SIRIUS

European Policy Network on the Education of Migrant Children and Young People with a Migrant Background

Working Package 1 – Policy Implementation and Networking

Literature review

Draft

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This report provides a brief review of existing recent studies and research on the policies related to the education of children with migrant background.

The main purpose of the paper is to provide members of the Sirius network as well as all interested parties a concise overview of current state of knowledge on implementation of policies and measures affecting educational opportunities and success of migrant children. The report aims to highlight their significance for reaching the EU objectives on reducing the number of early school leavers and low achievers, on improving key competences and skills, and on addressing youth unemployment and social exclusion.

The review was written as part of the Sirius network's work on analysis of successes and challenges in policy implementation. It is part of the Working package (WP) 1. It is aimed as a reference tool complementing other WP1 activities, namely national focus group discussions and national round tables. Together with the comparative report Policy Implementation Analysis by national Educational Agents and other Stakeholders, the review will become a reference background material for national round tables that will be organised in autumn 2013.

The review draws from a number of recent studies and literature reviews undertaken and prepared by a number of national and collaborative partners (Migration policy group, Migration Policy Institute, CiCE, IMISCOE, Network of Education Policy Centres and Open Society Foundations) involved in the Sirius network. Among the most recent materials is the *MIPEX report* (Migration Integration Policy Index, 2012) by the MPG and the British Council. The Public Policy and Management Institute (PPMI), Sirius' national partner in Lithuania, produced an extensive literature review as part of the *Study on Educational Support for Newly Arrived Migrant Children*, that was commissioned by the European Commission DG Education and Culture in 2012. The Open Society Foundations (OSF) has funded several studies and initiatives on the education of migrant children, including *Making the Mark? An Overview of Current Challenges in the Education of Migrant, Minority and Marginalized Children in Europe* (2008).

The review includes findings from key recent materials and reports by the OECD, such as *Reviews of Migrant Education - Closing the Gap for Immigrant Students: Policies, Practice and Performance* (2010) and *Untapped Skills. Realising the Potential of Immigrant Students* (2012).

Since 2004, education has been increasingly recognised as a crucial factor for successful integration. This was also underlined in the Common Basic Principles on Integration, as well as in a number of studies and reports,including comprehensive reviews on educational achievement, challenges, and policies related to the education of migrants and ethnic minorities in Europe. EU institutions have begun investing considerable energy in the preparation of policy papers expressly targeting the education of migrant children. The Commission's green paper *Migration and Mobility: Challenges and Opportunities for EU Education Systems*, published in 2008, opened a broad debate focused on identifying those policies and practices that are more effective in improving learning achievements of migrant children. In 2009, the Parliament and the Council of the European Union responded with their own policy documents requesting that member states make appropriate efforts at national, regional, and local levels in order to ensure that migrant children are offered fair and equal chances and given the necessary support to help develop their full potential (European Parliament, 2009, the Council of the European Union, 2009). The Commission included the education of migrant children among the priority areas in the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training (ET 2020).

In the recent years, the policy debate has gradually moved towards learning on effective policy implementation experiences in national contexts. It is within this policy shift, the WP1 aims to influence policy implementation process by providing evidence based advice and recommendations and by strengthening the European cooperation on the education of migrant children.

Key findings

KEY FINDINGS

1. National approaches to migrant education

1.1. Structural factors

European countries differ in their national approached to the education of migrant children. Despite growing evidence showing how **features of education systems (structural factors)** help or hinder migrant students' success, education policies remain largely conditioned by different education system traditions, migration history, ethnic composition of the migrant body, and prevailing discourses attached to all those elements (e.g. when equity in education is superseded by other priorities). For instance, research has established that prolonged, comprehensive education works better for vulnerable groups, yet certain countries continue to practice ability tracking.

Large cross-country surveys (PISA, TIMMS, PIRLS) have clearly shown that **differences between 'minority' and 'majority' pupil populations vary greatly from country to country**. While immigrants underperform on average in some, in others they are on a more equal standing with the 'autochthons', while elsewhere they actually scored even better than the 'natives'.

Several research studies and projects (e.g. Eurydice, 2009, EDUMIGROM, 2011, MIPEX, 2012, NESSE, 2008, OSF 2009 a,b) have shed light on the education system arrangements in different countries. These projects provided evidence on specific structural factors that affect migrant students' success in education. These factors include features of the education system in question (such as ability tracking, age of selection, transitions between early, primary and secondary education, ethnic majority bias in textbooks and teaching practices); resources allocated; legal framework for enrolment (based on the legal status of migrants in the country, parental choice or residential catchment area); integration policies; and national discourses on migration and integration in general that may be or may be not conducive to the successful integration of migrants and their learning outcomes.

A large-scale study, 'The Integration of the European Second Generation' (TIES), looked at specific second-generation immigrant groups across eight European countries. TIES analysed the integration of students of Turkish, former Yugoslav and Moroccan descent in 15 cities in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. Researchers found that the same ethnic groups performed differently in different institutional settings: for instance, more Turkish students born in the Netherlands, despite having higher early school-leaving rates, enter tertiary education that those in Germany, hinting at the impact of Dutch and German national models of integration (Crul and Schneider, 2006). This confirmed earlier claims that the overall frameworks countries provided for adaptation did matter and the **differences in their education systems** were the most likely explanation.

While the literature in general warns against trying to create a perfect system through 'mixing and matching' from different national arrangements, it has become clear that institutional arrangements do have a significant impact on the outcomes of different minority groups and as such are an important area for policy.

The existence of **early ability tracking** is one of the major defining features of the education system in general. A core criticism of the tracking system is that is causes segregation by class, ability and ethnicity in the school system. It reinforces the impact of family background on educational attainment, having a detrimental effect on those from a more disadvantaged background. Early testing and grouping of students according to their academic abilities contributes to inequality of educational

opportunities for disadvantaged children (OECD, 2010). It is especially unfair to non-native students that access the host education system at a time when they are older than the starting age for compulsory schooling in the country (e.g. after some initial schooling in the country of origin).

Equally important is the age of selection. The earlier the tracking starts, the greater the inequalities between students of different tracks it produces (Crul, 2004, 2007). The non-academic orientation and lower quality of instruction in the lower tracks of education reduce future education and employment opportunities. Since students from a migrant background are usually overrepresented in those lower (vocational) tracks, early tracking may have a negative impact on their participation, performance and access to higher education. Meanwhile, postponed tracking helps to reduce the inequalities among schools and among students, and promote lifelong inclusion.

Five education systems - Austria, Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands – conduct **early ability tracking**, which often results in the unequal treatment of migrants (PPMI, 2012). For example, in Germany migrant children are three times more likely than their native peers to go to a lower secondary school (*Hauptschule*) due to ability tracking that happens at the age of 10. Several countries (e.g. Cyprus, Czech Republic, France, Greece, Ireland and Italy) practice **mid-tracking** (between the age of 13 and 16), while **late tracking** (at the age of 16) is a case in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the UK.

