondary schools** of migrant students is often in schools that are academically less demanding and of shorter duration (ibidem, 22). The EUMC survey also found that migrant children and youth usually stay for a shorter duration in secondary education. Another important aspect of school enrolment is the overrepresentation of migrant children in **schools for special education.** This "...appears to be a common phenomenon in many countries of the European Union" (ibidem, 30).

An additional aspect of enrolment that is sometimes criticized is the **placement of migrant children in lower than their age-appropriate grades**. In schools where transitory classes do not exist for new immigrant students, this is to some degree unavoidable. The situation becomes problematic when the new immigrants

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[2] A brief methodological caveat is necessary here. Official statistics on education in European countries make comparison difficult and less informative than might be expected. Countries use different group categories when collecting school data on, for example, citizenship, minority group status (including citizens and non-citizens), or first language of pupil. In addition, due to system differences many structural features of national education are not comparable. The problems of comparing official national data on education between countries make the studies that work with an identical research instrument the more relevant.

The results and discussion presented here cannot generally cover all the EU Member States. We make an effort to present research results that are **representative of key problems** in major immigration countries and illustrate these with country specific or, if available, with international evidence.

remain in the situation due to a lack of encouragement, motivation and / or support for catching up with the peers.

Indicators and tests of **achievement** show that as early as the end of primary school education, migrant children score substantially lower compared to native children (Stanat et al. 2007, 43). As a consequence, migrant children are much more often selected for the academically less demanding secondary tracks in systems where such selection takes place at the end of primary education. The OECD PISA studies on standard academic skills (reading, mathematical and science "literacies") of 15 year olds also show substantially lower achievement by migrant children, though the size of the differences is different in different countries (OECD 2006). Figure 1 on the following page shows the performance on the mathematic scales for native students from a selected group of countries and immigrant students from the three most common countries of origin. Achievement scores in relation to gender show consistently that girls score higher than boys: "Across all ethnic groups females with a migration or minority background generally do better than males, particularly at the primary and secondary level" (EUMC 2004, vi). In relation to ethnicity there is an interesting exception to the general theme of disadvantaged and underachieving young people with a migration background: Asian groups and Indians in the United Kingdom and Soviet Jewish origin youth in Germany are examples of overachievers who do better than the native youth. In the United Kingdom students of Chinese and Indian background do significantly better than the average, whereas children of Caribbean background are underachievers (Department of Education 2005, 10). In Germany immigrant Jewish students from the former Soviet Union perform better than native students in secondary education (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006).

It will be shown in chapter 2 that the above ethnic differences cannot be understood as "purely ethnic", but are related to a host of factors including social class and education of parents, motivation for migration and integration policies of the receiving societies.

Migrant youth are overrepresented in vocationally oriented schools that do not prepare for a college or university education, and in the category of "drop-outs" i.e. students who finish school **without any diploma** (EUMC 2004, V). Without looking at national differences one has to state that comparatively **few** migrant young people are able to get **academic degrees**, a consequence of the realities just outlined.

Another important aspect of the situation of migrants in the education system is the composition of a school's student population. The socio-economic structure of the student body and peer effects are important influences on achievement. Segregation in our context refers to the clustering of students of particular migrant and ethnic status in schools. **School segregation** as physical and social segregation of different groups of students in different schools is usually a consequence of housing segregation. Where housing is highly segregated neighbourhood schools will also be segregated. European countries do not practise any legal rules of separating schools for migrant and minority students. De facto segregation, however, as concentration of migrant and minority children in certain schools - usually in the disadvantaged quarters of a city - exists in most countries. Many migrant children are in schools in which migrant children form the majority of the school population. For instance, every fourth student with a migration background in Germany in the age cohort of 10 – 14 years goes to a school in which migrant students are the majority (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales 2007, 9). Since peers play an important part in school achievement and socialization, school segregation hinders school achievement and integration (cf. section 2.3.2).

Figure 1:   Performance on the mathematics scale of the three most common immigrant groups

Source: OECD PISA 2003 database, Table 2.8.
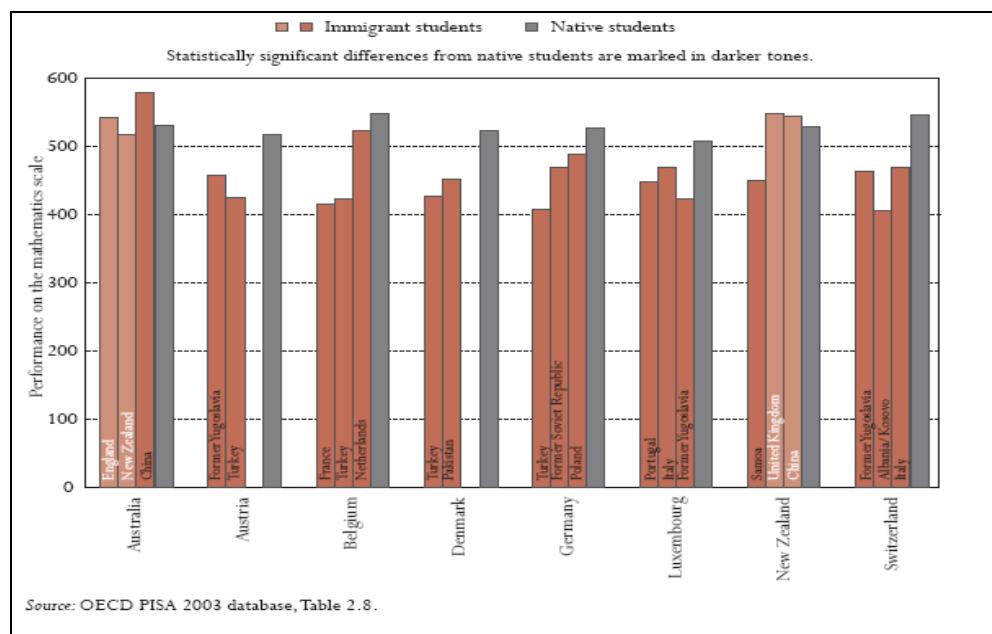
Chapter 2.   Explaining underachievement: conceptual and theoretical approaches

2.1   Levels of conceptual and explanatory approaches

It has proven useful in the social sciences to distinguish and connect three levels of conceptualization and explanation: the macro, meso and micro levels. To explain differences in migrant children educational achievement one may first resort to the **macro level of societies, social order and societal education system**. In fact, the PISA studies, for instance, have demonstrated that large differences do exist in the achievement scores of migrant children between different countries and their education systems (OECD 2006). One may ask, as do for instance Schütz & Wößmann (2005), what particular features of national education system can explain these differences?

School research in many countries, on the other hand, has shown as well that whether within national, federal state or municipal school systems, the **single school as an organisation and its environment** also matters tremendously. The performance of students varies systematically between schools within the same education system. This can be called the **meso-level** of conceptualization and explanation. The meso-level addresses the way organisations link the individual and society.

The **micro-level** is about the individual and small group actors and their interrelations, their definition of the situation, their needs, goals and resources. On the micro level we look at the **students and their parents,** developmental risks of children in early socialization, cultural, social and economic capital of the family and effects of stereotyping on students.

The distinction between levels of explanation is always somewhat arbitrary, since the levels are interrelated in reality. For some approaches the distinction is particularly difficult to make. The **discrimination approach** is a case in point and we will discuss it separately (section 2.5). We will start, however, with the macro level.

2.2   Macro-level explanations

Migrant children are in a disadvantaged position in the education system but the degree of difference compared to native peers varies quite substantially between countries. Analysis of the 2003 PISA data for instance showed that in Sweden the percentage of 15 year old migrant students reaching only the lowest reading competence level was 16%, whereas in Germany the figure was 44% (Stanat & Christensen 2006). The national context matters.

Furthermore, the degree to which pupil achievement generally is dependent on family resources varies tremendously between countries. "Econometric results show that the influence of the socio-economic background of parents differs strongly across nations, with the highest impact found for Germany, the UK and the US, whereas social mobility is more likely in Scandinavian countries and in Canada" (Entorf & Minoui 2004,2; see also Schütz & Wößmann 2005). Since migrant children generally come from families with comparatively fewer resources this general feature of the education system does affect them in a particular way. Schütz & Wößmann further report that countries with a **well developed system of preschool education and a relatively late selection of students to different tracks** of the education system (ability grouping), offer better educational opportunities for disadvantaged children.

The relative importance given to preschool institutions, the kind and degree of structured differentiation between classes and schools on the basis of curricular differentiation and ability levels, is a matter of political decisions at the macro level of societies and political systems. Political authorities must decide on such features of an education system. As Schofield (2006, 63) says: "Students learn and teachers teach in institutional settings whose characteristics are sometimes taken for granted because they are so much part of the lived experience of the members of a society ... One of the traditional and commonly accepted characteristics of schools in many countries that has been implicated by research as contributing to the achievement gap between students belonging to the majority group and those from immigrant and minority backgrounds is the structuring of classrooms, schools and school systems so that students with initial low achievement levels, low socio-economic status and immigrant / minority backgrounds are disproportionately educated with others sharing these same commonly interrelated attributes".

Schofield's research review of a wide range of international (particularly American) literature on the effects of tracking or ability grouping as a feature of education systems comes to the following conclusion: "Considerable evidence exists that tracking and related kinds of **ability grouping with curricular differentiation**, … often contribute to the achievement gap between initially lower- and initially higher achieving students by **undermining the academic achievement** of the former group. Because a disproportionate number **of students from immigrant backgrounds** are in the former group for various reasons, such forms of ability grouping are likely to increase the achievement gap between immigrants and others" (ibidem, III). This effect can be observed, even if no discrimination occurs with regard to placement in different tracks or schools (ibidem,95).

The integration process of migrants generally lasts for generations. During this process, cultural differences between migrants and natives usually decrease. With some immigrant groups, however, cultural differences remain strong and these migrants change into ethnic minorities within the nation state. Farley (2005) makes **cultural difference and cultural dominance** the starting point of an argument for explaining the problems of migrant and minority children in the American educational system. As he says, "a big piece of the problem is related to the fact that those who control our educational institutions and a great many minority students are, quite simply, culturally different from one another" (p. 368). As a case in point he refers to research on the consequences of **limited coverage of minority groups in school materials**. The relative absence or distorted presentation of minorities in school materials may seriously harm the self-image and self-esteem of minority group children and negatively affect their chances of school success. It also makes it difficult to take positive role models from a minority group background. The same effect can be expected from the absence of minority teachers in schools (see section 5.1).

Another factor on the macro level relates to a very basic structuring of an education system and its foundations; education systems differ as to their basic philosophies and ensuing structures of schooling. One of the main divisions in educational philosophies seems to be whether and to what degree **systems are selective** - and often selective at an early stage - and hierarchical, or believe in a more egalitarian philosophy that gives extra support within the system and second and third (or more) chances to those students who have problems or are slow learners and help them along. It is obvious that selective systems contribute to **increasing the problems of minority children** and do little to support them.

2.3   Meso level explanations: the single school and its environment

Research on quality of schools has shown that within the structures, limits and opportunities of national and regional school systems there are large performance differences between schools which work under the same general conditions (Fend 1998). It is the **single school that matters**. This includes the individual school's ability to educate and raise the performance of minority group students. Good schools are also good for the integration of migrant children. But it may be necessary to establish new organizational structures and new teaching forms for the support of migrant students as well.

2.3.1 The school as an organization

For the explanation of differences between schools within national or regional systems it is theoretically useful to look at the single school as an organization that acts in a certain environment. Radtke (2004) has developed an approach suggesting that first and foremost the school as an organization is **interested in "normality"**, i.e. the normal functioning in the performance of its job. When deciding on whom to accept, keep or reject as a student the modern school in principle is "colour blind". It is interested primarily in the (future) normal performance of the role of student by applicants, or by accepted students. A prime criterion upon which this normality expectation is based is knowledge of the language of instruction; another criterion is a judgement on the possibility to build upon learning content from previous schools that the applicant has attended. The school wants to make sure that it can successfully work with the new "client". The problem for many migrant and minority children and youth is that they cannot fulfil these normality expectations and thus are often excluded from academically demanding schools.

Normality expectations will be in force under normal conditions of an organization. An organization gets into a crisis situation when its regular clientele decreases or even stops coming. In a crisis situation or under the threat of an upcoming crisis another "law of organizations" comes into force, the **"law of survival"**: the organization wants to survive, to keep its personnel, its budget, its resources and its public image (Esser 2000, 268). The loss of students or the upcoming threat of a loss of students is a crisis situation for a school. Depending upon the kind of school, this law of survival will work in favour or against the educational opportunities of migrant children. Schools for special education on the one hand, or secondary schools preparing for higher studies on the other, could be illustrative examples.

Schools for special education suffering from a decrease of pupils and fearing a loss of funds, personnel and importance will be tempted to take students who are not mentally or behaviourally handicapped, but do not fit the normality expectations outlined above. And "normal" schools will be happy to get rid of a difficult clientele. Strikingly different enrolment rates for migrant children in special schools and between different German Länder have been identified (Kornmann and Klingele 1997; Powell and Wagner 2001). These may be interpreted as an outcome of different placement policies of schools and school authorities in different federal states, not as a result of different rates of handicapped migrant children in those states. EUMC (2004) reports similar trends for many European countries.

Survival policies of a school, however, may work in favour of migrant children as well. A secondary school on an academic track that loses – for demographic reasons for instance – part of its traditional student clientele, will consider changing acceptance standards and take migrant students that it would have excluded under "normal conditions". Evidence for this has been found by Gomolla and Radtke (2002). In that sense the upcoming demographic crisis of European societies with sharply decreasing cohorts of young people, will present an opportunity for migrant children in the education system.

