

Education for Migrant, Minority and Marginalised Children in Europe

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Foreword

There is no denying that the world's demographics are changing. With globalization have come migratory flows of people, and Europe is no stranger to this changing landscape. Net migration into Europe is now the largest component of population growth, constituting more than 10% of the population in many 'old' European Union (EU) countries. Without immigration, Europe would lack manpower and competence in many areas.

With the increased number of immigrants comes increased linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity, especially in urban areas. More than ever, schools have students from dozens of ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds. Migrant children (first and second generation) already constitute more than half of the student population in many schools across Europe. Europe's social cohesion strongly depends on the successful integration and inclusion of these children. Their future, and the future of Europe, are interlinked.

This is a crucial moment in history for Europe. European societies have a unique opportunity to endorse diversity as a resource enriching all members of society. Making constructive use of diversity can bring new opportunities for individual and societal achievement, economic development, and competitiveness. Diversity also presents challenges, and many EU countries struggle to find effective ways for integration. In this context, education systems can, depending on their quality, either enhance integration or deepen alienation. Education is an important factor in European social cohesion, and can play a key role in turning what is currently considered a problem into an opportunity.

For the Open Society Institute (OSI), these challenges and opportunities have been a reason to pause and reflect on the role of Europe as a model of an open society. For us, the treatment of the most disadvantaged, and the general social well-being of society (as evidenced by inclusion, integration, and notions of justice and citizenship) are indicators of the degree to which European democracy is functioning well.

In 2007, the Education Support Program (ESP) decided to launch the Education for Migrants, Minorities, and Marginalized Children in Europe (EMMME) project to investigate the impact of education on social inclusion and to investigate the issues of injustice in education, particularly for migrant children in Europe. This literature review is part of the research and mapping that went into the EMMME project. The review has put together available, up-to-date evidence on the situation of migrants, minorities, and marginalized groups in education in four European countries: France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

This literature review report has examined the significance of the education of disadvantaged and marginalized groups at this moment in time in Europe, laying out the evidence on migrant marginalization within Europe's schooling systems and reflecting on the wider implications for the cohesion and progress of European society. Children from migrant and minority groups continue to show significant gaps in academic performance in international surveys such as PISA. The report has gathered evidence that migrant children tend to be overrepresented in less academically oriented secondary schools, and drop out more frequently than their peers from the majority population. To explain inequalities in educational outcomes, the literature primarily points to the strong correlation between attainment and socio-economic status. However, the extent to which this explains the educational disadvantage faced by a specific minority group varies. A number of other factors both within and outside the school system interact to affect the educational careers of ethnic-minority, and migrant children. Based on the available information, the report has explored how policies at the national and local levels affect educational opportunities of migrant and marginalized children, and to what extent governments are successful in their inclusion policies.

Importantly, the report has pointed out that certain minority groups (e.g., Indian and Chinese in the United Kingdom, or Eastern Europeans in several countries) enjoy better educational experiences and outcomes than other groups, and in some cases, even better than the majority or native groups. This evidence argues for the importance of understanding differences between and within groups. Sometimes, generalizations about the capabilities of particular groups can lead to a 'discourse of despair' about those ethnic minority groups, and it is equally important to look at their potential. There is some evidence that in the correct local environment, groups that 'underachieve' on average can do relatively well, and some clearly perform, or have the potential to perform above average.

Finally, the report has identified a number of important issues where further inquiry is required in order to make policymaking more effective. More attention needs to be paid to evaluation and to learning. Without it, we cannot know which policies are making an impact. The report argues that in order to complement a lack of data, it is important for future research to look at evidence from good practice, and innovative initiatives at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels.

The report has also been a useful analytical study underpinning OSI's discussion on a new strategic direction in this area. At the same time, we feel that this literature review has merit of its own, and we hope that it will become a useful source of information for policymakers, practitioners, researchers, advocates, and anyone interested in this topic.

This review of literature is only the beginning of exploring the issue and policies that exist in order to learn and improve education for all. We sincerely hope that this report will contribute to conversations, and discussion on how to improve quality of education for migrant and marginalized children in Europe.

Jana Huttova and Christina McDonald
October, 2008

Summary

This report presents the findings of a review of the literature on the topic of minority, migrant and marginalised children in primary and secondary school in Europe. While the report highlights that many groups in Europe are marginalised or 'excluded', it focuses in most depth on the literature related to the education of children from minority groups with a migrant background. The literature primarily comes from France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, all countries in which groups with a migrant background make up a significant proportion of the national and school-going populations.