Literature suggests that raising the age of first selection, or reducing the number of tracks available, may increase the intergenerational mobility in education. It is however, important to point out that comparative work also suggests that the existence of a vocational stream within the German educational system has some advantages. France, which does not have a well-functioning vocational option, has greater numbers of students dropping out (Stanat and Christensen, 2006).

The TIES project also points to **the number of face-to-face contact hours** with teachers as a further cause of differential outcomes. He shows that because primary school children in Germany only attend on a half- day basis, Turkish children receive about 10 fewer contact hours per week than those in the Netherlands. He argues the additional homework set does not compensate because of the lack of support from first generation immigrant parents.

Recent research findings (PPMI, 2012) show that **free school choice** is more likely to produce unequal results, namely, school segregation by social class, race and ethnicity, disability and special needs. A comparison between school choice and students' educational paths in showed that school choice – opting out from attending the geographically prescribed state school in the catchment area system – was beneficial for students from economically and culturally privileged families. Meanwhile, students from working class backgrounds were further disadvantaged as school choice contributed to growing inequalities and achievement gaps.

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

1.2.   Strategy of the National Approach (targeting and mainstreaming)

Most EU Member States have implemented policy actions to raise the achievement, attendance and integration of migrant children in education. Approaches vary greatly country by country, and range from comprehensive race equality legislation to strategies for learning the majority language. Some strategies are fairly comprehensive, while others can be characterized as partial. As governments have

changed with different political agendas over the past 15–20 years, so have their educational and related integration policies, more often than not becoming more conservative.

In most countries, national strategies relating to the education of children from migrant and ethnic minority groups have focused on resources and have contained a core *redistributive* element, which involves targeting additional resources - in the form of finance and additional teaching staff - at those groups who are most at risk of underachieving. There are differences in the target groups and the way in which funding is allocated by central governments.

Countries identifying migrants as a separate target group often do so in their language support initiatives, such as additional language support classes, additional teachers to facilitate host language learning, qualification programs to teachers to teach host language as a second language. Specific groups of migrant students (such as newly arrived migrant students) could receive targeted arrangements in the form of reception classes aimed at introducing them to the education system of the country and their placement into schools. Funds could be available for initiatives to raise the achievement of specific migrant groups at risk of underachieving (e.g. in the UK).

Other governments' (e.g. the Dutch, French, Belgian) allocation systems have a wider target group and are based on 'weighting' systems that allocate resources to the local level on the basis of factors relating to both 'ethnic' and socio-economic background. For example, the French system for additional resource allocation is largely based on Priority Education Zones (ZEP), which allocate additional teaching and non-teaching staff (such as educational counsellors) and financial resources for the socially disadvantaged.

Recent literature shows that targeting of specific migrant groups (such as the newly arrived migrant children) does not necessarily result in better inclusion and more extensive support for them (PPMI, 2012). Countries that do not single out specific category of students with a migrant background can be nevertheless responsive to their special needs and eventually able to facilitate their successful integration. For instance, Denmark has developed an inclusive educational approach facilitating integration of all migrants, including first-generation migrant students. This approach is more beneficial in the long-term as it is aimed at making all of the education system more inclusive, instead of addressing gaps for individual groups with short-term compensatory measures.

As the OECD (2009) pointed out, it is not so much the national approaches to the education of migrants, as national approaches to education as such that have greatest impact on success of migrant children in education. National education systems that use ability grouping, and systems where school choice is closely linked to socio-economic status may have disproportionately negative impact on migrant students.

1.3. Challenges in policy implementation

The NAMS study (PPMI, 2012) has pointed out that the level of centralisation of the education system also has an impact on how the support for migrant students is organised and implemented.

In centralised education systems, special support measures are issued by the Ministry of Education and are usually managed by central bodies, that are responsible for catering to special needs of newly arrived children: through advising pupils' parents and organising registration at schools (Luxembourg) or through training of teachers who work in diverse classrooms (France). In centralised systems, central governments tend to be fully in charge of teacher recruitment as well as setting up the national curriculum.

Schools in decentralised education systems (e.g. Ireland, UK) tend to have more freedom to introduce support practices once they spot the demand, which may, however, eventually mean that the support

available differs considerably across the country. Public authorities then may try to moderate this variation by facilitating the exchange of good practice and preparing guidelines for schools. Schools are more likely to have freedom to recruit teachers they see as the most suitable for the job. In addition, the national curriculum is more flexible. In these cases, central governments just issue educational guidelines, which schools (or municipalities) should follow when developing curricula.

1.4. Other Insights into National Policies

Literature started to pay increased attention to the effectiveness of implemented policies. While all countries implement integration policies to a greater or lesser degree, it is notable that national education policies do not focus on mechanism of inclusion and exclusion, which so clearly undermine the potential educational achievements of migrant children (EDUMIGROM, 2011). Very rarely governments adopt and implement policies tackling issues of bias and low teacher expectations (OSI, 2008, PPMI, 2012).

The lack of systematic evaluations and research into the impact of national policies has resulted in poor understanding of their real impact. Some researchers have argued that "in many countries, many provisions have hardly been evaluated, or evaluations have been restricted to qualitative or descriptive research." (PPMI, 2012). Some of the evaluations that are available suggest, however, that there are some clear positive policy lessons: in particular, policies that shift from a focus on language support to a broader and more explicit focus on underachievement; new, clear, and transparent funding explicitly targeting pupils at risk of underachieving and minority ethnic groups with English as an additional language; and policies that recognize and enhance the role of local Governments.

1.5. Impact of the financial and economic crisis

The literature provides some evidence how financial and economic crisis considerably affected the situation of immigrants in different ways (PPMI, 2012). Immigrants are more likely to be unemployed than natives and have less employment security. They are more concentrated in low-skilled jobs and are more likely to be victims of discrimination in hiring and firing (OECD, 2009). This development is likely to aggravate the precarious position of immigrant children and their families, particularly those from lower socio-economic groups. Financial crisis also influence the nature and extent of migrant flows to the countries. For instance, during the last couple of years, because of the financial crisis in Greece, the numbers of Greek immigrants to Cyprus have increased significantly.

The crisis has negative consequences on reductions in public spending on education, including cuts for measures that benefit immigrant children (Education International, 2010). Ireland, for example, has faced stringent budget problems with cuts in nominal increases in education spending. Irish government had to reduced financing for the measure (*Language resource/support teachers*) implies introducing additional teaching posts (or teaching hours) in schools to provide extra tuition in English as an additional language (EAL). In Sweden, reduction in funding over the last years also negatively affected the number of teachers, amount of tuition and study instruction in mother tongue and the organisation of the transfer from preparatory group to regular classes. In Greece and Cyprus the financial crisis also influenced the number of teaching staff and as a result, the size of the class.