Another approach to explaining different educational opportunities for children and youth is by looking at the quality of schools as organisations in performing their tasks. The **"Quality of Schools" research tradition** has identified several indicators that measure the quality of performance of schools as educational organizations. Good schools have among others the following characteristics (Fend 1998, 142, 367):

- a shared pedagogical concept
- high quality of school management and leadership
- consensus and cooperation among teachers
- stable structure of teaching staff
- high expectations of teachers towards students
- few hours of teaching lost due to illness or absence of teachers for other reasons
- richness of school life
- good discipline of students
- good school library
- involvement of parents in school life.[3]

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[3] Similar indicators have recently been developed by the "Quality for Partnership of Regions – European Indicators for School Development Planning and its Evaluation" (QPR) project. See www.dfpf.de/qpr

It seems that not much is known about the characteristics of schools that perform well with regard to the integration of migrant children (Stanat et al. 2007, 44). However, the policy of the British Department of Education and its Office for Standards in Education, of identifying schools that are particularly successful in fulfilling national standards makes it possible to learn about criteria of those schools that are especially successful in integrating ethnic minority children. In 2002, for instance, the Office for Standards in Education published a report "Achievement of Black Caribbean Pupils: Three Successful Primary Schools (Office for Standards in Education 2002). Among others the following distinguishing traits were listed:

- good management of the school
- good cooperation among staff
- high expectations of teachers towards pupils, coupled with readiness to give support
- good quality of teaching
- good equipment of school and
- high involvement of parents.

This leads us to the hypothesis, already mentioned above, that **schools of good general quality are also good for the integration of migrant children and their educational opportunities[4]**.

2.3.2 School and classroom segregation as an explanation of underachievement

Segregation can be regarded as a multi-level concept. On the one hand it refers to a macro structural feature of society and is an expression of an ethnic stratification system. Segregation can also be, on the meso level, a characteristic of organizations like schools. People of different ethnicity or of migrant vs. non-migrant status are members in different organizations, or within an organization, in different and separated structures. On the micro level of small groups and inter-individual interaction, segregation refers to separated, homogenous ethnic or migrant structures. Segregation is a concept for social and physical spatial separation and distance between groups and individuals. School segregation means that the student body of a school – and sometimes the teaching body as well – is primarily composed of one migrant ethnic group or of migrants of different ethnicity.

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[4] Systematic research is needed to further test this hypothesis.

Segregation can be *de jure* and *de facto*. European countries do not officially have segregated schools for migrant and ethnic minority children on a legal basis. The case of separate schools for indigenous or national minorities in some European nation states – as in Spain - is a case of cultural autonomy, in which the separation is voluntary and rests on the will of the minority. De facto segregation of migrant children in urban schools – usually in disadvantaged city quarters – exists in all European countries that have experienced immigration in the second half of the 20th century. This **school segregation** is primarily the result of concentration and **segregation of migrants in housing**. Where housing is highly segregated neighbourhood schools will generally be segregated too (Kristen 2003). Existing school segregation may also reinforce housing segregation, since some majority households may move away to areas of a city with no or only a small minority population, because they prefer majority dominated schools.

2.3.2.1 "White Flight": ongoing school segregation in Europe

The occurrence of such residential mobility for attending a different school is one aspect of a phenomenon called "White Flight". The other aspect of White Flight is to withdraw one's children from a school with an unwanted school population without moving to a different residential area.

The concept of White Flight has arisen in the context of attempts to desegregate or integrate schools in the United States since the late fifties of the 20th century (Yinger 1994, 130). The "Brown vs. Board of Education" Supreme Court decision of 1954 has made *de jure* segregated schools illegal and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s gave momentum to new integration policies all over the country. White Flight in that context was a reaction to the new policies and meant that parents moved their children from schools that were desegregated. They did not want their children to be educated with minorities, out of ethnic or racist prejudice and / or for fear of educational disadvantage.

While in the United States parents reacted to changes in previously segregated schools leading to a different composition of the school population, parents in Europe are (partly) reacting to changes in the student body of schools that are caused by immigration. White Flight in Europe is thus a consequence of immigration in the area of education.

Generally speaking, the occurrence and forms of White Flight are influenced among other factors by:

- ▶ the obligation or freedom of choice for attending particular schools in certain residential districts;
- ▶ the definition of school districts;
- ▶ opportunities or restrictions to attend private schools.

Evidence for the occurrence of White Flight in Europe has been found for Denmark, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. It is highly likely, however, that White Flight is a common feature of all European immigration countries. Bloem and Diaz (2007) report such processes for the town of Aarhus in Denmark where one school is even left without a single ethnic Danish student. Burgess et al. (2006) do not use the term "White Flight", but find a high degree of ethnic segregation in British schools and identify parental choice as one of the main causes. Parental choice plays a key role in the United Kingdom where there is a free choice of school. Karsten et al. (2006, 244) summarize their findings for the Netherlands as follows: "The growth in the number of segregated schools in the major Dutch cities can be largely explained by demographic trends and residential segregation. The phenomenon of White Flight facilitated by freedom of choice has reinforced this spatial segregation even more. Add to that the fact that specific groups of ethnic minorities are increasingly using their freedom to provide education to found their own schools, usually Islamic schools." In analogy to White Flight, the latter phenomenon might be called "Islamic Flight" as a form of voluntary segregation.

2.3.2.2 Effects of segregation

What can segregation explain in relation to underachievement of migrant and minority children? There is solid research evidence that **peers have a substantial influence on student achievement.** On the basis of PISA data Stanat (2006) for example has found that a large concentration of migrant children in schools hinders their academic performance. Using the same and additional data Entorf and Lauck (2006) have recently presented internationally comparative evidence for this hypothesis and report an increasing number of research projects on peer effects. Nordin (2005) and Sulkin and Jonson (2006) have shown the effect of segregation on achievement for Sweden.

This research tradition was established in the United States by the so-called Coleman Report of 1966 (Coleman et al. 1966). For Farley (2005, 392/393), "…the study found that the background characteristics of fellow students were an important factor in the learning of minority and low income students. Specifically, the more 'advanced' their fellow students, the better the minority students did." The implication of this finding is that minority students in segregated schools are performing below their potential.

Farley (2006) has reviewed more recent research on the influence of peers on academic achievement and concludes that this research basically supports the earlier findings:

- ▶ Minority children exposed to classmates with higher educational aspirations increase their own (Wells and Crain 1997);
- ▶ Expectations are higher in integrated schools compared to segregated schools (ibidem; Cohen 1995,1993);
- ▶ Academic achievement and sometimes IQ test scores[5] of minority students improve after a transfer to integrated schools (Ortfield et al. 1991; Slavin 1985; Wortman and Bryant 1985);
- ▶ Minority students in integrated schools are more likely to attend college and get better jobs after graduation (Wells and Crain 1997; Ortfield and Eaton 1996).

The fears of middle class parents of sending their children to schools with large 2groups of minority children need not be founded on ethnic prejudice, but often are based on the belief that children will learn less in such schools. Farley (2006, 58) concludes in his review, "that the great majority of studies show that the achievement of majority group and / or middle class students does not decrease" in integrated schools. The desegregation process is successful, however, only under certain conditions which will be discussed in section 5.3.2. One of the main conditions is that such schools are good schools and attractive schools[6].

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[5] The use of IQ test scores is presently often looked upon with a lot of criticism, particularly its application with minority students. For a basic criticism see Gardner (1993).

[6] Barbara John, former commissioner for integration in Berlin, recently said about problem schools with a high percentage of migrant children and strategies of parents to avoid such schools: "One cannot expect parents to sacrifice their children's opportunities for the sake of the common good". The only rational way out, she continued, would be to strengthen the schools and make them more attractive (*Der Spiegel* 35, 2007, 55).

2.3.3 Teacher qualifications and expectations

No matter what the differences between national education systems are, the teacher student relationship and the content of its interaction are absolutely central for student achievement in any system of education. Since the adaptation of education systems to the rather new processes of immigration in Europe lags behind the social facts of this ongoing process, teachers in most cases are ill prepared for having large numbers of migrant children in the class room. The training of school teachers is hardly geared to this new reality (Pitkänen et al. 2002). Pre-school educators as well have to be trained for this new challenge. They have to be qualified for the new role of early age second language teacher.

The "frühstart" (Early Start) Project of the Hertie Foundation in Frankfurt is an example of a civil society initiative for this training (www.projekt-fruehstart.de).

Quite a large body of educational research that has been reviewed by Farley (2005), Schofield (2006) and Stevens (2007) has found that **teacher expectations** affect student performance. Teacher expectations work as a self fulfilling prophecy: "teachers expect more of some students, and less of others, and their expectations affect the way they interact with students, and as a result, the expectations become true" (Farley 2006, 316). There is a large body of evidence that expectations are formed at least partially on the basis ethnicity, "race" and social class (Stevens 2006).

Teacher expectations work in subtle ways: different kinds of socio-emotional behaviour, the amount and kind of feedback students receive, the extent to which students are provided with challenging learning material, and the opportunities presented to students to participate in class (Schofield 2006). Very often these processes happen unconsciously.

The size of the influence is different under different **conditions**: expectation effects seem to be stronger in elementary schools and appear to have a bigger influence on students in situations new to them. For Schofield (2006, 94): "students who are not very verbal or who fail to initiate much interaction with their teachers are more likely than others to generate low teacher expectations irrespective of their potential, which has important implications for the achievement gap since immigrant students may be especially likely to evidence such behaviours due to having lesser familiarity with the language of instruction than their non – immigrant peers."

2.3.4 Comprehensive vs. non-comprehensive schools

Education systems in Europe vary in terms of whether post-elementary schools are differentiated according to the level of courses and qualifications offered. Comprehensive schools offer different tracks within one school, non-comprehensive schools in secondary education are specialized either for a basic, a medium or a higher level, with only the latter leading to further academic studies.

Since the question of having, not having or only partly having comprehensive or non-comprehensive schools is decided at the level of education systems we have discussed the relative advantage of comprehensive schools for migrant students' opportunities in section 2.2. There is systematic evidence that comprehensive schools with curricular differentiation are to the disadvantage of the migrant group.

Additional new evidence can be cited from recent research by Diefenbach (2005) in Germany. Germany is a country where one finds both comprehensive and non-comprehensive schools for secondary education in the different Länder. Diefenbach looked at the rate of students with a migration background successfully completing the medium or higher secondary school track comparing comprehensive and non-comprehensive schools. She found that significantly more migrant students reached both the medium and higher qualifications in the comprehensive schools. The data were for the period of 1990 to 2000.

2.4   Micro level explanations of underachievement

As to the micro level of explanations for the problems of migrant children in the education process, we shall discuss aspects of early socialization, cultural, social and economic capital of the family and effects of these on educational opportunities, the effects of interrupted integration movements due to 'Pendulum' migrations, and the effects of stereotyping on migrant children's achievement.

Often **language competence** is regarded as an **independent variable** to explain lack of achievement. This is the case, for instance, in the EU wide EUMC report on education of migrant children and youth (EUMC 2004, 54). It certainly is in the first phase of migrating to a new country when new migrants do not know the language. After an early beginning and transitory process of integration, however, one could look at language competence as a **dependent variable** and as an aspect of the integration process depending on the ability, motivation and opportunity of the new migrant to 'learn' the new environment. We discuss language issues in the context of education in section 8.

2.4.1 Developmental risks in early childhood socialization

There is, as might be expected, a huge literature on this topic in different fields of research in the social sciences. Leseman has undertaken a very careful review of a broad range of research on consequences of early childhood socialization for education in low-income and minority families. He has been particularly interested in research identifying "risk factors" in low income and minority family socialization in relation to adaptation to and performance in elementary schools. Leseman (2002, 18) concludes that there are four basic risks:

- there may be a low level of cognitive stimulation, decontextualized language use and literacy;
- parents may hold traditional child rearing beliefs and socialization goals that do not match the socialization practices and personality requirements in contexts other than the family of origin;
- the mother tongue may be different from the school language;
- there may be an accumulation of risks.

It is not possible to quantify or even give a rough estimate on the proportion of families with a migration background that would show these characteristics. We can accept that there are large numbers of such families, but we should by no means equate the whole group of migrant families as "risk families".

2.4.2 Cultural, social and economic capital in the migrant family

The most prominent explanation conceptualizes the underachievement of migrant children in terms of a shortage of the cultural, social and economic capital that is necessary for successful education in the immigration country. This approach mostly works with Bourdieu's concept of economic, cultural and social capital. Migrant families often are not only economically disadvantaged, but also in relation to the dimension of cultural capital which is of prime importance for socialization and education. Bourdieu (1979) makes a distinction between incorporated, objectified and institutionalized cultural capital. Incorporated cultural capital is the sum and the quality of the learned skills, knowledge, values, preferences and standards which have to be acquired and which are manifested in a certain habitus of the person. The incorporation process takes effort and time. Its content and quality is heavily dependent on the **cultural capital of the family** in which the person grows up. Different from economic capital, incorporated cultural capital cannot be easily transferred, but is transferred and acquired in a long lasting process starting with primary socialization. The transfer involves many forms of unintentional and intentional learning that happen in daily family interaction and creates learning

potentials that enable the person increasingly to acquire and incorporate the culture of his or her environment.

The **relevance of the concept of incorporated cultural capital** in the context of migration and integration in Europe is twofold: 1) Due to the early recruitment of unskilled labour in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s and the consequent family reunions, large segments of the migrant population are from classes in rural or semi-urban areas with little formal education in their countries of origin. This per se puts their children in a disadvantaged competitive position in the education system of the immigration country. 2) There is an effect of migration on the value and productivity of cultural capital. Many forms of cultural capital are heavily dependent on the context and society in which and for which they have been acquired. They are devalued in the immigration context. Language is a prime example here, but the same is true for many kinds of knowledge about work and jobs, or about the functioning of institutions and society. Knowledge about the functioning of the education and career system is a case in point.

The situation can thus be described as follows: in the country of origin the amount of incorporated cultural capital is already comparatively small; additionally, relevant parts of this capital are **devalued through migration**.

For those families and persons that come with higher levels of educational and professional qualifications, the possibility of transferring their formal qualifications may be difficult as well, since this form of institutionalized cultural capital is often not recognized in the new society and thus devalued as well. All of this puts migrant families and their offspring in a very difficult position in the societal competition. Those, however, who immigrate with a high level of education, integrate faster.