The review first seeks to identify how policy-makers can judge the educational position of children from these groups. It identifies key international datasets and establishes an overall picture of country-level data on their experiences. With England as the exception, the overriding impression is of a paucity of official country-level data. To varying degrees, the other countries of the UK, France, Germany and the Netherlands don't collect school-level pupil data on key indicators or don't disaggregate by nationality or ethnic background. Varying classifications also makes comparing data difficult. This impression is reflected in criticisms by European-level studies.

Overall, the picture that emerges from the data analysis is that there are significant inequalities in the educational position of migrant and minority children in comparison to the 'majority' populations, and these are particularly notable for certain groups. Examples include those from country-level data on the type of secondary school attended by pupils from minority groups, and from international data showing significant gaps in academic performance.

Although the situation is complex, in absolute terms, first and second generation migrants seem to do better in the Netherlands than in France or Germany. Second generation students in Germany performed particularly badly in international comparisons. Nevertheless, in some of the countries it is evident that certain minority groups enjoy better educational experiences and outcomes than other groups and in some cases, than the majority or native group. Furthermore, there are warnings against adopting a 'discourse of despair' among and about those ethnic minority groups that are at greater risk of underachieving.

To explain inequalities in educational outcomes, the literature primarily points to the strong correlation between attainment and socio-economic status. However, the extent to which this explains the educational disadvantage faced by a specific minority group varies and a number of other factors both within and outside the school system interact to affect the educational careers of ethnic minority and migrant children. These include: the structure of the educational system, with the practice of 'tracking' at the forefront; segregation within and between neighbourhoods and schools; direct and indirect discrimination in the classroom and playground by staff and other students, including bullying and lower teacher expectations; and curriculum bias. In addition, 'home-based' factors include language deficits, parenting styles, and in some cases social, cultural and religious practices. Broadly speaking, these can all be considered as problems of inclusion.

The policy response to these inequalities involves interplay between the European, national and local levels. However, the legislative measures, policies, conventions and recommendations, that constitute a European framework on the education of minority and migrant children, are having only a modest impact at national level. The review drawing on a 2007 report, (Bhandal and Hopkins) outlines how the EU could make more effective use of the measures it has at its disposal in order to strengthen its promotion of equality in its education work with member states.

At the national level, while all children of compulsory school age in the four countries have the right and the obligation to receive free education, the legislation and policies concerned with discrimination and inequality in the field of education are mixed. The UK is recognised as having the strongest anti-discrimination framework covering all areas of education. Such frameworks form the basis for successful, systematic, national responses to discrimination and the underachievement of ethnic minority pupils.

Policy responses tend to be based on ‘classic programmes’, which involve the national level targeting of additional resources at groups at risk of underachieving. They have, however, had modest success in reducing inequalities and the literature points to their limited scope and a lack of underlying political will to tackle educational disadvantage. In all four countries policy makers afford relatively high-priority to the crucial component of language support. Nevertheless, each country could benefit by learning from the experiences of ‘successful’ countries (identified as those which have relatively small achievement gaps between ‘immigrant’ and ‘native’ students such as Sweden)

Intercultural Education remains marginalised in policy terms, despite its prominence in the literature and clear policy intentions in the UK and the Netherlands. It seems central government has been unable or unwilling to drive implementation at regional or local level in the two key areas of teacher training and the curriculum. These should be prioritised, as should central-government led initiatives targeted at raising the achievement of children from ‘at risk’ groups. The report finds evidence that these are likely to raise awareness of issues specific to those groups and may indeed increase levels of attainment.

The significant correlation between socio-economic status and educational outcomes, and between socio-economic status and ethnic or migrant status suggest policy makers should take a broad approach to tackling disadvantage. So far, it seems interventions have had only partial impacts in breaking the link between poverty and poor educational attainment and the literature suggests that the issues of *scope*, *coherence* and *power* must inform the work of policy makers at all levels. This means taking a wide policy approach, abandoning any thought of a ‘magic bullet’ and concentrating on how to sequence and prioritise an extensive range of interventions. Crucially it means tackling underlying societal inequalities, which present themselves as ‘problems’ of poverty and education and involve the structures of power related to the education system itself..