2. Quality of school systems

2.1. High quality early childhood education and care

The importance of early childhood education and care (ECEC) to the educational performance of all children, including immigrant children, is now an established tenet of the educational literature (OECD 2006, 2009, Bennett, 2008, Eurydice 2009, Council of the European Union, 2011). Attending preschool education has been shown to boost pupils' achievements in compulsory education. ECEC brings a wide range of benefits, including better child well-being, more equitable child outcomes and reduction of poverty; increased intergenerational social mobility; more female labour market participation; increased fertility rates; and better social and economic development for the society at large.

International research confirms that children from socio-economically disadvantaged families benefit the most from attending high quality pre-school education. Likewise those from foreign-language families get early and frequent contact with the host country's language of instruction, precisely at an age when they most receptive to language acquisition.

Research (Handbook on Integration, 2010) also shows that low-income families, among which immigrants may be overrepresented, are less likely to attend early-childhood care and education. These parents may have insufficient information on existing options, less confidence in their quality and a preference for the conveniences of informal home-care provided by family members. Immigrant parents using pre-school and nursery may find that there is an absence of dialogue, understanding and empathy between themselves and staff, because nursery staff lack intercultural experience and, more crucially, the skills to teach the host country's language-as-a-second-language. Furthermore, many pre-schools are unable to adequately assess the linguistic skills of immigrant children to ensure they receive appropriate language acquisition and support programmes (where these exist).

The OECD confirms that underrepresentation is common and partly due to cultural backgrounds (namely that women should be rearing children at home) and partly because of policy and the disincentives associated with benefits. Underrepresentation is true despite policy efforts made in many regions to encourage attendance. For example, in Flanders children of Turkish and Moroccan heritage are still underrepresented in early education despite the introduction of financial incentives encouraging families to take advantage of early education care. On the other hand, Denmark, Finland and Sweden have secured a high immigrant participation rate through their age-integrated approach that combines various education and childcare programmes in the same local centre for children ages one-through-six. In Denmark, some German *Länder* and Norway, pre-primary programmes are mandatory for children with limited proficiency in the language of instruction (Stanat and Christensen, 2006). In others, incentives for migrant parents to send their children to a preschool may need to be strengthened and language teaching to migrant (and non-migrant) children has to be understood and practised as a new task of preschool institutions and their educators (NESSE, 2008).

In addition to participation rates, the starting age of early education varies between countries. The TIES project shows how variation in starting ages has a strong effect on further educational trajectories. Children in France and Belgium are the youngest: almost 90% started kindergarten at the age of three, thus begin to learn host language in an educational environment in a developmental phase (at the age of two or three) where they are most open to learning a new language. In Germany, Switzerland or Austria, they enter education two years later, already fluent in Turkish, and thus learn German as a second language and with greater difficulty. Strikingly, German children were four times more likely to enter *Gymansium* (academic track school) when they went to *kindergarten* (early education) as compared to those who did not. In Switzerland, not one Turkish respondent in the survey made it to *Gymansium* without having attended *kindergarten*.

There is a growing understanding in the literature that expanding access to services without attention to quality will not deliver good outcomes for children or the longterm productivity benefits for society (OECD, 2012, Council of the Euroepan union, 2011). Furthermore, research has shown that if quality is low, it can have long-lasting detrimental effects on child development, instead of bringing positive effects.

There is a general agreement that quality matters particularly for children from disadvantaged backgrounds. High-quality pre-schools and nurseries will need to fit the needs of those linguistically diverse and socio-economically disadvantaged families and pre-school teachers need to be trained in second language education. Pre-schools need to improve their outreach strategies to inform immigrant parents about the benefits of ECEC and to learn about the families' specific needs and expectations.

2.2. Progressing through the school system and moving between education pathways

The structure of educational systems, and their tracking arrangements, impact on where migrant children attend school, largely relegating them to vocational and special education schools, and impacting on their future careers and lives.

According to the OECD, almost all of the countries with large performance gaps tend to have greater differentiation in their school systems: for example, four or more school types for 15-year-olds, such as lower, middle and advanced tracks. Many studies have found evidence that early division of students into tracks increases outcome gaps over time. Austria, Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands have school systems that track and divide children into streams of schooling as early as age 10 (or 12), which cements their future career paths. The comparative study by Crul (2007) on children of Turkish origin in Germany, France and the Netherlands seems to confirm that the German system continues to be particularly restrictive of second-generation minority children's transitions to more academic levels of schooling. In France and the Netherlands, between one-quarter and one-third of second- generation Turkish students follow a vocational track, whereas in Germany the figure is between two-thirds and three-quarters. 21% of second-generation Turks complete the higher track providing access to university in France, compared to 11% in Germany.

It has frequently been claimed that early school selection tends to be associated with greater social class inequalities, whereas educational systems that delay selection are more egalitarian (OECD, 2006). Some researchers have found that students in schools with generally poorer students do better in comprehensive systems (one-track) than in multi-tracked systems. In short, poorer students in schools with on average poorer classmates benefit most from comprehensive schools systems (MPG, 2012).

Evidence suggests that students from specific ethnic groups tend to be over-represented in less academic forms of schooling (Crul, 2007, OSI, 2008). For example, in the Netherlands, the case of Turkish and Moroccan pupils is particularly acute. In Germany, the position of Turkish and Italian pupils is most notable. In the UK, the limited evidence suggests that Black students are least likely to enter high education with academic qualifications (Bhattacharyya *et al*, 2003).

Another relevant factor is the number of schooling years spent in the country of residence (measured by age of immigration). Migrant children with a longer education in the country are assumed to perform better in school (MPG, 2012). Time alone cannot be expected to resolve all the challenges associated with being an immigrant in a country. Still, first-generation students who arrived in the country at a younger age outperform those who arrived when they were older. Education systems are better able to improve student performance when they have a longer opportunity to shape the learning

outcomes of immigrant students. The size of the gaps, however, varies considerably across countries and across groups.

Literature shows that there is a great deal of creative thinking about how to encourage movement between different schooling tracks and re-entering school system (OSI, At Home in Europe, 2010). There are a number of preventative measures designed to avoid placing children permanently on the wrong track and to avoid them dropping out of schools altogether. Strategies include giving children more time to select the pathway right for them, and providing opportunities to switch if an incorrect track is initially selected. Testing at a later school age, wrap-around support (help before and at the end of the school day), and an ability to switch academic-vocational tracks are all policy options. Creating "second chances" might include delaying the age of specialization (when students are moved into specialized tracks), or, more feasibly, placing students in intermediary classes for an additional one to two years on the respective academic/vocational tracks, allowing for the possibility of switching.

Some municipalities have taken this intermediate stage further; in Rotterdam, for instance, new types of school have been introduced to stem the high drop-out rate (OSI, At Home in Europe, 2010). They include neighbourhood schools (for basic education), vocational schools focused on practical (not theoretical) teaching, and schools aimed at giving students the chance to ultimately access the academic track.