Social capital refers to those resources (including information) that result from the network of relations that persons have with other persons on the basis of mutual recognition and respect. The amount and quality of social capital depends on the one hand on the number of relations persons have and on the other hand, on the economic, cultural and social capital that these related persons control.

Due to chain migration of relatives and neighbours migrants often have - in terms of the number of relations and the formal size of the network - quite a large social capital at their disposal. But for several generations - the time depending on the speed of the integration process - this social capital tends to consist mostly of relations within the ethnic group that has migrated. Thus the network is limited in its potential for support, because it consists of relations to persons who themselves have

a rather weak position in the immigration country. Their knowledge of the education system is limited and generally they are not able to support the children in supervising their homework or training with them for tests or in other ways that are relevant for success in the education system. Limited relations, resources and opportunities within the migrated ethnic group are what Wiley (1977) has justly called an **"ethnic mobility trap"**.

One central aspect of a lack of social capital that is relevant for succeeding in the education system of the immigration country is the generally weak or non-existent relations between educational institutions, teachers and the parents of migrant children.

When looking at the relation between school achievement and ethnicity / nationality of migrant children, there are some striking differences, as we mentioned earlier. In a recent study with a large set of German micro-census data Kristen and Granato (2004) again found these differences according to ethnicity / nationality. When, however, controlling for "resources relevant for education" (education and socio-economic position of parents), in other words parental cultural and social capital, the differences disappeared (ibidem, 141). It seems therefore, that "ethnic differences" in achievement are the differences that ethnic groups show in terms of attitudes and resources relevant for education.

Such attitudes and resources need not necessarily – as Bourdieu assumes – be closely tied to social class position, as Tariq Modood found in his research: "The biggest anomaly is the pervading underlying fact that groups with more disadvantaged class profiles than whites … produce much larger proportions of applicants and admissions in the national higher education system" (Modood 1993). Modood develops the concept of a mentality, that is relevant for education, a "motor" as he calls it in an article from 2004: "… the 'motor' of the British South Asian and Chinese overcoming disadvantage lies in migrant parents getting their children to **internalize high educational ambitions and to enforce appropriate behaviour**" (Modood 2004, 87). This "motor" is a kind of cultural capital, but not necessarily closely tied to economic class position. Modood's concept does not invalidate Bourdieu's capital theory, but reformulates it in this particular way.

2.4.3 Interruption of integration processes and 'Pendulum' migration

The growing and often enthusiastic literature on "transnationalism" according to which increasing numbers of people move and live in a "transnational space", and which assumes that belonging to a nation state has been loosened, overlooks the fact that integration primarily is still a process that takes place in a nation state context and its institutions. Research has established as well that integration is a function of length of stay[7]. When individuals and households move back and forth over still existing national borders - Schengen has only lifted border controls - they are again and again confronted with different institutions and languages to which they have to repeatedly adapt. For some "elite" individuals and families this may not be a problem, but for the great majority of migrants it is. Generally speaking and holding constant other conditions, integration is a function of time spent in a national society and its local context.

For children and young people in education, transnationalism presents particularly severe challenges and problems regarding school achievement. The processes of learning and adaptation to a school system are repeatedly interrupted and new challenges arise with each pendulum move. There is research evidence in the United States that high internal mobility of children and youth negatively affects educational attainment (Centre for Business and Economic Research 2005). Adaptation challenges and resulting difficulties should even be greater for international migrants.

The **pendulum effect** is particularly **detrimental** to children from families with little cultural, economic and social capital. The low achievement of Italian children in Germany seems to be a case in point. Despite being the "oldest" immigrant group they are – compared to other migrant groups – overrepresented in schools for special education and underrepresented in secondary education leading to university education (Herwartz-Emden 2003, 688). At the same time – due to free mobility in the EU – significant numbers of Italians seem to move annually between Germany and Italy, living for a few months in Italy during the winter, in Germany for the rest of the time. The hypothesis of a relation between mobility and school performance, however, has to be tested for the Italian case, because research on this topic is lacking.

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[7] For a recent example with large data sets see Rumbaut (2004).

2.4.4 Effects of stereotype threat

Stereotypes can be conceptualized – on the macro level – as **societal ideologies** consisting of structured descriptions of allegedly negative characteristics of large social groups ('out–groups') and, at the same time, of allegedly positive descriptions of groups to which people belong ('in-groups'). Such stereotypes over-generalize and are immune to evidence that would question the ideology. Ideologies are usually the product of certain interest and power structures, but often develop dynamics of their own when interest structures are in a process of change.

In this study we look at stereotypes – on a micro level of analysis – as **individual negative attitudes** toward other individuals and other groups. These attitudes are produced in the socialization process via the internalization of the societal ideologies referred to. Usually they are not based on any personal experience.

Without going into any theoretical discussion and differentiation we only mention that the social sciences refer to this complex phenomenon with different terms: ethnocentrism, nationalism, xenophobia, racism and nativism[8]. Concrete forms of the ideologies and attitudes are, for instance, anti-Semitic, or Islamophobic sentiments.

Social psychological research – especially in the United States – has made a strong effort for a long time to look into the **consequences of stereotyping** on the achievement of minority children. Schofield has recently undertaken a review of a vast research literature from social, educational and developmental psychology (Schofield 2006)[9]. She lists the following major results of this research:

- ▶ stereotype threat can seriously undermine the achievement of immigrant and minority students;
- ▶ "a substantial and well designed body of experimental research reviewed leads to the conclusion that students' beliefs that negative stereotypes exist about the academic performance of the members of a social category to which they belong can have a negative impact on their performance" (Schofield 2006, 93);
- ▶ stereotyping may undercut the performance of children as young as 5 or 6 years of age, and the effects may be quite large;

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[8] For a detailed discussion see Heckmann (1992)

[9] In addition she has consulted a large number of senior figures in educational research and researchers who have a high level of policy experience.

▶ stereotype threat produces other behaviours that have a negative influence on achievement: avoidance of challenge, self handicapping, rejection of feedback regarding one's performance and academic disengagement.

The **mechanisms** through which stereotype threat negatively affects academic achievement include increased anxiety (Blascovich et al, 2001; Osborne 2001), decreasing students' expectations regarding their likely performance (Cadinu et al. 2003) and "impairing intellectual functioning by hijacking cognitive resources that would otherwise be available for the academic activity at hand to process and / or suppress concerns raised by stereotype threat" (Schofield 2006, 93)). Difficult tasks also increase the likelihood of producing effects of stereotype threat. Stereotype threat furthermore increases with the following traits of individuals: caring about performing well, being more concerned about prejudice, being highly identified with a stereotyped group and being characterized by internal locus of control and high levels of self monitoring (ibidem).

2.5 Discrimination as an explanation of educational disadvantage

Integration problems and educational disadvantage of migrants and minorities are often explained or interpreted as the effects of discrimination. And, indeed, discrimination is a social reality in all societies. Ever since the Enlightenment and the rise of ideas and norms of equality and Human Rights, the spread of the concept of discrimination as unequal treatment – without necessarily using the word discrimination - has been a "logical" consequence of this development. Anti-discrimination policies are designed to combat discrimination.

As a good example of trying to explain or interpret educational disadvantage of migrants and minorities as discrimination, one can point to a recent study by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in Vienna "Migrants, Minorities and Education – Documenting Discrimination and Integration in 15 Member States of the European Union" (EUMC 2004). The report is quite conscious of the conceptual and empirical difficulties associated with discrimination as a social phenomenon: "Since it is difficult to assess to what degree differences in educational performance and outcome between different ethnic groups are influenced by discriminatory practises, this study looks at different factors that can be regarded as indicators of discrimination. However, it has to be noted that research clearly pinpointing discrimination as the decisive factor for the existence of inequalities is rare" (EUMC 2004, 3).

The report furthermore refers to a differentiation of the discrimination concept as "direct" and "indirect" in the EU Council Directives of 2000 (2000/43EC and 2000/78EC), and mentions "institutional discrimination" as another concept often used in the explanation of the problematic situation of migrant children in the education system. This is an important aspect, because the complicated reality of the phenomenon of discrimination makes additional conceptual differentiation necessary.

Without going into a detailed discussion we suggest differentiating the discrimination concept in the following text as a step to increase the understanding of unequal treatment in society. The historical and conceptual starting point for an understanding of discrimination lies in the idea of equality and equal treatment of all human beings as it has been developed since the Enlightenment. Discrimination is unequal treatment. However, it is a special kind of unequal treatment. Unequal treatment can be of two kinds: it can be justified and legitimate, for instance on the basis of different qualifications when assigning a job or position that demands a specific kind of qualification. On the other hand, it can be unjustified and illegitimate: **discrimination is unjustified, illegitimate unequal treatment**.

This unequal treatment can have quite different causes on the basis of which we have constructed the following conceptual typology. On the basis of this typology we will be able to define more clearly the **core of the present discrimination problem in migrant education.**

We suggest differentiating six kinds of discrimination:

1) Individual discrimination

Individual discrimination shall be understood as unjustified unequal treatment of persons by individuals in interpersonal relations on the basis of prejudice and stereotyping (racism, ethnocentrism, xenophobia anti-Semitism, Islamophobia). Discrimination as behaviour is here the direct result of a prejudiced attitude. This is the tradition of early discrimination research as exemplified by Allport (1954) or Simpson and Yinger (1965).

Combating individual discrimination can be achieved by trying to change the underlying attitude through different kinds of persuasive communication, or by social control mechanisms that prevent the negative attitudes from being expressed as discriminating behaviour because of fear of the consequences.

2) Subjectively perceived discrimination

This is a feeling and a subjective judgement by a person of being treated unjustly in an unequal way. Since this is relatively easy to operationalize, we find this concept often realised in empirical research. However, it is not totally clear what the concept means. Subjectively perceived discrimination could reflect really occurring unequal treatment, but could also rest on a false perception of the reality. Another interpretation could be that it is an expression of discontent with a situation.

3) Conformity discrimination

Conformity discrimination shall be understood as unjustified unequal treatment of persons in individual interpersonal relations, not because of prejudice on the part of the discriminating person, but because of conformity to discriminating social group pressure and to avoid negative social sanctions.[10]

An example might be a student discriminating against migrant students in his school, not because he is prejudiced against the students, but because his peers and friends are discriminating.

4) Opportunistic discrimination

This is another form of unprejudiced discrimination: it occurs in the belief that social recognition and acceptance for membership of certain persons would be detrimental to oneself or one's organization, because other people have prejudice against these persons.

A school administrator, for instance, himself or herself not prejudiced, would not employ a teacher with a migration background for fear of negative reactions from the influential parents of the school' s students.

5) Institutional discrimination

Institutional discrimination does not focus on the individual, but on rules and practises in organizations and institutions. Rules and practises in institutions and organizations unjustly favour certain groups and are detrimental to others. Usually the rules are such that majority groups with more power and prestige are favoured over minority groups.

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[10] For a more detailed discussion of the relation between prejudice and discrimination see Heckmann (1992, 125-129).

Feagin and Feagin (1978) have further differentiated the concept by discerning between direct and indirect institutional discrimination. Direct institutional discrimination refers to the intentional introduction of such discriminating rules, whereas indirect institutional discrimination designates the seemingly neutral and traditional everyday practices in the organisation that discriminate.

Segregated schools in apartheid systems would be an illustration of a particularly severe case of direct institutional discrimination. An illustration of indirect discrimination would be a school's interest in the "normality" and routine of its processes as an organisation, and not wanting or not caring enough about migrant students who pose a threat to the routine of the organization's functioning, a case referred to in section 2.3.1.

6) 'Denied support discrimination'

We suggest this **new concept** by starting with the observation that some disadvantaged groups in a society may be in such a vulnerable position that they cannot improve their lot on the basis of their own resources[11]. Time series statistical data support this judgement. The position of the group may have different causes, like severe suppression in the past, wars, natural catastrophes or past migration. Equality of opportunity, the core idea of the present day non-discrimination concept, simply does not exist for such groups and cannot be reached without support from "outside".

'Denied support discrimination' refers to the denial by the political and civil leadership of societies, of support for individuals and groups with little economic, cultural and social capital, who cannot improve their lot on their own so as to achieve a situation of equal opportunity in the societal competition for positions, resources and status. This is discrimination and unjustified unequal treatment; because other groups in a similar position legitimately receive support via welfare state policies. Migrant students have to be supported to be able to take part in societal competition with a fair chance of success and to create the possibility for them being able to contribute more to the common societal good.

Measuring and explaining disadvantage via discrimination is complex and not easy, with the exception perhaps of individual and subjectively perceived discrimination. Cases of individual discrimination can in principle be observed, recorded or reconstructed in court cases, whereas subjectively perceived discrimination can be

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[11] This is one of the main ideas upon which "affirmative action" is founded. See section 7.3 of this report.

recorded in interviews of different kinds or can be identified in different kinds of documents. Subjectively perceived discrimination, however, has a validity problem as stated above and thus is probably more an indicator of content-discontent than of discrimination.

Conformity and opportunistic discrimination may be identified with indirect and open qualitative methods of research. We did not find any research on these concepts that relates to education. Institutional direct discrimination in schools has been a frequent topic of research; we earlier cited Gomolla and Radtke (2002) as a recent example of research on indirect institutional discrimination.

In the case of "denied support discrimination" we can attribute a particular situation of disadvantage to events in the past – migration of people from rural areas of developing countries or countries in transition – and point to the continuity of a problematic situation on the basis of time series indicators. The situation has been known for a long time, "market forces" and / or the group's own resources cannot improve the situation; more and more the roots of the problem can be attributed to the denial of support by dominant political and civil society forces.

We believe that at present '**denied support discrimination' is the most relevant concept when trying to explain disadvantage of migrant students via discrimination** and that it is the core of the present discrimination problem in migrant education in most European countries. We must remember, however, that the degree of migrant disadvantage varies among European countries, as we have shown in section 2.2.

If one does not want to accept this discrimination and instead to regard the migrants as a valuable potential for European societies, one must infer that an organised political effort on all levels of society and polity is necessary to improve the situation. Reporting and developing such possible policies is the task of the next chapters of our study.