The MPG handbook on Integration (2010) also highlighted various initiatives that have been launched in recent years to support migrant students' progress through the system. Since 2002, the START foundation, funded by the Hertie foundation and in cooperation with 100 state and private partners across Germany, has provided financial and extracurricular support to a group of gifted students with immigrant backgrounds with the aim of sustaining an emerging diverse elite. Of the 240 recipients who have already passed the *Abitur*, 40% received a grade of 1,9 or better and a third obtained a higher education scholarship with work-study benefits. Recipients report that they feel like more active members of civil society and want to take on greater social and civic responsibilities as adults.

The Danish Ministry of Integration´s campaign, "We need all youngsters," aims to encourage more young immigrants to begin and complete vocational training. The campaign among others consists of a task force that assists vocational schools in facilitating initiatives to lower the drop-out rate among immigrants and promotes best practice.

2.3.   Concentration in underperforming schools and school segregation

Several studies (OECD, 2010, MPG, 2012, PPMI, 2001) show that that students with an immigrant background tend to face the double challenge of coming from a disadvantaged background themselves and going to a school with a more socially disadvantaged profile - both of which are negatively related with student performance. They also show that immigrants are also generally more likely than native students to repeat a grade in either primary or lower secondary education, be enrolled in urban schools with high concentrations of students from immigrant and/or less advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds and go to vocational schools and non-academic educational tracks. However, there is no significant difference in native and immigrant students' access to schools in most OECD countries, at least in terms of the quality of their educational resources measured by student/teacher ratios, the extent of teacher shortages and the quality of the school physical infrastructure.

Across the EU Member States, a strong negative correlation emerges between the GDP spent on education and the total proportion of underachievers in schools as well as the share of the population with a tertiary degree (MPG, 2012). The share of underachievers is also significantly associated with the level of social segregation within the schooling system (using 2009 PISA data and the 2004 Hutchens index). The more schools that are socially segregated, the more underachievers there are in

a country. More early school leavers and fewer university graduates (among 24-65 year olds) are in countries that have more socially segregated school systems. Similar results emerge with another measure of school segregation—the PISA index of social, economic and cultural status of students (ESCS) within schools. There are more underachieving students in countries with greater socio-economic segregation between schools.

Possible school segregation is in part a product of housing segregation. Immigrants with a low socio-economic status might be priced (or, in cases of discrimination, kept) out of neighbours with quality schools, while native families might move out of neighbours with growing immigrant populations (so-called "white flight"). Some pupils have been able to gain access to quality schools outside their neighbourhood through "school choice" programmes. Many of these do not play in the favour of families with an immigrant background or a lower socio-economic status. Those who benefit are more likely to be native families opting out of schools with high concentrations of immigrants.

There is also evidence of schools cheating the system to reduce the intake of second-generation students. In Belgium, for example, despite the fact that the Decree on Equal Educational Opportunities (EEO) restricts the right of school administrators to refuse entry, schools continue to find ways around this law. School administrators in the city of Antwerp, for instance, have claimed that the curriculum is too demanding for certain children (often from minority, Muslim, or immigrant backgrounds) (OSI, At Home In Europe, 2010b). School administrators may also highlight cultural-religious concerns to dissuade parents of prospective students. This not only heightens anxieties but in some cases creates real obstacles for families. Individual schools may ban the wearing of the headscarf for instance, immediately causing a headache for prospective Muslim families whose offspring may wear the veil (the Flemish government delegates this decision to schools). Other more overt forms of gaming include asymmetrical information sharing. For instance, schools may publicise their school registration periods in any neighbourhood, but may choose to concentrate on non-Muslim or non-immigrant neighbourhoods.

The analysis of available evidence shows that very few countries have translated local initiatives and ad hoc projects in this area into national policies (MIPEX 2012). Only 12 of the 31 countries in MIPEX actually collected data on school segregation. In terms of policies, a few new methods are being tested across Europe and North America like diversity criteria and mixing policies in school choice/selection and the creation of magnet schools.

The broader issue of reducing educational segregation requires a comprehensive approach, which may run against an agenda of parental choice. In parallel to efforts to increase a mixed student intake, it is also essential to focus on raising the quality of education in schools that have high numbers of immigrant students. The OECD suggests that "school choice" programmes can use simple lottery mechanisms to minimise immigrants' "outsider's disadvantage." Schools with predominately native pupils can be offered financial incentives to attract migrants. Some benefits may come from developing strong curricular and extra-curricular partnerships between nearby schools with respectively high native or immigrant populations. An alternative strategy to break the link between immigrant clustering and poor educational performance is to focus on improving the school and teaching quality of schools with high proportions of immigrants.

Policy efforts to tackle the consequences of school segregation may also include twinning between schools and exchange practices. For example, the City of Leicester worked with a statutory training agency (the School Development Support Agency) to develop a "School Linking Network". This was a specific part of Leicester's city-wide community cohesion strategy, which encouraged links between schools with different ethnic or religious backgrounds in order to promote understanding through exploring differences and similarities (OSI, At Home In Europe, 2010c). Leicester city and the School Development Support Agency also work with the Leicester Complementary Schools Trust, which works to provide better connections between complementary schools (such as madrassas) and mainstream schools through sharing information on children's needs and partnership building.

A more ambitious approach would be to replicate the legal duty to promote cohesion that all UK schools must now follow. Schools (from 2007) are expected to encourage community cohesion in their schools in a variety of ways, from monitoring to teaching practice. This is a *legal* duty and in the UK, the accepted wisdom is that the challenge is now to implement the duty—moving from the intent of legislation to action on the ground.

Bakker *et al* (2011) illustrate that strategies against school segregation need to be contextual, take into account the perspectives of multiple actors and stakeholders. There is no on-fits-all solution. On the other hand, the examples discussed in the book clearly demonstrate that it is possible to overcome segregation and to create a more inclusive and supportive environment at school for all students, if strategies that fit the context are allowed, and when the community is engaged in changing the school.

2.4.   High quality of education in school

Project *Include-ED* (2008) suggests some successful practices collected from schools containing children from low socio-economic and minority backgrounds but also demonstrating good academic results in comparison to other schools located in similar contexts. In terms of academic support, schools studied testify about the benefits of **heterogeneous ability classrooms** instead of ability streaming and segregated remedial groups. Participation in such classrooms increases pupils' communication and cooperation skills and their motivation. To facilitate the learning of different ability groups at the same time, schools use **additional human resources**: assistant teachers, volunteers or pupils' family members. Alternatively, classes can be split into smaller, but still heterogeneous groups.

Inclusive schools use **cooperative learning**, whereby other students or teaching staff help both students who struggle and successful students learn by explaining to others. Teachers working with newly arrived migrant students (NAMS) also emphasise the use of suitable teaching. Meanwhile, other schools may require NAMS to stay in **preparation, induction** or **transition classes** to learn the host language first before transferring them to mainstream education. This puts their grade-level learning "on hold" and makes them lag behind their native peers. In fact, in most countries, measures for migrant students seem to be confined to such supplementary programmes in schools or in support of them (in addition to preschool programmes).

Schools studied by Includ-ED also practiced arrangements of **extended learning time** that allowed pupils to get help with homework and receive additional tuition and personalised guidance after classes. Report prepared by the EU Network of Experts in Social Sciences of Educaon and training (NESSE, 2008) also pointed out that 'all day' schools seemed to be better for migrant students, but it judged the research evidence as inconclusive.

2.5.   High quality teachers and school leaders, including migrant and foreign trained teachers

Research demonstrates that mainstream tools for improving teacher quality—lowering class size and hiring more quality teachers and assistants—are more effective for raising achievement among immigrant and disadvantaged pupils than for the average pupil body. The younger students are when they benefit from high-quality teaching, the greater will be its impact on their overall academic career (MPG, 2010).

Schools hiring more quality teachers and assistants can adopt initiatives to encourage applications from those with an immigrant or minority background. Some evidence points to a positive effect on immigrant pupil outcomes, since teachers tend to have more positive perceptions of, expectations for and interactions with immigrant pupils. Being a high-quality teacher for immigrant pupils is determined by a wide range of characters, meaning that background is important but should not be the first or only recruitment criteria. Increasing the share of teacher staff with an immigrant background is an effective if under-used means for enhancing the school's intercultural competence and bridge-building with local communities. However, literature suggests that hardly any countries have systems to diversify schools or the teaching staff (MIPEX, 2010).

Possible positive measures that schools can adopt are the facilitation of the recognition of foreign teaching diplomas through, for example, the provision of re-qualification courses and outreach campaigns in cooperation with educational authorities and teacher training institutes. The Teacher Training Agency (TTA) in England and Wales attracts new teachers from visible minority backgrounds through targeted advertising, mentoring programmes, grants for trainings and recruitment targets for teacher training institutes.

2.6. Teacher Expectations and Attitudes

Teachers' qualifications, attitudes, and expectations are one of the most important determinants of the quality of teaching. They have proven to be of considerable importance for student performance and aspirations. There is good evidence that lower teacher expectations reduce the aspirations for students from particular ethnic groups and this can have an indirect impact on their attainment. Some authors argue a cycle of low expectations, low aspirations, and low attainment has been created for certain groups. Conversely, students invested with positive expectations improve their TPacademic performance. OSI practice and research has also confirmed that quality education consists of high academic expectations for all children (Huttova, Mcdonald and Harper, 2008).
Teacher attitudes and expectations are not only important in how they affect students' aspirations, but they obviously can have a major influence on the student's school trajectory, their tracking to lower quality schools and the perpetuation of segregation over their life course. In school systems with secondary-school tracking such as in Austria, Germany, and the Netherlands, teacher recommendations are important for, and can even supersede, parental decisions on school type. Teachers can also make decisions about the ability level of the set, and the exam tier, that a pupil should be entered into.

Evidence (OSI, 2008) supports the idea that teachers have different expectations of pupils, which then influences their assessments of students. The literature suggests that teacher discrimination is likely to have its most direct impact on attainment thorough pupils' allocation to different groups (or 'sets'), streams or school types ('tracking').

Strand (2007) cites research evidence that shows pupil behaviour, or, more accurately teachers' *perceptions* of pupil behaviour, can have a significantly distorting influence on their judgement of academic ability. Thomas *et al* (1998) also analysed the impact of a range of pupil characteristics, including whether they speak English as an additional language or have special educational needs, on teacher assessment at age seven. They found that teacher assessment significantly *underestimated* the attainment of pupils in these groups relative to test scores.

Another study (Sprietsma, 2009) explored if teacher expectations in Germany were biased by the names of their pupils. The authors systematically changed the names of essays written by fourth year primary school students, and found that a small group of teachers graded the essays submitted by allegedly Turkish students significantly lower, and also issued fewer recommendations for a *Gymnasium* if a student had a Turkish name.

In a different form of teacher expectations, Theodorou (2011) claims that integration of migrant children in Cyprus is hampered by 'difference blindness.' Here, colourblindness, where all students are treated as one homogeneous group, means that real issues faced by migrant children that may not be faced by the group as a whole are ignored, denying the ethnic and class issues that statistically affect migrant children at a higher rate. Therefore, teacher perception should also not ignore the differences within its student populace.

Whereas low teacher expectations can lead to students taking courses and sitting exams below their ability, high expectations can have a positive effect on student motivation and aspirations. Good practice guides suggest that high expectations and programmes of support are key characteristics of schools where pupils from minority ethnic groups achieve highly (DfES 2002).

Low aspirations may not be confined to classroom teachers. Non-teaching staff—especially those with responsibilities for career development—may also harbour low ambitions for certain children. This is likely to be particularly debilitating for children's prospects when these individuals play a critical role in important transitions and decisions. For example, overrepresentation of minorities in vocational school tracks in Belgium may partly be a consequence of low ambitions for minorities prevalent in official "Pupil Guidance Centres", which provide education advice to parents at the end of primary school ()OSI, AT Home In Europe, 2010c. Low ambitions held by teachers for pupils may derive from cultural or other forms of prejudice. Several of the At Home city case studies highlighted instances of discrimination, and Muslims were nearly five times as likely to report discrimination in their local school. The studies threw up countless examples of culturally insensitive behaviours or overt discrimination, particularly in respect to day-to-day encounters with Muslim children. This included deliberately handing out lower grades, disciplining pupils for lack of language ability or for using their native language in school, and ridiculing students' customs.

3. Diversity in schools

3.1. Intercultural education

The literature identifies two areas that are key to translating national policy rhetoric into practice – teacher training, and the curriculum and textbooks (e.g. Luciak 2006).
There is specific evidence that in both these areas, implementation has been poor. MIPEX (2012) found that on average, most governments say schools 'should' integrate it across the curriculum so that students learn about it a little bit in several classroom settings. Some central guidance and budget line can be used for ad hoc projects or voluntary teacher trainings. But most schools retain too much discretion on intercultural education because few are inspected or evaluated about implementation. Hardly any can guarantee that teachers and school leaders are as diverse as the students they serve.

Literature seems to agree (MIPEX, 2012, NAMS, 2012, OSI, 2008) suggests that despite clear policy intentions, central governments have been unable or unwilling to drive implementation at regional or local level. MIPEX (2012) identified some positive developments. Countries like Belgium, The Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and the UK are changing and monitoring school curriculum so that students learn to appreciate cultural diversity throughout their day and also in specific subjects. Schools should address the needs of students with different religious and cultural backgrounds in The Netherlands, Norway, and the UK. Diversity campaigns and projects are happening across Western Europe and in Estonia. Despite this, the study also uncovered a fair share of 'worst practices' where the majority of Europe's students do not learn how to work together with people of diverse backgrounds.