Chapter 3.   Raising the opportunities of migrant children in education: policies, programmes and measures

We understand a policy – sometimes also referred to as a programme – as a set of goals that political actors have formulated and want to realize through systematic action and the application of certain measures. The goals set and measures to be undertaken are based on a definition of the situation and are structured and systematic. Usually a policy and a programme consist of a whole set of measures that are to some degree interrelated.

This means that an individual measure, like a preschool language course, could be an element of a policy that tries to generally improve integration processes in a society; on the other hand, an individual measure may not be part of a broader policy, but a rather isolated response by individual or collective actors to issues that are understood as problematic and to be changed in a certain situation. Collective actors could be social policy or educational administrative bodies of the state and municipalities, NGOs, welfare organisations, churches, foundations, or migrant organisations.

An historic example of a policy relevant in this context would be the **Head Start Program** in the United States, which has been continuously financed by a large budget and which has encompassed innumerable projects and measures. A recent example of a policy would be the **"Nationaler Integrationsplan"** (National Integration Plan) in Germany that was announced in 2007, one third of which is planned to be devoted to measures for improving the educational mobility of migrant children.

Our analysis will focus on policies, programmes and measures. Whenever possible we will also describe the political and programmatic context to which a certain measure belongs.

The presentation of policies and measures will follow the analytical frame outlined in chapter 2. **Macro level policies and measures** relate to the level of national society and national or regional / federal education system. Policies and measures will involve structural changes that are deemed necessary and feasible on the basis of the research evidence presented in chapter 2. A powerful political will and powerful

resources are necessary for bringing about such structural changes. We will discuss such policies in **chapter 4.**

Policies and measures for bringing about **changes in schools** and their environment for improved educational opportunities for migrant children will be the topic of **chapter 5.** We conceptualize the school as an organization with different roles and relations with its social environment, including the parents. Some aspects of the discussion are related to the societal and education system level of analysis of schools, like the degree to which structural variations of school organization – for instance comprehensive vs. non comprehensive schools – are possible or not. Most measures discussed, however, relate to the single school and its capacity to fulfil and define a role for educational mobility of migrant background students.

Relative shortage of cultural, social and economic capital that is necessary for succeeding in the education system of the receiving society - as outlined in section 2.4.2 - has been found as the strongest determinant of disadvantage of migrant children in the education system. Trying to compensate for (some of) the risks and disadvantages of the family socialization in low income and minority families is the essence of the tradition of **compensatory policies**. They encompass a broad range of special policies and an even greater number of measures. We will discuss these in **chapter 6.**

In most states compensatory policies and measures consist of preschool programmes and in some cases supplementary programmes in schools or for the support of schools. The idea is to expose disadvantaged children to educational materials and measures for developing values, attitudes, habits and skills which are supposed to be missing in family socialization. Since compensatory policies and measures relate to the socialization process we will discuss these according to the age group they are designed for.

All initiators of policy and measures should be interested in the effects of their actions and measures in light of the goals set and results wanted. We will thus not only describe measures, but also try to find out, whether they have been evaluated, and if so, with what results.

Chapter 4.   Policies and measures on the societal level.

4.1   The political and societal definition of the situation

Both for individual and corporate actors the "definition of the situation" is a main element for explaining action. Be it "objectively" true or false, or half true and half false, the definition of the situation constitutes and structures actor's perception of reality and determines the decision making process in social action. For Merton and Esser (1999, 4), the "public definition of a situation becomes an integral part of the situation and thus affects subsequent developments." Definitions of the situation are by no means something "given" or static and there are struggles in societies as to which definition of the situation becomes dominant over others.

Collective definitions of the situation of migrant children and their educational prospects in European societies are closely related to the national discourses on migration and integration, and they are different in different European societies. These discourses cannot be reconstructed here. We can, however, state certain conditions necessary for European societies to be ready to act on the topic and identify elements of a definition of the situation that will be necessary for reforms.

European societies have to acknowledge that they have become immigration countries and that a significant proportion of their young people are and increasingly will be, migrants or of migration background. Due to major demographic processes this trend will not be reversible in the foreseeable future. All major institutions, and particularly educational institutions of all kinds, have to adapt to this situation and develop new kinds of services. National and federal governments, municipalities and civil society have to be ready to devote relevant financial resources for the improvement of educational attainment of migrant children. **Societies have to be politically mobilized** for that. In those societies where demographic change leads to fewer students in the education system the financial resources saved could be devoted to improving educational systems. This can be regarded as a minimal requirement.

Due to recruitment policies and migration policies of the past the cultural, social and economic capital of present migrant families in Europe is low compared to the rest of the population and in relation to future needs. To make the migrant population fit for the knowledge society their educational level has to be substantially raised. Additionally, migration laws should ensure that the rate of qualified people coming to Europe is substantially raised.

In the following sections we will discuss policies on a macro or system level. This could mean nation state or federal state level. They also concern the meso and micro levels, but are decided and often financed on the macro level. We begin with policies that are related to the structure of education systems.

4.2   Structural policies in the education system

The bulk of labour migrants, refugees and other migrant groups who have come to Europe after World War II with their families are people with a mostly rural background from less developed countries and little education. Lack of cultural, economic and social capital (in relation to the demand structure of the immigration country) is the main explanation for the educational problems of the group. Many immigrants belong to the low income and vulnerable groups in their new societies.

Whereas European immigration societies "roughly" share this demographic feature, the performance of migrant children in European education systems has been and is quite different. Migrant children do much better in some national systems and countries, and worse in others. This is mostly associated with a generally smaller or greater dependency of educational achievement on social class or socio-economic status.

As is evident from educational research in many countries the single school and its leadership and management count. Under the same or very similar conditions individual schools perform quite differently. Yet, some basic structural features of schools and degrees of autonomy of schools have to be decided upon by political authorities above the school and the local and municipal levels. That is why we discuss these on the level of macro policies.

Students do not learn at the same speed, some learn more than others and others seem to learn almost nothing in schools. Any system of education has to cope with this reality. However, the degree to which these differences are reinforced institutionally or not, differs between education systems. The differences may be based on (early) selection of students to academically more or less demanding tracks and may lead to the establishment of different types of schools or to systems of support for the weaker students in more comprehensive schools. **Basic political decisions** are necessary on the **degree of selectivity versus support** in

education systems. It is obvious that most students of a migration background will profit from systems that are more support oriented. [12]

A major structural feature of societies that show a lesser dependency of educational performance on migration and / or social class status is a **well developed system of preschool education** (Schütz and Wößmann 2005). "Well developed" implies that societies are ready to invest in this phase and to take the preschool phase "seriously"[13], that there are programmes for disadvantaged children and parents from the very beginning of life, for general development as well as for language learning (cf. section 6), and that public institutions for child care and preschool education are available for all groups of the population and that they are of good quality. Language teaching to migrant (and non-migrant) children has to be understood and practised as a new task of preschool institutions and their educators. A well developed system of preschool education and socialization is important for integration on the local level, but the major goals have to be set on the national or federal state level. The provision of major funds has to come from these same sources as well.

On the basis of major research evidence as summarized in section 2.2 of this report a strong case can be made for the **effectiveness of comprehensive schools** in raising educational opportunities for migrant students, and against (early) selection by ability grouping for differently demanding tracks with different curricula.

'All Day' schools are another feature of educational systems in which migrant and minority children are said to perform better compared to 'Only Morning' schools. Support for the establishment of 'all day' schools is based on the following arguments from ecological socialization theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1976): education and socialisation are strongly influenced by the amount of time spent in what environment and with what activities. Compared to the social, cultural and physical environment in vulnerable families and households (good) all day schools can exert a superior socializing influence on the migrant children and their educational performance.

Empirical research by Schütz & Wößmann (2005) does not seem to support this theoretical argument. In their analysis of 34 education systems they do not find a systematic relationship between all day schools and equality of opportunity. The authors add, however, that the data only measured length of time spent in school and

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[12] We limit the discussion here to the opportunities of "vulnerable" groups. The development of excellence among native and migrant students, and how this can be reconciled with the support orientation of schools is an important issue, but cannot be covered here.

[13] This does not mean that activities in that phase have to be "serious", or cannot be playful!

could not discern between teaching and extracurricular activities in school. Extracurricular activities, however, might be particularly important for the development of migrant students. The American system of high schools with lots of extracurricular activities rests exactly on this assumption. Schütz and Wößmann also point to an empirical analysis of Annemüller (2005) who found a negative relationship between hours of teaching per year and inequality of opportunity. The **research evidence** on the effect of all day schools for vulnerable groups that could be found for this report is thus somewhat **inconclusive.**

4.3   Teachers and preschool educators: roles and training

In all European education systems there is an increasing proportion of students with a migration background. This is a stable structural feature, not a transitory phenomenon. Pre school educators and teachers are dealing with a new population of children, students and parents about whom they have usually obtained little relevant information in their time of training. They have to face new challenges such as when preschool educators have to teach languages in a playful way to young migrant children. Preparation for educating the new groups should be part of teacher training in European countries. An EU sponsored research project has elaborated some of the major consequences of the new situation for teacher training and gives recommendations for improvement (Pitkänen et al. 2002).

If there is a political will that an education system should strengthen its supportive function toward students from vulnerable groups, the role of teacher would have to be redefined as well. Support, like supporting students in homework centres in schools (cf. 5.2), could be emphasized as part of a teacher's role. An additional or alternative model would be to create the **role of a teacher assistant**, who would practise with students, and help them with "homework" in school. The work of teachers and teacher assistants could also be supported effectively by social workers in school who would not only counsel students in school, but could also work with parents of problem students.

4.4   Acculturation and cultural distance

Labour market and schools have been and are the major institutions of integration in all immigration countries. Schools are the main agents for cultural integration or acculturation of immigrant populations in a process that lasts for two or three generations. Acculturation does not mean assimilation as complete acceptance and internalization of the immigration society's culture, but the school is and has to be the institution in which major elements of the receiving country's culture, its language, values, norms, habits, aesthetic standards, symbols and many other things, are

learned by migrant children, without necessarily giving up the family cultural background.

Particularly for first generation immigrants and their children, the school of the immigration country is experienced as a place of enormous cultural difference and strangeness. To a large degree this is unavoidable. School and curriculum policies however, could plan to **partly integrate cultural items from countries of emigration** of major groups of their students into school life and learning processes. Farley (2005, 368) has stressed that the absence or distorted presentation of minorities in school materials may seriously harm the self-image and self-esteem of minority group children and negatively affect their chances of success in school and may make it difficult to take positive role models from a minority group background. This integration of cultural items from emigration countries again is something that the individual school can only partly do on its own, it has to be supported by a political will and decreed by directives of authorities that are responsible for education systems. Employing a greater number of teachers who have a migration background can also help to decrease the cultural distance between migrants and school. The perspective and experience of diversity policies and diversity management lend support to this conclusion (Thomas and Ely 1996).

4.5   Budgetary policies

Due to the ongoing demographic changes in European societies with much smaller cohorts of children some elements of the education system would need fewer resources, under the assumption of maintaining the status quo. Having in mind an improvement of the education system, the "**savings**" could be used to **increase the educational opportunities** of migrant children and other vulnerable groups of students.

One way of improving the situation is to give extra funds to schools with a high proportion of migrant students. We give two examples of such measures. In 1982 France introduced the concept of problem schools (établissements sensitives) which are situated in priority education zones **("zone d'éducation prioritaire")**. The newly elected socialist government in 1998 further strengthened this policy. **Extra funds and staff** were allocated to such schools usually situated on the peripheries of large towns, where a large portion of immigrants live. Due to the universalism of French integration policies this programme has not specifically and explicitly been concerned with migrant children and youth, but one of the main criteria for receiving extra funds, staff and teaching hours is the percentage of students with a migration background in a school (Schnapper et al. 2003, 31/32).

Similarly, Germany's "Nationaler Integrationsplan" plans to provide extra funds to schools with a high proportion of migrant children to improve the student teacher ratio by employing more teaching staff and more social workers in schools (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales 2007, 13).

4.6 Research programmes

Research programmes of tax based pubic institutions are another field where decisions have to be made on a macro level. Research programmes can effectively contribute to an improvement of the situation and increase the opportunities for migrant children and youth by financing projects like for instance

- ▶ assessment of "second language competence" (competence in language of immigration country) of migrant children and young people in different age groups
- ▶ effectiveness of different methods of teaching "second languages"
- ▶ evaluation of compensatory policies and measures, including time series designs.

These three examples are only meant as an illustration and do not represent any hierarchy of preferences.

From a discussion of possible programmes and measures on the macro level we now turn to suggestions that lie on the meso level.

Chapter 5. The single school matters: policies and measures in schools.

Schools can be understood as social systems (system of roles and relationships) and structured organisations (tasks, division of labour, hierarchy) with relations to an environment. We shall discuss policies and measures that relate to all three aspects.

When we talked about changes in schools in section 4 we had in mind such policies that usually cannot be decided on the level of the single school, but fall into the area of authority of political bodies on a national or federal state level. In this section we shall discuss such measures for which the single school has some degree of autonomy.

As to roles and relationships we will first focus on the teacher-student relationship (5.1). In section 5.2 we will discuss aspects of the structure of schools and in 5.3 the relations to the environment are at the centre of discussion.

Aiming at educational progress for migrant children by improving schools is of particular importance. Such **changes are comparatively "easier" to bring about** than those to compensate for the students' background disadvantage through individual support and mentoring and compensatory programmes.

5.1 The teacher-student relationship

Low expectations of teachers towards minority students - **teacher expectations** – has been identified as one of the factors negatively influencing academic achievement of students. If teachers believe that the students are capable of success and that their efforts can make a difference in what the students learn, the performance of migrant children and young people will improve (Farley 2005, 401). Research suggests, however, that a mere increase of academic demand, rigidly implemented, is not to be recommended. "… consistent with a review of the research on closing the achievement gap published by the American Educational Research Association (Zurawsky 2004) the research … emphasizes combining increased academic demand with a warm emotional climate and individualized support" (Schofield 2006, 96). Research on detracking also stresses the importance of providing substantial assistance for helping initially low achieving students (ibidem).