Examples of good practice (Include-ED, 2008) highlight that intercultural education cannot be presented as something that only concerns the "minorities" – that would mean falling back on the progressive approach. Research (Gifford, 2008) also favours universal model, where all students are encouraged to develop intercultural competences.

Teachers in the schools studied by Includ-ED (2008) included multicultural perspectives in their courses, in an attempt to acknowledge all cultures present in the classroom. Schools also aimed to hire teaching and administrative staff so as to reflect the cultural diversity of the school. Employing a greater number of teachers who have a migrant background helps to decrease the cultural distance between migrants and the school and connecting the school to the migrant children's families and the wider community. Migrant students wish to have role models they can identify with among teachers or former students. Studies show that migrant pupils and parents appreciate schools' knowledge of their culture and religion - it helps them to feel involved in the life of the school (OSI, 2008, OSI, At Home in Europe, 2010). Such awareness can be demonstrated by modifications of the curriculum, sensitivity to religious dietary requirements or dress codes, flexible arrangements to accommodate important religious holidays etc.

Teacher training programmes are largely failing to prepare teachers to implement intercultural education. Although it has become part of the teacher training curriculum, it was given low priority and was offered without commitment and in too abstract a way. The literature suggests that central governments are unwilling to intervene in teacher training provision to ensure the inclusion of key issues of inequality and exclusion (OSI, 2008). MIPEX (2012) found that only a few countries are mandating intercultural education trainings.

The OECD (2010b) also highlights the need for increased diversity in teachers, and the need for diversity training for these teachers. The report reflects on the various ideas of diversity, the continuing disparities between first- and second-generation migrants and the changing role of teachers in improving the chances of migrant children. More specifically, it looks at the recruitment of

appropriate teachers and continued training of teachers in education.

In addition to comfort with teachers, students must feel comfortable with their own identity and environment within the school system. In terms of environment, migrant children must interact with other children from a variety of backgrounds, and place this experience within their own identity and context. Various studies have looked at friendship and 'playground' identity for children of ethnic backgrounds (EDUMIGROM, 2011). They found that while native students tended to develop interethnic friendships in cases where a high proportion of students were of varying ethnicities, migrant children were more likely to develop friendships along socio-economic bounds. Research suggests that mixing schools has a positive effect on encouraging multi-ethnic friendships among native students.

Literature also reveals that (OSI, 2008, MIPEX, 2012) little progress has been made in reversing the mono-cultural thrust of the curriculum. Some positive developments include introduction of Diversity and Multiculturalism as a mandatory and examinable subject in British schools for children ages 11 and 19. The new subject requires knowledge of "the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding" (OSI, 2008).

To sum up, many improvements to running of schools and the teaching process itself have been suggested in intercultural education: teacher recruitment from people with a migrant background, teacher training in diversity, curriculum redevelopment, review of teaching materials, school policies sensitive to religious holidays and dress etc, engagement with organisations representing the migrants etc. The challenge, however, is to keep a **holistic, integrated approach** as intercultural education practices must be consistent with each other. The OSI study (2008) quotes James Lynch "that what happens in the classroom is influenced by what happens outside", suggesting that teachers and other school staff cannot be "intercultural" in their teaching, but "mono-cultural" in their other dealings with pupils and their families. Moreover, schools in most cases are not entirely free to change the curriculum or recruit teachers, so the implementation of an intercultural approach needs to start at the policy level.

3.2. Discrimination in school

Literature often mentions institutional discrimination (OSI, 2008, FRA, MPG 2012) as a considerable disadvantage to the education of immigrants, especially when other factors are insufficient to explain persistent gaps. This discrimination may occur in terms of grade repetition rates, tracking decisions, and referral to special education programmes. In addition, textbooks and teaching materials may not reflect the diversity of students' cultural and language backgrounds. However, measuring discrimination is difficult and limited to case studies, which are difficult to compare across countries. FRA (EU MIDIDS Surveys) documented that unequal treatment in schools was fairly often confirmed in Italy by those who were in contact with educational institutions: 21% of North Africans (topping the list), 12% of Romanians and 10% of Albanians indicated that they felt they were treated unfairly in schools because of their ethnic or immigrant background. 10% of North Africans in Belgium had the same opinion, and those with a Turkish background in Germany (11%) and Denmark (10%) were also among specific groups that were the most discriminated against in schools.

MPG (2012b) reported that in the majority of states, issues arise in relation to discrimination in the education of children from racial and ethnic minorities. One common issue that arises is the lack of data in many states on the socio-economic situation of people vulnerable to racial discrimination. This makes it difficult to identify the extent of disadvantage and whether any progress is being made in reducing inequalities.

France, Slovakia and the United Kingdom have legislation expressly prohibiting segregation in schools between persons of different racial or ethnic groups but concerns have been expressed by various stakeholders about *de facto* segregation arising from residence patterns. There are only a few instances where segregated classes have been challenged under national legal systems, for instance in Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Hungary and Slovakia. In Finland there has been one case where *de facto* segregation of immigrant children at school was successfully challenged.

Residence patterns also lead to a high concentration of children of particular ethnic minorities (e.g. France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom) in certain schools, resulting in so-called 'ghetto schools'. Some states are considering making attempts to try to remedy this form of *de facto* segregation. In the Netherlands, equal treatment legislation has been used to respond to the desire of many school boards or local governments to institute plans to ensure a spread of children from different cultural backgrounds across all schools through the use of housing and education policies to prevent the emergence of 'black' or 'ghetto' schools.

Immigrant students do not generally report lower levels of positive learning characteristics. The OECD (2006) showed that immigrant often reported more positive learning characteristics than their native peers. The TIES project investigated whether secondary schools treated second-generation outsiders and found that low aspiration did not translate into direct feelings of insecurity among Turkish youth, *except* in Germany and Austria.

In general, second generation Turks felt positive about school: two-thirds to three-quarters answered that they felt just as welcome as any other group and recognised and appreciated the efforts of teachers. The same trend appears when it comes to perceptions of hostility or unfair treatment in school because of ethnic background. About half to three-quarters of all respondents stated that they 'never' or 'seldom' experienced hostility or unfair treatment in school. Secondary school for the majority of the second generation is thus perceived as a safe place to be with the important exceptions of Germany and Austria. More than a quarter in Austria and almost 40 percent in Germany felt 'less' or even 'much less welcome': one in seven second generation Turks in Germany reports 'regular' or even 'frequent' unfair treatment or hostility in schools.

4. Targeted measures

4.1. Language support

Whereas intercultural education has been a low priority at national policy level, language support is a prominent component in all four countries, although there are significant inter- country differences.

Host language proficiency is a crucial factor for immigrant students to participate and perform well in school. Those who do not master the language of instruction face significant academic challenges. Countries with well-established and clearly-defined language support programmes have relatively smaller performance gaps between immigrant and native pupils, or between first- and second-generation immigrant pupils (OECD, 2006).