Farley (2005, 401) has identified **additional factors** of improved academic achievement:

▶ the class is a pleasant place, relatively quiet and orderly;
▶ the teacher is able to maintain "reasonable order" without spending a great deal of time and effort on keeping order;
▶ the emphasis is on learning basic reading and math skills;
▶ the emphasis is also on learning "higher order skills".

The reality of school learning for migrant students in many European countries, however, is such that these conditions hardly exist. They have to be implemented first. To make the class "a pleasant place, relatively quiet and orderly" and to maintain "reasonable order" is something that teachers in schools with a high proportion of minority students have to continuously struggle for. Research in US high schools found that minority students of comparable socio-economic status do better in private than in public schools and that in Catholic schools particularly there is much less inequality in achievement along the lines of social class, ethnicity and "race" than in public schools. Farley (2005, 402) cites Coleman, Hoffer and Kilgore (1982) who argue that "these schools expect and demand higher levels of achievement and that they maintain better order." Farley suggests calling this approach **"increasing the rigour of minority education".**

The teacher-student relationship is also influenced by the ethnicity of teachers and students. There is some research evidence that the presence of **teachers of the same ethnicity** and / or migration status as the students has a positive influence on minority student achievement (Schofield 2006, 97).

Whether students with achievement problems get **second, third or fourth chances** is, on the one hand, a characteristic of an education system that is related to its degree of selectivity. But it is also an attitude of teachers and an aspect of the teacher – student relationship. Obviously, repeated chances given by teachers increase the opportunity of weak students to finally succeed.

Any single didactic method will "wear off" when being practised too often or even exclusively. The success of teaching methods can depend a lot on the degree to which **variation of methods** occurs and two examples serve as an illustration. One is the possibility of supporting language teaching by methods of **e-learning**, the other is theatre education ("Theaterpädagogik").

The Italian project "Guarda che ce la fai" is a CD that supports second language teaching for immigrant children and young people. The CD is composed of 11 movies

that are aimed at facilitating the learning of the Italian language as a foreign language. It includes a wide range of activities to improve oral and written communication. The CD has been designed in cooperation with 11 schools in the Torino area, involving some 400 students, of which more than one fourth were migrants of different nationalities. It is an interactive CD with 300 exercises. Since one of the main problems of foreign students is a shift from everyday colloquial language to the language used in different subjects, such as biology, history or mathematics, the CD also has a glossary of terms for different subjects that are being taught.

The Erika-Mann-Schule is a school for primary education in a quarter with a large migrant population in Berlin (www.erika-mann.de). A main feature of the school, the central element of its **school profile**, is the application of methods of theatre education in most subjects and regularly. Learning social roles, language, facial expression, body movements, symbols and gestures in a playful way successfully supports the cultural and social integration particularly of the migrant children.

5.2 Organizational adaptations

Looking at the school as an organization led us in chapter 2 to reflect on the consequences of its normality expectations for its regular functioning. Since migrant students will often not conform to their normality expectations, schools have a tendency of either not accepting or not particularly caring about these students. The presence of migrant and minority students, however, is no longer a deviant case, but a new normality, which schools have to address and adapt to. Schools in immigration countries must regard the integration and academic achievement of migrant students as one of their central tasks. It must be part of their professional identity.

For new immigrants to be integrated in the regular schools it has proven successful to install **transitional classes** in which language learning is the central effort, but an attempt is made to teach other subjects as well. Attendance at these classes lasts for up to two years, depending on the speed of progress that the student makes, and the goal is to join a regular class as soon as possible.

Even after the transition to a regular class many immigrant students will need additional support. The same holds true for students with a migration background who have been born in the respective immigration country. If denied support is a form of discrimination then many European schools presently are structurally discriminating against migrant students. Organizing **educational support**

structures within the school, not exclusion of under-achieving students, is a way of improving the situation.

Different policies and measures for better 'in school' support are feasible. We discussed in section 4.3 how to change the role of teacher by making support, individually and / or in small groups, a regular part of the teacher role and, in addition or as an alternative, to create the role of teacher assistant who would mentor and coach the children, do exercises with them and prepare them for tests[14].

Another adaptation, and for many countries in Europe this would be an innovation, would be the instalment in schools of **learning and homework centres** after the regular classes. The latter has been successfully practised in several schools in a large project in New Zealand. Migrant and minority students receive individual help, feed back and monitoring for completing "homework" assignments between 3 and 5 pm. The mentoring is done by teachers and some qualified voluntary parents. For migrant and ethnic minority parents who often cannot either support or monitor the homework of their children, this is a great relief and increases academic achievement of the students (Drexler 2007, 66).

The **participation of pupils in such support activities** could be voluntary and defined as an opportunity offered, or as an obligation of the students, decided by the teachers. Selected interviews with experts suggest that an **obligatory approach** would be superior to voluntary forms[15].

The changes in the school structures discussed in this section could in some educational systems be decided by the schools themselves, in others such changes would only come about via the political and administrative authorities that control the schools.

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[14] An example: In classes with a high proportion of migrant background students the city of Nürnberg has created teacher assistant positions to support the teachers. This is part of the integration programme of the municipality (www.forum-interkultur.net/123.0html).

[15] We did not find research evidence for this. Farley's suggestion of "increasing the rigour of minority group education" quoted in 5.1 would, however, also support the position to make participation of weak student obligatory.

5.3 The school and its environment

Most schools are part of national or regional, publicly financed school systems. The hierarchical relation to the political and administrative units financing and controlling the school is thus a major and existential part of the school's environment: what schools can do is heavily dependent on the degree of autonomy that they are given by the political and administrative environment. Still, under the same conditions, through an interpretation of their role by the leadership, schools can do different things and could have different degrees of autonomy and performance. The single school matters, as we have stressed before.

A major aspect of the school's environment where the school has a relevant degree of autonomy is the relation with the parents of its students.

5.3.1 Relations to parents and communities of migrants

Most migrant families have come from societies with either totally missing or scarcely developed welfare state systems. Material and social support of the individual depend on family and kinship. A central locus of solidarity is the relation between generations. This has an enormous impact on what parents and children mean for one another, what they expect from one another and how they value each other. The immigration decision and experience further reinforces this relationship (Nauck 2004, 101/102). Since the central motivation for migration is to improve the life of the family – which was judged not to be possible at home – the parents are in principle highly interested in educational and social mobility of their children.

The involvement of parents in schools or other educational institutions is relevant for all parents and all schools. Involving migrant parents, however, is particularly important for two reasons: on the one hand, because of the close relationships between the generations in migrant families as just stated, and on the other, because the parents often lack knowledge about the education system and experience a social distance from schools in the immigration country. Thus, despite the interest of parents and high (and frequently unrealistic) aspirations (Stanat et al 2007, 45) for their children's career, often hardly any parental involvement can be observed. As Schofield (2006, 101) says, "in fact it is common for immigrant, minority and low-income parents to feel alienated, powerless, and culturally estranged from their children's school and to avoid involvement in them... In addition, immigrant parents may have quite different ideas regarding the proper role of schools and parents than do their children's teachers or feel diffident or embarrassed interacting with teachers, especially if they lack fluency in the language of the host country or have little education themselves."

Parents have to be mobilized. Incentives for immigrant parents to come to school and to organize the voicing of their needs have to be created. Schools should be proactive (Portes and Rumbaut 2006, 370). As to the effectiveness of parental involvement, Schofield mentions that there is some disagreement in the research field, but concludes in the end that "carefully structured programs can stimulate increased parental involvement among immigrant parents with low levels of education with positive academic outcomes for their children... Indeed research suggests that family involvement is positively related to achievement regardless of factors such as SES or ethnicity" (Schofield 2006, 102).

A successful measure of parental mobilization and involvement has been practised in New Zealand and in Switzerland. The creation of the role of **"community liaison coordinators"** (New Zealand) or of "Kulturvermittler" (Switzerland) among the parents of the same ethnicity as migrant students involves three major activities: communication with the parents in the parents' language, home visits to migrant families by liaison officers and involvement of migrant associations (Drexler 2007, 68, 84).

5.3.2 Desegregation policies and measures

5.3.2.1 Desegregation through bussing

Research has clearly shown that de facto segregation of schools on the basis of concentration of migrants in housing areas hinders educational achievement of migrant, minority and low-income students (section 2.3.2). Migrant students suffer from a concentration of peers in class and they profit from a mixed structure of students.

One almost classical and, at the same time, controversial policy against segregation in the United States since the 1960s has been **"bussing",** i.e. driving minority students in buses from disadvantaged urban areas and mostly poor quality schools to better schools in mostly "white" middle class suburban areas. Much of the theoretical argument behind bussing has been derived from the Coleman Report (Coleman et al 1966) which had found that characteristics of fellow students had a significant impact on school performance. For Farley (2005, 393), "the Coleman Report was frequently cited in court cases over school segregation as 'proof' that equal educational opportunities for minorities required that schools be integrated."

There have been successful and unsuccessful cases of desegregation through bussing. Successful cases of bussing have been dependent upon careful implementation procedures. Implementation issues include integration of classrooms, not just buildings. Another important issue is parental choice vs. mandatory participation. There is less opposition in the case of parental choice but this may lead to fewer children taking part. A central role is played by the local political and civil leadership: "In some cases, local officials and / or institutional leaders have strongly opposed desegregation plans, even after court orders, and in these cases, **considerable conflict and sometimes violence** have often ensued. Where leaders instead have focussed on the legal inevitability of the desegregation plan and the need to avoid violent or divisive conflict, plans have been implemented much more successfully" (US Commission on Civil Rights 1976, in Farley 2006, 58).

Other issues include whether the plans and implementation of desegregation through bussing include a whole metropolitan area, i.e. whether suburbs are involved or the bussing occurs only within the city. Another key issue is the age of the children. Desegregation appears to have positive benefits for student achievement when it occurs in the early grades. Furthermore, success is dependent on degree of preparation, intergroup education in the community, and preparation of the staff of schools to be integrated (Farley 2006, 58/59). Black students can also be quite isolated and rejected by their white schoolmates when they are bussed to primarily "white" schools.

Bussing is a controversial policy and is not approved by a majority of the US population. Even African – American communities and organizations which used to strongly support bussing are increasingly against it since in their view, bussing weakens communities in the inner cities.

5.3.2.2 Desegregation via housing policies

Since segregation in schools is a result of concentration of migrant or minority groups in housing, policies either to prevent or to combat segregation in housing are also policies against segregation in schools[16]. Cities' abilities to influence segregation on the housing market, however, largely depend on the structure of this market. The higher the percentage of the housing market that is either in municipal ownership or can be influenced via different kinds of subsidies, the greater the room to manoeuvre for anti-segregation policies and measures.

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[16] For a state of the art report on desegregation policies see Bosswick et al. (2007,55-63).

One possibility of anti-segregation policies are **quota systems**: an upper limit of the percentage of households of either immigrants or of a certain ethnic group – say 20 % of all households – is set for a certain area. Examples of European cities where straightforward anti-segregation policies through quotas are practised are Antwerp, Copenhagen, Dublin, Frankfurt, Stuttgart or Terrassa (CLIP 2007, 30). One of the problems that quota systems entail is that the question of how a "good" or acceptable level of ethnic mix can be numerically defined remains largely unanswered. The **spreading of social housing** around the city and the **financing only of smaller social housing units** are other possibilities to prevent and / or combat segregation. Smaller social housing units will reduce concentration of vulnerable groups, among them migrants, in a particular area and school.

Promoting **gentrification** may be called an indirect and controversial measure against segregation. Gentrification means firstly the improvement of the physical structure of degraded areas, mostly in the inner city or in old industrial areas. Secondly, as a consequence of the physical improvement, there is an increase in attractiveness and in the expected return on investment which causes rents to rise and some low income groups to be pushed out. Middle class people are brought back into the quarter and a better "social mix" is achieved in the targeted area. Gentrification policies, however, do not guarantee that families with children will continue to bear the risk of increased segregation in other areas, to which the former residents – for instance low income groups of migrants – move.

Gentrification can be distinguished from **"hard" and "soft" forms of urban renewal**. Urban renewal, generally defined as the physical rehabilitation of impoverished urban neighbourhoods by renovation and construction or reconstruction of housing and public infrastructure, is a much practised approach to improve the physical living conditions in a degraded quarter. One result is that middle class people who have lived in the quarter will not move away. Limiting the renewal process to the physical reconstruction may be called a "hard" form of urban renewal. "Soft" forms of urban renewal not only aim at renewing the buildings, but also the public and social infrastructure of a quarter. This includes investing in and improvement of preschool institutions and schools. In addition, different kinds of communication attempt to **change the image of the area**, since usually they are stigmatized, including the people who live there. The process tries not to push out the old population, but wants to attract new middle class groups via the increased attractiveness of a quarter and thus arrive at a better social mix (CLIP 2007, 28/29).

5.3.2.3 School desegregation via the creation of magnet schools

School segregation is usually a result of segregation in housing. When parents move out of a quarter, because they want a different school for their children, school segregation reinforces housing segregation. On the other side, an attractive school could loosen the existing relationship between housing and school segregation by attracting students from outside the quarter, or even help reduce housing segregation when families move to a certain area because of the attractiveness of the school. Such schools in disadvantaged areas that attract students from other parts of a city and thus arrive at a "good mix" of the student population are called **magnet schools**.

Magnet schools were originally initiated in the late 1970's in the United States as a means for ending "racial" segregation in the public school system. The concept of these schools intended placing magnet programmes offering special curricula such as math, science or performing art programmes in "racially" isolated neighbourhoods to encourage outside students to enrol. Thus magnet schools try to promote school desegregation by attracting students from a variety of middle class neighbourhoods in a metropolitan area, while at the same time strengthening the educational programme in vulnerable quarters. The concept of magnet school in principle is transferable and there is some experience with magnet schools in Europe as well.[17] A European discussion of magnet schools should also realise, however, that there is a developing critical reflection in the US on the processes that some of these schools have produced with vulnerable groups of students being pushed aside by middle class groups[18].