Literature shows that it is neither necessary, nor advantageous for immigrant children to be kept from the mainstream classroom until they master the language of instruction. Language and cognitive development go hand-in-hand, meaning that immigrant pupils will better learn the language in meaningful, practical and interactive settings (Christensen and Stanat, 2006). The PISA survey shows that the most common general model of language support is "immersion with systematic language support". This means pupils are taught in the main language of instruction, in the mainstream classroom, but they receive specified periods of instruction aimed at increasing proficiency in the language of instruction over a period of time (*ibid*). The level of language support for pupils depends on the available resources to the school.

Literature (MPG, 2010, NAMS, 2012) indentified the following elements of effective language support:
- Adequate initial assessment of language skills;
- Language induction programme;
- Continuous language support;
- Systematically high standards and requirements for second-language learning;
- Close cooperation between mainstream and language teachers;
- Centrally-developed classroom materials;
- Arrangements that lead to more—and not fewer—hours of face-to-face instruction for participating newcomers;
- Actions to counter any stigmatising effect for participants.
- Training of teachers to teach the host language as a second language;
- Valuing of different mother tongues.

Effective language support can found in Sweden, where immigrant pupils take a course in Swedish-as-second-language (SSL) until they can speak and write about complex ideas. SSL teachers must be certified in second-language teaching and follow an explicit curriculum. These courses involve the same course-load and proficiency requirements as mainstream Swedish courses and lead to the same qualification for postsecondary education (MPG, 2010).

4.2. Bilingualism and bilingual education

There is considerable controversy in the research and discourse on the value of helping migrant and minority children develop their bilingualism. Christensen and Stanat (2007) review some of the evidence on the value of bilingual teaching. Their focus is largely the extent to which support in the mother tongue can promote proficiency in the language of instruction. They argue that the "widely held assumption" that 'first-language' proficiency is a prerequisite for second-language acquisition is not supported by empirical evidence. Overall, they find that it is unclear from the data whether

bilingual approaches are more effective than monolingual approaches in helping children attain proficiency in the language of instruction. Christensen and Stanat (2007) conclude that neither monolingual nor bilingual approaches to language support need be fundamental tenets of policy. Nevertheless, countries may choose to foster bilingualism as a way of strengthening human and social capital within a country.

Other sources emphasize, however, the importance of mother tongue or bilingual language support in developing children's self-esteem. In this regard such initiatives form a central component of intercultural education with its aim to ensure that children feel that their cultural, thought, and interaction patterns, are valued to the same extent as those of the 'majority' (e.g. Grieshop 2004; Save the Children 2007; The Scottish Executive 2005).

In one of his most recent articles examining the current state of research, Jim Cummins (2008) summarises the case for using students' L1 (mother tongue) as a medium of instruction for part of the school day. In order to understand the potential roles of L1 promotion for immigrant students, the general patterns of immigrant student achievement are also reviewed. According to Cummins, the interdependence principle (literacy skills in L1 influencing the acquisition of literacy skills in L2) still remains an important argument in favour of bilingual education, however, underachievement among minority students derives from many sources and a focus only on medium of instruction (bilingual or monolingual) does not address the root causes of students' educational problems. Cummins argues that patterns of societal power relations, and their operation within the educational system (e.g. the effect of low expectations and stereotype threat), must be taken into account as an important explanatory variable.

4.3.   Mother tongue

Literature (MPG, 2010) shows that knowledge of home languages and cultures contributes to the human capital of a country of immigration, which its policymakers can maximise as a function of their goals for world-class education and labour market competitiveness. Multilingualism has become a priority for those developed countries that see themselves operating as knowledge-based, innovative and globally interconnected societies. When pupils enter the labour market with second-tongue and mother-tongue fluency, they bring measurable economic and socio-cultural benefits for the country of destination, especially when it is built on their personal and professional networks with their countries of origin.

Mother tongue tuition can be the cornerstone of a school's intercultural education and foreign-language curriculum. It may be too resource-intensive for every school to deliver high-quality bilingual education options for the various language groups in its student body. However there are a variety of cost-effective curricular options that are available for all interested pupils, with or without immigrant backgrounds. A diverse curricular offer can be integrated into the foreign-language offerings in primary and secondary school, including advanced subject courses. Another option is to bring bilingual classroom assistants into the regular classroom for occasional lessons. Such a concrete application of a school's intercultural education approaches allows for a sharing of human capital and opportunities for social bridge-building.

The project Language-Rich Europe, implemented by European Union Network of Institutes of Culture, surveyed multi/plurilingual policies and practices in 24 countries, including policies regarding the teaching of languages at school. Unfortunately, the survey does not include Sweden, the country with very progressive policies as far as support for immigrant languages at school is concerned. The findings that are most relevant for the education of migrants include the data on:

- Immigrant languages in pre-primary education: Denmark, Spain and Switzerland offer support to very young children for the maintenance and development of their mother tongue and cultures of origin;

- Immigrant languages in primary education: While a number of countries offer support for immigrants' mother tongue in primary education, the manner of provision differs considerably. In France and Switzerland, immigrant language classes where they exist are open to all pupils, while in Austria, Denmark and Spain they are reserved for native speakers of immigrant languages. France, Spain and Switzerland offer lessons partly in school hours, whereas in the other countries they are offered as extra-curricular activities. Further findings show that achievement in immigrant languages is not linked to any national, regional or school-based curriculum, which indirectly marks literacy in immigrant mother tongue as low priority for policy makers. Funding policies are also uneven. Lessons in immigrant languages are fully funded by the state in Austria and Denmark, whereas in France, Spain and Switzerland they are mainly supported by the country of origin.
- While immigrant languages in secondary education are in principle available in a number of countries, often their provision is sporadic and not funded by the state. The data provided by the project on this subject is incomplete and probably needs revision.

The NAMS study (PPMI, 2012) suggested that one of the possible curriculum modifications is introduction of mother tongue teaching (community language teaching or CLT). It helps to offset the trend of monolingual host country schooling towards assimilation and acknowledges the skills that NAMS have upon arrival to the host country. However, CLT enjoys less support than the adjustment to teach the host country language as a second language. Access to culturally-sensitive counsellors or bilingual cultural mediators can be useful to make NAMS feel comfortable at school and show them that they are not the only ones who may be struggling with the change. However, some steps can be taken without substantial resources available to provide professional services. For example, self-help groups where NAMS can share their experiences with other NAMS help to increase their motivation to learn. They can take a form of a buddy scheme, that pair up NAMS with students more familiar with the school who can facilitate their socialisation.

4.4. Academic support

Beyond language support, it is important to highlight several other pedagogical and organisational strategies as particularly relevant to improving teaching and learning in socially, culturally and linguistically diverse schools.

According to the NAMS study (PPMI, 2012), optimal mix of academic support programmes which would ideally complement linguistic support part constitutes:
- Comprehensive reception mechanisms
- Monitoring and evaluation of students' progress
- Prevention programmes
- Re-integration programmes.