From the meso-level of discussion on the school as an organization we now turn to look at possibilities of influencing individual human development and educational progress.

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[17] For details see http://schulpreis.bosch-stiftung.de

[18] See Stambach and Becker (2006) and Lynch and Moran 2006.

Chapter 6.   Individual support of migrant children through compensatory policies

6.1   Early childhood programmes for the support of general development

"To address the problem caused by the fact that poor, minority, and immigrant children often start school well behind others in school relevant knowledge and skills, governments in many industrialized countries provide early education programs (EEPs) to help prepare such children for school and improve their achievement there. Often, EEPs emphasize age appropriate educational experiences, but they may also offer services designed to promote children's health and nutrition as well as their social and emotional development" (Schofield 2006, 99).

One can distinguish between home based and centre based programmes in early childhood socialization. Another distinction is between programmes that are made for the support of general development and others that are particularly designed for learning the language of the immigration country before entering school.

To illustrate such programmes we will first briefly describe two home visit programmes and measures that have been developed for the preschool period. They are designed for the support of **general development** and seem particularly useful for migrant children and their parents. The **Parents as Teachers (PAT)** programme addresses itself to the age group of 0 to 3 and the parents of these children. It is a **home visiting programme** to give parenting information and support to parents, includes health and developmental screenings for the children and group meetings, in which parent educators and parents meet to exchange knowledge and experiences in child development. The programme claims to be for families of different socio-economic levels, from rural and urban or suburban communities, but seems to be particularly effective for low-income and minority families. It was developed in the United States, where a national centre of the organisation PAT Inc. produces curricula, educates early childhood trainers and certifies parent education. A Nürnberg-based welfare organisation (AWO) is currently testing PAT for a European immigrant integration context.

Whereas PAT is a programme for the age group of 0 to 3 **Opstapje** can be given as an example for a programme aimed at the age group of 2 to 4 years. It was developed in the Netherlands to help prepare migrant children for elementary school. Through various activities it aims at strengthening the cognitive, social and physical competences of the child and supports the learning of the language of the immigration country. Opstapje is a home visiting programme which trains mothers to improve the mother child interaction and to initiate systematic learning processes. The trainer of the mother is from the same ethnic group as the visited family. A German version of the programme has been evaluated (Sann 2004).

We will briefly introduce **Avance** as an example of a **centre based programme** for early general development. The "Avance-Parent-Child Education Program" combines measures for the support of general child development with parent education. It was developed in Texas during the 1980s by a non-profit organisation for disadvantaged Hispanic immigrant families. Presently it is being widely used in the United States, particularly in Texas and California, where most Hispanics live. The programme is for the age group of 0-3 and is designed "… to provide a range of critical supports for the child's first and foremost teacher, his or her mother. While the parent is viewed as the primary agent in the provision of structure, organisation and stimulation in the child's immediate environment, attention is paid to personal and family factors that influence parenting….When mothers have high self-esteem, a sense of personal self-efficacy, and an economically stable home environment, and are knowledgeable about child rearing, then they are equipped to play a strong, positive role in their children's long term development" (Walker et al. 1995, 68).

The program is centre based and lectures are given to mothers either in Spanish or English, depending on the language competence of the mother. It is, however, not completely centre based. During some home visits the trainer observes the mother-child interaction and gives a feedback. The first and most important programme element lasts for 9 months. Mothers are offered courses afterwards for further general and job qualification, like learning English, preparing for a high school diploma and learning computer skills.

Before we move to programmes specifically for language learning, it is important to make a few remarks about the **political context**, in which these general programmes for the support of child development in poor families were designed and practised. The political background is the Civil Rights movement in the United States. One aspect of the movement was not to restrict oneself to fighting racism and ethnic prejudice, but to combat the poverty of many minorities in the United States as well. This goal was taken up by President Johnson (1963-1969) and developed as a

political programme called the "War On Poverty". An important part of this multi-faceted initiative was the so-called **"Head Start Programme"** for early childhood development. Head Start is not a certain method of socialization support, but a strategy and a programmatic frame for early childhood development in disadvantaged families and minorities, within which different kinds of projects and methodologies are pursued. The relevance of Head Start is that it has been continued from the 1970s up to the present, that the government has invested billions of dollars and that millions of children have taken part in it. The figures for 2006, for instance, were that 909.021 children aged 0-5 were taking part (US Department of Health and Human Services, www.acf.hhs.gov/). All of this means that a societal mobilization for early childhood development in disadvantaged families has taken place and is continuing.

6.2 Early childhood programmes for language learning in migrant families

In this short section we give two examples of programmes which do not focus on general development, but on second language learning, i.e. learning the national language of the immigration country by migrant children. Here again one can differentiate between programmes that take place at home and programmes that are organised in kindergartens or similar institutions.

Hippy or "Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters" was first developed in Israel as a measure of integration for immigrants to the country. It has been adapted and applied in several European countries. Hippy consists of a home visiting programme in which parents are motivated to learn themselves and to practise the language of the immigration country with their children each day for about 15 to 20 minutes. It is designed to prepare immigrant children from age 4 to 6 for school. Hippy has developed learning devices and materials that should be used for exercises and games. In addition parents are given information regarding the school system and how to prepare children for entering school.

Samenspel is a centre based programme that was developed in the Netherlands for migrant children and their mothers. Courses take place in the kindergarten rooms, but not within the regular kindergarten time activities. Children are supported to improve both the language of the immigration country and of the migrant family. Samenspel is directed towards mothers and children of around three years old who often live in isolation. They are invited to group meetings of mothers and their children of the same ethnicity with up to 16 persons. Two educators, one with a migration background from the same country as the participants, work with the group which meets weekly for three to four hours. Language learning is done in a

playful way in these meetings, both for children and mothers. The mothers receive learning and playing resources which they can use and practise with at home and are instructed in how they can exercise and play with their children (Kühn 2003).

6.3   Evaluation of outcomes of early education programmes

Systematic early education and socialization programmes for disadvantaged children have been practised in the United States for several decades. Very few scientifically valid evaluations seem to exist in Europe. That is why we will refer mostly to evaluations in the United States.

Several hundred educational early childhood programmes have been carried out since the late fifties. Some of these programmes have been scientifically evaluated for both short term and long term effects. A few programmes were followed for up to 30 years after the measures and activities ended. Plenty of the evaluated comprehensive educational programmes were carried out as part of the USA Head Start policy. The European discussion can learn from these evaluation studies something about the general conditions, under which such programmes will have effects. Some European evaluation studies are available as well.

The effects of the earlier programmes during the 1960s were usually related to IQ gains of an experimental group compared to an equivalent non-random control group. Later programmes added other criteria for the success of a programme such as grade retention, school achievement, social-emotional competences and referral to special education. As to more recent evaluations of programmes there are a number of reviews: Barnett (1995; 2002), Boocock (1995), Bowman et al. (2001), and Farran (2000). Some of the conclusions from these review studies are relevant for our topic.

The majority of the early education programmes focus on children and families in socially and economically disadvantaged positions. Among them are many minority and immigrant families, particularly from African American, American Indian and different Latino groups. Barnett (1995) reviewed 36 evaluation studies of both model demonstration programmes and large scale public programmes for children from low income and minority families. Results show that early childhood programmes can produce large scale short-term effects (one or two years after the end of the programme) on IQ and measurable long term effects on school achievement, grade retention, referral to special education and social adjustment. In contrast to large scale programmes, model demonstration programmes delivered better results on both short term and long term effects.

Among the model demonstration programmes are a number of so called combination model programmes, in which short term stimulating activities are followed by long term measures. Examples are the High Scope Perry Preschool Project, the Syracuse Family Development Project; the Milwaukee Project and the Chicago Child-Parent Centres Programme. Characteristic of these programmes is that an early, intensive, child focused and centre based phase is followed by a phase of stronger parent involvement, parent education and measures of parent support. Barnett (1995) and Farran (2000) compared the short term and long term results of these combination programmes with the effect of child- or family centred long term education programmes. The conclusions of both authors are that the effects of combination programmes on IQ and school achievement are stronger and longer maintained. Barnett (2002) argues that investments in combination projects clearly pay off.

The effect of early childhood programmes can also be enhanced when they are extended into early elementary grades. Effects can then be seen during childhood and early adolescence. According to Reynolds (2003) **high quality and effective programmes that extend into early schooling are characterised by the following items:**

- ▶ extended exposure
- ▶ timing and duration of the intervention
- ▶ alignment of educational support with the developmental characteristics of children
- ▶ teachers that are well qualified and relatively well compensated
- ▶ smaller class size
- ▶ parental involvement.

European researchers have also found that preschool programmes are positively related to improved cognitive and social development and reduced special education placement. For example, Spies, Büchel and Wagner (2003) found that attending kindergarten in Germany substantially increased the likelihood of migrant children attending higher level secondary schools. Schofield (2006, 100) notes that the PISA studies confirmed that the 15 year olds in many countries who had attended forms of preschool education scored substantially better than those who did not.

In his review of international literature on early childhood programme effectiveness - including the Head Start Programme in the United States - the Dutch researcher Leseman (2002, 44) comes to similar results as the American reviewers: "**Early starting, intense, long term, multi-systematic approaches** that include centre-based education and involvement of professionals ... were found to be

superior". He adds, however, that many of the targeted preschool education programmes currently provided did not meet these criteria.

One could thus conclude in sum that early childhood programmes are effective, and that they are most effective when they start during the first five years of life and continue into primary school. The programmes have to be long term, intensive and have to be implemented by people who are well qualified and motivated.

Early childhood programmes can also be economically efficient and at the same time promote equality of opportunity. "Given that early childhood education programmes can be both efficient and equitable there is obviously no efficiency-equity trade off for early investment. Quite the contrary, in particular when targeted at the disadvantaged there is a strong complementarity between efficiency and equity in well-designed early childhood educational intervention, whose effects seem to be able to persist through adulthood" (Wößmann and Schütz 2006,16).

Even the best programmes, however, cannot completely eliminate the educational disparities between children from different socio-economic backgrounds. In addition, there is an ethnic-cultural factor: not all immigrant and minority children benefit from them to the same degree (Schofield 2006, 100).

6.4 Support for school achievement from outside the school system

6.4.1 Mentoring: actors and methods

In chapter 5 we discussed programmes and measures to support immigrant children within the school system. Other measures focus on support for the school from outside the school. Programmes and measures are organized and carried out by municipalities, NGOs, welfare organisations, migrant organizations, voluntary associations and individual volunteers.

In some European countries this work is supported by regional or federal state service organizations. In the United Kingdom, for example, many municipalities have Ethnic Minority Achievement Services (EMAS), partly funded by the national Department for Education and Skills. Local EMAS consist of teams of experienced teachers who work in partnership with schools, parents and communities to address the educational needs of minority students and to raise their attainment. Among others they monitor the progress of ethnic minority students, help schools in setting targets for educational progress, work with families and give advice in linguistic and cultural matters. The RAA (Regionale Arbeitsstellen zur Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen aus Zuwandererfamilien) organizations in some German federal states

perform a similar function, but are not as much oriented toward schools. The RAA in North Rhine Westphalia has already been working for 25 years.

Programmes and activities usually operate after school and often comprise not only academic, but also cultural or sports activities. Programmes could take place in a variety of settings – in schools, community centres, buildings of non-governmental or of religious institutions, and in facilities of migrant organizations. The participants in such programmes include children and adolescents enrolled in public or private schools and in the age group of 6 to 17.

Individual and small group mentoring to improve school performance of disadvantaged children and youth - including migrants - is a very traditional form of social work that exists in many forms and consists among other things of help for homework assignments, completion of exercises and preparations for tests. It is undertaken by private individuals, welfare organisations, different kinds of NGOs, and by publicly employed social workers.

Regarding immigrant children, **ethnic mentoring** is an innovative form of mentoring which helps to improve school performance. It was developed in the Netherlands and has proven to be quite successful (Crul 2002). Mentors in this model are co-ethnics who have successfully completed an education in the education system of the immigration country. The comparatively high success rate of ethnic mentoring rests on the ability of co–ethnics to communicate knowledge about the school and education system of the immigration country to the families of the immigrants in the common language; further more, compared to native teachers or social workers, co-ethnics can understand the family situation and immigration related problems of a child or adolescent more easily. On the basis of common ethnicity a relationship of trust between student and mentor can more easily be established. The language of mentoring is usually that of the country of immigration, but when language problems hinder the comprehension of some learning content, a second attempt of explanation can be given in the common ethnic language[19].

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[19] The european forum for migration studies (efms) at the Universtity of Bamberg is currently evaluating a support project for migrant students by the Mercator Foundation, involving several thousand students (www.efms.de). About one third of the mentors have a migration background and they report this pattern of language change.

The longest working ethnic mentoring project is the Moroccan Coaching Project in The Hague. It aims particularly at youth in a risk situation. Youngsters of Moroccan descent in secondary schools are teamed up with a volunteer of Moroccan descent to support them. The project is financed by the city council and schools and has been evaluated by Crul and Kral (2004). The central idea and organisational structure has been copied many times in the Netherlands, the largest project "Goal" being presently in Amsterdam, in which 1440 young people have been coached in the last three years.

A relevant aspect of ethnic mentoring projects is also that they can easily receive support from immigrant organisations - like parents' organisations - and religious groups, like churches and mosques.

An interesting variation of the ethnic mentoring idea has been developed by the Mercator Foundation in Germany. The present project "Förderunterricht für Kinder und Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund" (Educational Support for Children and Youth with a Migration Background) does not only aim at the participating migrant participants, but also at the mentors. The mentors are **students in teacher training** and many of them have a migration background. They are supposed to gain experience in teaching migrant children and thus be better prepared for their future role as teachers who will have to work with a student population that increasingly has a migration background. The European Forum for Migration Studies (www.efms,de) is evaluating the project with a control group design.

As we mentioned at the beginning of this section, mentoring of disadvantaged children by "privately motivated" mentors is a long standing practice in many countries. What seems to be new and in a way innovative is the effort of municipalities and welfare organisations to **systematically organise** these private motivations – for instance of retired people who want to want to continue to contribute something useful to the community – into structured action. "Freiwillige Bildungspatenschaften" (**Voluntary coaching for education**) on a long term basis is an example from Germany. The municipality of Nürnberg is presently recruiting and organising volunteers for individual coaching of migrant children including general counselling support of homework and preparation of exams. Volunteers have to be qualified and be ready to contribute a stable and continuing time budget. The municipality instructs them about their role and coordinates the whole process (Integrationsprogramm der Stadt Nürnberg 2007[20]).

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[20] www.forum-interkultur.net/123.ohtml

Mobilisation and support for mentoring can also come from **immigrant associations**, particularly from those whose purpose is to support education. They are often called parents' associations and mostly organised on an ethnic basis.

Another possibility of supporting individual schools would be the **use of e-learning**. In its recent so called National Integration Plan the Federal Government of Germany has announced that it will install an internet platform named "LIFT" (Lernen, Integrieren, Fördern, Trainieren). It will offer learning material of all kinds, exercises and tests for self-learning or for use in individual coaching (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales 2007, 13**).**

6.4.2 Supplementary schooling in immigrant communities

While the discussion on migrant education is dominated by themes of underachievement and support for improvement there are some groups of migrants doing better than the majority students. One explanation is that immigration laws - like for instance those in Canada – foresee immigrants as being selected according to their level of qualification. The high achievement of the children of such parents then is just another manifestation of the relevance of parental socio-economic and cultural background for explaining student achievement.

Chinese young people in the United States are often represented among those immigrant groups with above average achievement in school. A main factor explaining the success of Chinese young people is the institutionalization of supplementary education by immigrant groups. They are an example of mobilizing resources within an immigrant community. These supplementary schools originate from Chinese language schools that were at the outset designed to teach Chinese culture and language in the immigration context. But they have dramatically changed as Min Zhou and Xi-Yuan (2003) explain:

"Today's language schools, both in and out of Chinatown, are distinctive compared to those prior to World War II. First and foremost, the primary goal is to assist immigrant families in their efforts to push their children to excel in American public schools, to get into prestigious colleges and universities, and to eventually attain well paying, high status professions that secure decent living in the US. This reflects in part the traditional pragmatism of Chinese immigrant families, only this time it is US centred. Parents are enthusiastic about sending their children to Chinese language schools, not because they think that Chinese is the only thing that is important. Rather many parents are implicitly dissatisfied with the American public schools and believe that Chinese language schools and other ethnic supplementary institutions are instrumental in ensuring that their children meet parental expectations" (Min Zhou and Xi-Yuan 2003, 60).

Rather than Chinese, these schools primarily practise **English, mathematics and learning about the American education system.** These language schools are "after school", and this can put additional pressure and stress on the children. They are organized either as non-profit or for profit organizations and are financed by students' tuition fees. These "schools" thus offer professional careers for educators from the immigrant communities as well.

6.4.4 Summer camps for language learning

Summer camps during vacation time are another form of support for school success and general socialization from outside the school. We briefly describe the Jacobs Summer Camp, which recently took place in Bremen, as an example. The summer camp has also been carefully evaluated by the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research[21].

The programme was organized by the Max Planck Institute in cooperation with the Senator for Education and Science of the city state of Bremen and funded by the Jacobs Foundation. In the summer of 2004, around 150 third grade students from immigrant and socially disadvantaged families spent three weeks of their vacation with activities designed to improve their language skills in the Summer Camp in the Bremen area. The programme was evaluated by the researchers Petra Stanat and Jürgen Baumert, using a randomized experimental design. The effectiveness of two approaches to language instruction was investigated. The first approach aimed at implicit language instruction by means of guided theatre activities, while the second approach explicitly supported language skills through systematic instruction in German as a second language. All of the participating children were engaged in theatre activities, but only one group was offered systematic German instruction. The evaluation showed that compared to a control group of children who were not selected for the Summer Camp, all participating children improved their language skills. A follow-up test established that students benefited most from a combination of theatre activities and systematic language instruction; those students who experienced systematic language instruction had larger improvements in reading and grammar than those who only participated in theatre activities.

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[21] **Max Planck Research (2005):** Research in Brief: Summer Learning In Germany. http://www.max-planck.de/english/illustrationsDocumentation/multimedia/mpResearch/2005/heft04/4_05MPR_05_0 6.pdf

6.4.5 Programmes for talented students

Support programmes that we discussed so far have been primarily for those students who have problems with education, who do not perform well. Other types of programmes, however, are for the talented among migrant students and aim at forming an immigrant "elite". As to experience with such programmes European institutions could look to the United States where numerous foundations are active in this field[22]

The programme "Start" by the Hertie Foundation can be cited as an example of a European initiative. It wants "to encourage talented and motivated pupils from a migration background … towards managerial prospects and hence to make exemplary integration into society possible" (Lehmeier 2006, 479). Conditions of acceptance are a migration status and a very low family income, good or very good grades, civic engagement and a successful interview with a jury. The Start programme includes a monthly scholarship, computer equipment, special seminars, internships in firms, banks and organizations, and social events that are meant to create useful contacts and to help learn the habitus of socially responsible and upward mobile people. After secondary education, the students are organized as alumni of the programme and create networks to mutually support their careers. The creation of cultural and social capital for a migrant elite are major goals of the programme.

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[22] The Posse Foundation, for instance, writes about its Career Program: "As the United States becomes an increasingly multicultural society, the individuals sitting at the bargaining tables of the next century (the text was written in the late nineties of the 20th century, FH) must be representative of this rich demographic mix...One of the primary goals of the Posse Foundation is to train these leaders of tomorrow" (www.possefoundation.org).

Chapter7. Anti-discrimination policies

Despite a number of ongoing and planned activities for the integration of migrants in many European countries we assume that denied support is still the main form of discrimination with which migrant children and young people are confronted.[23]. In this sense the different kinds of programmes and measures that we have discussed in the previous chapters are all elements of actual or possible anti-discrimination policies.

In this chapter we shall briefly introduce three new perspectives and ensuing policies towards unjustified unequal treatment: anti-discrimination laws, diversity policies and affirmative action.

7.1 Anti-discrimination laws

The European discourse on anti-discrimination has been influenced by developments in the United States. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the US was a major step in the development of anti-discrimination policies. It covers public accommodation, employment and education and forbids discrimination based on racism, ethnic and religious prejudice, nationalism and sexism[24]. The Civil Rights Act was followed by the Voting Rights Act (1965) and the Fair Housing Act (1968). The British Race Relation Acts starting in 1976 as an anti-discrimination policy were much influenced by the American concepts (Rex 2003, 84). Much later the European Union Council directives (2000/43EC and 2000/78EC) on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment between persons made anti-discrimination laws obligatory for all the member states.

The essence of anti-discrimination laws is that their **enforcement** is usually **complaint based.** Regarding inequality in education the laws were important in the United States in that they opened up many schools and universities which were previously closed to minorities. In Europe, where experience with the new anti-discrimination laws is still scarce, the anti-discrimination laws may be helpful on a micro level against forms of discrimination that in section 2.5 we have called individual, conformity based and opportunistic discrimination, but they will most probably not help to improve the situation of structural disadvantage in education, that is to combat denied support discrimination. Also, in evaluating a complaints

[23] Denied support is the difference between what could be done in terms of knowledge of support measures and financial and other resources available, to what is actually being done.

[24] The act formulates: discrimination "based on race, colour, sex, national origin, religion", but it is not these characteristics which cause discrimination, but certain attitudes towards these characteristics.

based enforcement procedure it is important to realize that many people do not complain, either because they think it would be too much work or trouble, or because they expect nothing from a complaint.

7.2   Diversity policies

The new perspective that diversity policies take is to look upon ethnic, racial, gender or age **diversity** in a population or an organization not as a burden, but as a **resource** that is not used to its full potential[25]. Following this thinking one can argue that the human resources of migrants and their descendants could contribute more to society when given an opportunity and a fair chance. Thus diversity policies are motivated both by a sense of fairness and by self-interest.

Diversity policies relate particularly to the meso level of society, to institutions and organizations. As an anti-discrimination policy they are directed **against institutional discrimination that** is against certain rules and habits in organizations that are to the disadvantage and go against the interests of "minority" groups. Diversity policies in organizations aim at changing the rules in organizations in such a way that more participation and responsibility of minorities is possible. Efforts to **empower** the groups have to run parallel to the opening up of new opportunities. At the same time the traditional members of the organization have to be educated for the new approach, inter-group relations have to be improved and prejudice has to be reduced and / or sanctioned.

Diversity policies are **highly relevant for education**. They can lead to new targets, standards and rules in educational institutions. In basic education, schools can define targets to graduate more members of minority groups. When following this new orientation schools that are more academically oriented would aim at a **higher enrolment and graduation of minority students** and combat the obstacles that have so far been hindering more participation and a higher success rate of these students. Part of this would be to raise both expectations and support for the minority students (c.f. section 5.1).

As to recruitment of teachers and other personnel schools that follow diversity policies would have to make an effort of **increasing the proportion of staff from minority groups**. An increase in minority group teachers raises the educational opportunities of minority students (c.f. section 5.1).

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[25] See Thomas and Ely (1996)

For both raising enrolment and graduation of students and increasing minority recruitment for teaching concrete goals will have to be formulated and monitoring has to be introduced to continuously measure the progress that has been made to reach the goals. For the authorities that control the schools diversity policies imply evaluating and sanctioning schools for complying or not complying with such standards, programmes and measures.

7.3   Affirmative action

The basic idea from which affirmative action starts is that some groups in society due to past suppression and discrimination are in such a miserable situation that by efforts of their own they cannot come into a position from which to participate on equal terms in the societal competition (Heckmann 1992, 233-236). An example would be African Americans who have been suppressed in slavery and segregation in the past. Even if there were no discrimination they would not be able to improve their status. Their status is inherited from generation to generation. Society thus has to make special efforts to take affirmative action to improve the situation of such groups.

Ever since the concept was introduced in the United States in the 1960s under President Johnson there has been a lively and very controversial debate in that country which recently seems to have spread into Europe. It is not easy to reconstruct the core of the debates, but following Farley (2007) one could distinguish two basic forms: **a softer form** of affirmative action, and a **stronger form** of affirmative action.

Though different in its legitimization the soft form of affirmative is quite similar to diversity management. The soft form of affirmative action argues in favour of special efforts to increase the proportion of people from underrepresented groups in organizations, like the proportion of employees in a business, or the proportion of students in an educational institution. Targets should be set and monitored.

The **stronger form** of affirmative action **considers minority status** when deciding on assignment to a position or admittance to an organization. The consequence is that competitors with better qualifications, but without the minority bonus might not be selected for a position or not be admitted to an organization. The strong form of affirmative action demands that targets and timetables be set and that the evaluation of the process is **result oriented** and sanctioned accordingly. Targets for educational institutions could be to admit a certain proportion of minority

students, to graduate certain numbers of minority students or to hire a certain number of minority teaching staff.

Strong forms of affirmative action are very controversial. The argument of **"reverse discrimination"** is at the centre of the criticism. Disregarding the principle of equal opportunity of individuals (individual rights) in favour of certain group privileges (group rights) is an additional critical argument, as is that of **disregarding the achievement principle** when one prefers less qualified people over better qualified ones. In the United States a majority of the population is against affirmative action. The controversy mobilizes ethnic and racist prejudice.

This mobilization is the result of conflict over the policy as such. Additionally, the very procedures of (strong) affirmative action are in danger of **reinforcing ethnic and racial divisions.** A policy that aims at combating ethnic and racist prejudice and discrimination and wants to overcome the divisions and social distance associated with it, reinforces the relevance of those characteristics to which prejudice and discrimination are tied. Ethnicity and "race" are reinforced as categories, because these categories form the basis for defining the groups that certain privileges are allotted to.

Another critical argument relates to the question of **legitimacy in the context of migration.** Migrants have no comparable history of oppression like Afro-Americans. For the large majority of migrants both in the United States and Europe migration has significantly improved their life compared to the time before the emigration. There has not been suppression over generations[26].

In the final chapter we now turn to issues of language in the integration and education process.

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[26] Another basic criticism was early brought fourth by Cohen (1983,358): "Some versions of this position explicitly replace the ideal of equal treatment or equal opportunity with the ideal of equal results – that is results proportionately equal in their impact on ethnic groups... The sociological supposition upon which this approach is grounded – that truly equal opportunities would inevitably yield approximately equal group results – is naïve and seriously mistaken. It is not the case that, when ethnic discrimination is eliminated, employment patterns, educational patterns and the distributive patterns of other important social characteristics will be random across ethnic groups, yielding approximately numerical proportionality in each sphere".

Chapter 8.   Language and integration.

8.1   Relevance of national language

Language is a medium of communication and plays a central role in the migrant integration process. Education as a core element of integration happens largely through the medium of language. Language is not only a precondition for participating successfully in core societal institutions of the receiving society, but also for developing private relations with members of the native population. In that sense it is a valuable resource for those who have acquired the national language of the immigration country and a handicap for those who do not know it or only to a small degree. At the same time language is a marker of ethnic belonging and ethnic difference.

Most important, language competence is related to different dimensions of inequality in society. "Inequalities in term of access to education, income, central institutions, societal recognition and social contact are significantly, although not exclusively, determined by linguistic competence in the relevant national language" (Esser 2006, I).

Migration usually leads to linguistic pluralism in societies. This pluralism necessitates a medium of general communication. In most societies this is one language which is defined and practised as lingua franca or as the national language[27]. **Competence in the lingua franca or national language is thus a precondition for integration and educational attainment.**

Language issues and language policies in multilingual populations are closely related to judgements about prospects and concepts of future developments of minority groups and their relations to the majority. Prospects and concepts are clearly different for **immigrant minorities** on the side, and **national or indigenous minorities** in a nation state on the other[28]. Immigrant minorities are also different from large ethnic groups who together form a multi-ethnic state, like in Switzerland.