It is worth mentioning the universality of most of the academic support measures. Once the school develops such an academic support systems it guarantees a supporting learning environment and facilities for all its students, including newly arrived migrant students.

Assistance in education process offered to immigrant students varies considerably accross Europe. In Greeece students receive academic support through **remedial teaching** as a means of the reintegration of pupils in the learning process, improving their performance and enhancing access and participation in the educational system. In Cyprus,'Learning difficulties programme (Gymnasium)' **targets underachivening students.** In the UK, the 'Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant' (EMAG) allocates funds for additional needs-based support funds based on the school's number of pupils from nationally underachieving ethnic minority groups and of second-language learners. A recent

evaluation demonstrated a shift in focus from language support to underachievement by setting clear targets for narrowing achievement gaps and by bringing in local authorities to provide supportive strategies (MIPEX).

Another approach to provide academic support is **summer school** where students
have the possibility to continue to develop their language and supplement their knowledge, and to improve their grades. In Sweden, this possibility is open for all students in school year 8 and 9. During three weeks the school offers tuition
in English, Mathematics and Swedish /Swedish as a second language (PPMI, 2012).

MIPEX report (2012) showed that schools retain wide discretion on whether or not to address the specific needs of migrant pupils, their teachers, and parents and monitor the results. Without clear requirements or entitlements, pupils do not get the support they need all throughout their school career and across the country, especially in communities with many immigrants or few resources.

4.5. Involving parents and communities

Most research identifies the socio-economic status of the parent as the major determinant of educational performance of students. Other variables are not to be discounted however and parental involvement in education is considered critical in most studies.

Early education researchers working with immigrant families have noted other disadvantages that may stem from cultural differences. This includes a lack of cognitive stimulation and inadequate language development (particularly due to informal schooling and low home literacy) and different cultural beliefs determining parenting style. For instance, immigrant children may come from homes where a "collectivist" culture (a focus on group or family goals) as opposed to "individualistic" tradition (emphasising personal achievement) dominate, which appear to have negative impacts on school performance (Bialystok, 2001).

However, the evidence from the TIES project confirmed that if we look at the effect of support on school outcomes, it is basically the same in all countries: respondents performing well in school also stated that their parents were more supportive. On the other hand, the TIES project suggests that between half and three quarters never or rarely helped their children with homework. This is something that most first generation parents simply could not provide although older siblings often play a pivotal role.

At Home in Europe (2010) project comprehensively discounted claims that Muslim parents prefer their children educated separately. Muslim and minority parents across Europe report "high" levels of satisfaction with mainstream education, even higher than those reported by non-immigrant parents. This does not mean that Muslims parents would not like to see a greater emphasis on religion in schooling. When asked whether schools do enough to respect religion, twice as many Muslim respondents replied that too little was done. However, there is much more agreement than disagreement on how far schools should respect religious difference. The biggest category by far (49 percent of Muslims and 50 percent of non-Muslims) said that schools had it "about right".

Family support and involvement is critical to success. For policymakers, initiatives should focus not on the content of learning (such as homework) but on building confidence. The latest insights from the literature emphasise that parental involvement is less about the detail of pedagogy and more about the emotional support and encouragement afforded to children (Crul and Schneider, 2009).

Furthermore, different strategies may be appropriate for different types of parents. Friederik Smit and his colleagues (2007) present a typology of six different parent "types". Different approaches or strategies can be employed by school management depending on the parent "type," thus increasing

parent engagement with schools. For example, some parents may not engage because of a lack of time, others through feeling they lack experience. Such different types require different approaches from schools.

Educational leadership may support a broader range of family engagement strategies, including outside mediation to help with classroom control or spark student ambitions. For example, an individual Muslim activist belonging to the IBMUS umbrella group in Berlin has created a highly effective mediating approach that resolves problems and issues arising from misunderstandings between groups, and individuals, in Berlin's schools (OSI, At Home In Europe, 2010d). Mediating programmes (often coming under the rubric of "cultural dialogue") have a mixed evaluation record. In terms of policy replication, the important elements are much more likely to be found in the quality of personnel, rather than any "magic" programme component.

In a similar vein, role models, often from inside families, can bolster the chances of success. Policy interventions can encourage role model building, for example through mentoring programmes from older students or role models in the community. The city of Amsterdam takes this particularly seriously, with a range of initiatives and mentoring (OSI, At Home in Europe, 2010d). This includes the Campus New West project, which brings pupils aged 8-16 into contact with the business sector (for example, over 200 companies offer one-day internships). Amsterdam is also home to the White Tulip Foundation.

However, there are different challenges in different countries: school leaders do not all "buy into" the value of a teaching diversity, teachers may not have the necessary resources or understand the connection between education and diversity in raising performance standards, or pupils and families may feel excluded from the development process. Ensuring consistency across schools and communities is a key policy challenge.

One effective outreach tool is the provision of easy-to-access information in newcomers' settlement package about the country's school system and the availability of supplemental learning opportunities and language services like translated materials and interpreters. Schools can also invest considerably in orientation programmes for immigrant parents concerning enrolment, settlement, active involvement and accessing information about future choices within the school system. Home visits are commonly used and quite beneficial tools to engage with families from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Several countries have been experimenting with voluntary continuing adult education programmes to see if they meet their needs of immigrant parents and help make the school into a community centre bringing together native and immigrant backgrounds (MPG, 2012). Also known as the "broad-based school," "community school," or "full-service school," these programmes are based on the idea of incentivising parents' participation. Providing parents with free host and home language training and services like sports and internet access can have the effect of raising their trust in the school and their expectations and support for their child's school performance.

Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV) has support programmes in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland to inform Turkish-origin parents about the country's educational system and gives additional assistance to women in obtaining the skills and means to participate in local social and educational activities. AÇEV-trained mothers have a comparatively higher self-esteem and interest in schooling. The project was also assessed favourably in terms of the effectiveness and efficiency of implementation and dissemination.

In Sweden, interpretation must be provided if necessary at special introductory meetings held with newly arrived families in order to explain the rights and basic values related with pre-school and school education. Parents are also entitled to interpretation in order to follow the twice-yearly "personal development dialogue."

The international initiative, "Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters," aims to raise awareness and capacities of parents with disadvantaged backgrounds, including immigrants and ethnic minorities, by making available tutors from within their communities. The cognitive abilities of participating children have significantly improved compared with control groups according to regularly evaluations in countries such as Germany and the Netherlands.

Since 1991, the "Open School" in France opens primary and secondary schools for a wide range of cultural, leisure, foreign language and other learning activities on Wednesdays and Saturdays and during school vacations like summer, Christmas and Easter. It is open to all pupils living in problem urban areas and from disadvantaged economic and cultural environments, including newcomer immigrant pupils. Qualitative evaluations show the programme is an effective means to fight against neighbourhood violence and to improve social integration, school climate and relationships between teachers, parents and the local communities.

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