Modern nation states with **national minorities** of a different ethnicity and multi-ethnic states are defined in such a way that multi-ethnicity and the preservation of ethnicities and ethnic languages are central elements of their constitution. Cultural autonomy is the concept used to describe the preservation of a separate ethnic

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[27] Often called second language in comparison to the language of the family of origin (first language)

[28] For an opposite view see Glenn and de Jong (1996).

identity with language as a central marker of ethnic difference and ethnic boundaries. The consequence for education and schools is that the **ethnic language is also the language of instruction in school**. A range of strategies, which are not discussed here, are mobilised to ensure that the minority or ethnic group acquire in addition the competence in the respective national language which is needed for state wide communication.

Cohorts of immigrant minorities in open societies, on the other hand, are in a process of acculturation and the **minority status in immigration societies is a status of transition** that loses significance in a process that can last several generations. When one has continuous immigration from particular emigration countries, however, the minority status as such will be reproduced in the receiving society, because the new immigrants are always at the beginning of an integration process. But for the cohorts that have been in the country for several generations the minority status disappears in an integration and (mutual) acculturation process. As a broad generalisation one can say that in the third generation, language shift has happened in such a way that the national language of the immigration country has become the family language (Alba 1999, 7/8). What follows is that issues and policies of language for immigrant minorities are thus clearly different form those of national or indigenous minorities.

8.2   Individual conditions of national language acquisition

Starting from the central role of the national language for educational attainment one may ask: what are the conditions for learning the language of the immigration country? We will refer particularly to those conditions that are relevant for children and youth and will discuss the interacting conditions at the individual level of the young migrant on the one hand, and context conditions on the other. We shall start with the individual conditions.

First of all, we can say that language acquisition depends on the **same conditions for general educational attainment** which we have discussed in section 2. Cultural, economic and social capital of the family is of prime importance not only for educational attainment, but for language learning as well, which is in fact part of educational attainment[29].

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[29] There is a huge literature to support this hypothesis; for a recent discussion see Portes and Rumbaut 2006, 235-238

Age is another important factor. Is there a critical age after which "perfect" language acquisition is more difficult than before, holding constant motivation, intelligence, access and other possible influences? Hartmut Esser (2006) has reviewed the relevant and complex literature on the **critical period hypothesis.** It seems that second language learning is possible at all ages, but that there is a gradual decline in learning ability after puberty. Second language acquisition is easier up to puberty, after which greater effort and motivation are required (Esser 2006, 59).

The implications for migration, integration and education can be stated as follows:

▶ Family reunification of children in migration processes should happen before puberty, disregarding other conditions that might influence the decision.

▶ Second language learning should happen as early as possible, preferably in preschool age.

▶ Special support is necessary for young immigrants who arrive during puberty and older, and for the second generation who were born in the immigration country but do not know the national language well enough to successfully participate in education.

The **question of interdependence of first and second language learning** is another important issue that has significant implications for learning and schooling. Very often one can read that it has been scientifically proven that second language learning is easier or even depends on a thorough knowledge of the first language. The work of Cummins (1979; 1981; 2003) has been very influential for supporting this assumption. The implication for children in preschool for instance would be, to emphasize learning Turkish, Arab, Russian, Greek or any other language of immigrants more than learning French, Dutch or German as examples of national languages of immigration countries.

"The interdependence hypothesis as formulated and represented by Cummins…basically states that the development in one language follows the development in the other. It is based on two partial assumptions that build on each other. Firstly, that there are certain thresholds constructed by the comparatively retarded language which must firstly be overcome if progress is to be achieved in the other language … ("threshold hypothesis"). Secondly, if there is a sufficient motivation and adequate access to the other language, the promotion of one language will lead to more rapid learning success in this other language" (Esser 2006, 60).

While there is little controversy over the value of bilingualism as such, the issue of interdependence of language learning is more controversial. It is often argued that an interdependence between first and second language has been established in research. The recent EUMC study "Migrants, Minorities and Education", for instance, states that "many research studies show that good proficiency in a native language is a solid basis for achieving competence for a second language" (EUMC 2004,78). Esser, however, after having looked carefully at relevant literature in linguistics, education and social sciences concludes: "No consistent evidence has as yet been provided in support of the interdependence hypothesis" (ibidem).

Thus, the controversy will probably continue. The implication, however, is that one cannot build policies emphasizing first language teaching over respective national languages on solid research evidence that is widely recognised in the scientific community. What speaks against the interdependence hypothesis is the simple historical observation that many millions of immigrant children have been immersed in the national languages of their new countries and quickly learn it without first achieving solid knowledge of the language of their mothers and fathers.

8.3   Context conditions of second language learning

A first basic condition for learning the language of the immigration country is that such second language **teaching is being offered**. The EUMC study (EUMC 2004) reports that second language programmes are available in all 15 Member States for which the study was done. The types of programmes differ from country to country. Second language programmes are for pupils whose first language is not the primary language of the country of residence. "Pupils eligible for this kind of support range from those newly arrived in a country who are just beginning to learn the country's main language, to pupils born in the country who are from a non-native speaking background. In general, second language instruction is offered in primary and secondary schools or at preschool level" (ibidem, 79). Reception education, another type of programme, is language instruction for newcomers who are non-native speakers. Reception classes are mostly separate classes. The duration of these classes is from six months to two years (ibidem, 86).

Like general educational attainment second language learning is easier when there is a well established preschool system. Desegregated schools and classes also strongly support national language learning. Negative influences on second language learning emerge from:

- ▶ the existence of a large ethnic community and ethnic concentration (Chiswick and Miller (1996);
- ▶ prejudice and xenophobia towards migrants by the native population (Portes and Rumbaut 2006, 235);
- ▶ linguistic and cultural distance between first and second language (Chiswick and Miller (2004);

As in the case of the interdependence hypothesis, the influence of **bilingual education for immigrant children on school attainment** and second language acquisition is quite controversial in the public political debate. Bilingual education means that two languages are used as the languages of instruction not only in the teaching of languages, but also of the other subjects. Within bilingual education there can be a shift from using the first language primarily for several grades and then shifting to primarily using the second language as the language of instruction.

It seems that empirical research cannot solve the political controversy around bilingual education. Krashen (1991) and Schnaiberg (1997) have looked at research on the educational effectiveness of bilingual education and find that the research evidence is rather inconclusive. Esser (2006), too, concludes that "there is clearly no such agreement about firm effects and advantages that the programmes could be justified by references to their effectiveness and that their critics could be convinced by unquestionable empirical findings" (ibidem, 76). It is also evident from Krashen (1991) and Schnaiberg (1997) that the variation in the methodologies used makes the studies hard to compare. Esser (2006) goes even further and severely criticises most of the studies for their poor methodological quality: "The main problem with all these evaluations and the probably most important cause of the complications and divergences in the assessment of the efficacy of bilingual programmes would appear to be the extremely poor methodological quality of the vast majority of studies …, no control groups, no pre-measurements, no randomization or other control of background variables"(ibidem, 76).

In addition, we have to remember here that our discussion is about **bilingual education for immigrants.** Due to the early recruitment of unskilled labour in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s and the consequent family migration, large segments of migrant families are from a rural background of countries in a transition to modernisation and have little formal education and little cultural capital relevant for integration. To make their immigration a success they have to succeed in learning the language of the immigration country. In order to arrive at some kind of bilingual literacy, the resources of these populations are rather few, as they are for general school success in cases when no additional support is given to them. This is in

contrast to children of international "elite families", of highly qualified migrants or of diplomats whose cultural capital often enables them to achieve full command of two (or more) languages. Concentrating effort and time on the language of the immigration country promises their reaching generational mobility and a better life. Progressing in the first language after a firm command of the national language can be reached by teaching and learning it in the general curriculum for learning other languages.

Chapter 9. Conclusions and recommendations

This final chapter summarises the main conclusions of this report and formulates a number of recommendations based on these conclusions. These conclusions and recommendations are aimed at informing education policy-makers and practitioners and at supporting their decision-making in the ongoing process of system reform.

1) Migrant students are disadvantaged in terms of enrolment in type of school, duration of attending school, indicators of achievement, dropout rates, and types of school diploma attained. The degree to which migrant student achievement is related to social origin depends much on national education system context. The educational attainment of migrant students is comparatively higher in countries with lower levels of economic inequality, high investments in child care and a well-developed system of preschool education. ***Recommendation 1:*** *Install an effective preschool system and child care system; it improves the educational opportunities, attainment and school careers of migrant students.*

2) The educational attainment of migrant students is better in comprehensive systems with late selection of students to different ability tracks and worse in systems of high selectivity. ***Recommendation 2:*** *Make educational systems more comprehensive and less selective in order to improve the opportunities, attainment and school careers of both migrant and native students.*

3) Integration into the culture of the immigration country is a major function of schools in immigration countries. Therefore, the relative absence or distorted presentation of migrants in the curriculum, in textbooks and on other school materials and in school life harms the self-image and self- esteem of minority group children and youth and negatively affects their chances of school success. ***Recommendation 3:*** *Integrate elements and symbols of the cultures of origin into school life, in the curriculum, textbooks, and in other school material. Do this in consultation with representatives of the new communities.*

4) The single school matters. Quality of school research supports the hypothesis that schools of good general quality are also good for migrant children and their educational opportunities. ***Recommendation 4:*** *Improve the general quality of the school via measures that include good management of the school, good cooperation among teaching staff, high expectations of teachers with readiness to give support, good quality of teaching, good discipline, good equipment of the school and strong parent involvement.*

5) Peers have a substantial influence on the achievement of migrant children. Concentration of migrant children in schools hinders their academic performance. Minority children exposed to classmates with better performance and higher educational aspirations tend to increase their own. *Recommendation 5: Desegregate schools and classes where there is concentration of minority students. Desegregation via housing policies and magnet schools is recommended and preferred over bussing.*

6) There is an over-representation of migrant children in schools for children with special needs. *Recommendation 6: Educational authorities should scrutinise the procedures for assigning migrant children to schools for children with special needs.*

7) Discrimination is a major factor affecting the achievement of migrant students. Research shows that denied support is the most significant form of discrimination in the education of migrant children. *Recommendation 7: Initial teacher education and in-service training should prepare teachers adequately for teaching migrant students. The element of support should be increased in the role of the teacher and positions of teacher assistants should be introduced for practising with students and helping underachievers. Homework centres should be created in schools for learning and support after classes.*

8) Strengthening the support function of schools with large numbers of migrant students will need specific and additional financial resources. *Recommendation 8: Schools with large proportions of migrant students should be allotted additional financial resources. This funding should be perceived as an investment rather than a cost.*

9) The teacher-student relationship is central in any school and system of education. Low teachers' expectations towards minority students generally have a negative influence on their performance. *Recommendation 9: Teachers should have high expectations for possible improvement of minority students. Raising expectations has to be combined with additional emotional and academic support. Increasing the rigour of minority education is another measure. At the same time third and fourth chances should be given to underachievers in tests and examinations.*

10) Teachers of a migrant and minority background have a positive influence on migrant achievement in schools. ***Recommendation 10:*** *Encourage young people of migration background into teaching careers. Schools should hire more teachers with a migration background.*

11) Parent involvement is positively associated with achievement of children in school. Immigrant parents generally do not seek contact with schools. ***Recommendation 11:*** *Schools have to act proactively toward immigrant parents. These have to be mobilized via community liaison coordinators of the same ethnicity as the parents.*

12) Mentoring in different forms and by different actors can substantially improve school attainment. ***Recommendation 12:*** *School authorities and school management should encourage and coordinate mentoring activities from outside the school by voluntary associations, welfare organisations, migrant associations and municipalities. Ethnic mentoring seems to be a particularly successful form of mentoring.*

13) Weak family resources and activities for the socialization of children in migrant and low income families can be somewhat compensated by different kinds of early childhood programmes. They support general development and learning the language of the immigration country. Many programmes have been scientifically evaluated and proven effective. ***Recommendation 13:*** *Migrant families and low income families should be encouraged and enabled to take part in early childhood education development and language learning programmes.*

14) Apart from compensatory policies and programmes diversity policies and "soft" forms of affirmative action can contribute to raising educational opportunities of migrant children. ***Recommendation 14:*** *Educational authorities and schools should regularly set goals for improving minority student education, like increasing rates of enrolment in academically demanding schools or school tracks, lower rates of early school leaving or improving discipline and grades. Goals should also be set regarding hiring greater numbers of teachers with a migration background. Monitoring must accompany such efforts.*

15) Language issues are a core part of educational policies and integration processes in immigration societies. They should be discussed differently for migrant minorities who are in an integration process, and national or autochthonous minorities who have the right for cultural autonomy. Immigrants, particularly their children, need a full command of the lingua franca of the immigration country for full integration. There is no compelling research evidence regarding the interdependence of learning first (family language) and second (lingua franca) languages and for the assumed effects of bilingual education. There is evidence for a critical period of learning the second language more easily before puberty. *Recommendation 15: Migrant children should come to a full command of the lingua franca of the immigration country as early as possible. Language training should be a central part of pre – school education. Priority should be given to the common language of the immigration country, since full command of the first language does not seem to be a necessary condition for learning the lingua franca of the immigration country. The lingua franca should be the language of instruction from the beginning of schooling. Since multilingualism is of high value the first language should be further developed in general language learning in school.*

16) Foundations and other civil society actors have begun to create programmes for very talented and engaged migrant students. This will contribute to upward social mobility of migrants, create role models and help to change the image of migrants as primarily a problem group. *Recommendation 16: In addition to recommendations 1- 15, educational authorities and civil society actors should be encouraged to increase the number of programmes for the education of highly talented young migrants.*

Final word on educational optimism and pessimism

In any system of education, educational attainment significantly depends on the cultural, material and social resources of the child's family and the socialization process "at home". In that sense the education process only reproduces the structure of social inequality in a society. The degree, however, to which educational attainment and opportunities for social mobility depend on family, social class and migration or ethnic status, is significantly different between societies. These differences mirror the possibilities that can be realized via the multitude of policies, programmes and measures that we have discussed in this report.

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