Structural problems notwithstanding, local level initiatives and implementation are critical to reducing educational inequalities in the context of educational decentralisation. Effectively identifying and spreading good practice is reliant on clear criteria and the robust evaluation of initiatives, as well as contextual analysis in order to transfer practice between educational systems. A number of ‘good practice’ areas have been identified in the literature. Effective schools tend to have strong leadership and a culture that is reflexive and explicitly committed to equality. Schools take a systematic approach to developing an inclusive curriculum and ensure that staff receive high quality training so that they can tackle the needs of minority pupils with confidence. Throughout these schools teachers have high expectations of all their pupils, often use mentoring to raise aspirations, and collect data by ‘ethnicity’ in order to ensure inclusion and target groups or individuals with resources and effectively designed interventions.

Further conclusions drawn from this review and a set of initial recommendations can be found at the end of this report.

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List of Acronyms

BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills
BTEC	Business and Technician Education Council (UK)
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CBS	Statistics Netherlands
CEO	culture and educational outcomes (an analytical approach vis-à-vis Stevens 2007)
CNLSY	Children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (US)
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
CUMI	Cultural Minorities (Netherlands)
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families (UK)
DfES	Department for Education and Skills (UK)
ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
EMAG	Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (UK)
ESEO	educational markets and educational outcomes (an analytical approach vis-à-vis Stevens 2007)
EMME	Education of Migrant, Minority and Marginalised children in Europe
ENAR	European Network Against Racism
EP school	École d'Education Prioritaire (Priority Education school (France)
EPP	Educational Priority Policy (Netherlands)
EU	European Union
EUMC	European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
FBMF	From Boyhood to Manhood Foundation (UK)
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education (UK)
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification (UK)
HAVO	hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs / higher general continued education (Netherlands)
HBO	hoger beroeps onderwijs / higher professional education (Netherlands)
ICoTEP	des Indicateurs Communs pour un Tableau de bord de l'Education Prioritaire / Joint Indicators for a Priority Education Performance Chart (France)
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IGLU	Internationale Grundschul-Lese-Untersuchung / International Primary School Reading Study
INSEE	National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (France)
LEA	Local Education Authority (UK)
LSYPE	Longitudinal Study of Young People in England
LWOO	leerwegondersteunend onderwijs / learning support education (Netherlands)
MINOCW	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (Netherlands)

NPD	National Pupil Database (UK)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OfSTED	Office for Standards in Education (UK)
PIRLS	Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
PISA	Program for International Student Assessment
PLASC	Pupil Level Annual School Census (UK)
RRA	Race Relations Act (UK)
RRDS	racism and racial discrimination in school (an analytical approach vis-à-vis Stevens 2007)
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SOEP	Socio-Economic Panel (Germany)
SOPEMI	Systeme d'Observation Permanente sur les Migrations / Permanent System of Observation of Migration (OECD)
SPVA	Sociale Positie en Voorzieningengebruik van Allochtonen / Social Position and Services Usage of Ethnic Minorities (Netherlands)
TIES	Integration of the European Second Generation project
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VMBO	voorbereidend middelbaar beroepsonderwijs / preparatory middle-level vocational education (Netherlands)
VWO	voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs / preparatory scientific education (Netherlands)
ZEP	Zone d'Education Prioritaire / Priority Education Zone (France)

1. Introduction and an Overview of the Marginalisation of Groups in Europe

1.1 Introduction

This report presents the findings of a review of the literature on the topic of minority, migrant and marginalised children in primary and secondary school in Europe. The methodology involved a systematic search of sources such as the reports of national and international organisations, academic studies and papers, policy and project evaluations, analytical overviews and monitoring reports. It also involved a systematic search of the websites of key organisations whose work is of relevance to the education of minority and migrant children. The review primarily uses English language sources.

Although a Europe-wide perspective is taken in some sections of the review, the main focus is on France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. It should be noted, however, that this review does not represent four distinct country studies but one that attempts to pull out the main themes while giving a picture of what is going on in each country.

These countries have all been characterised by high levels of immigration since the Second World War and minority groups with a migration background now make up a significant proportion of their populations. The educational position of children from these groups constitutes the primary focus of this review.

This **first section** presents a brief overview of the marginalisation of groups in Europe and then provides some context on the historical and current position of minority groups with a migrant background in the four countries. The **second section** of the report identifies the main sources of data on the educational position of minority and migrant children in Europe. The categories and definitions used by policy-makers in each of the four countries are identified and the strengths and weaknesses of the data sources are assessed. The data is then used to describe the educational position of these children in each of the four countries. The **third section** of the report considers the explanations put forward in the literature for the differences in the educational experiences of minority groups. Following a discussion of the role of socio-economic status in explaining the differences in attainment, a distinction is made between the school and non-school factors that contribute to educational inequalities between different groups. This is followed by the **fourth section** which identifies policy and legislative frameworks at the European and national levels within which national policy-makers develop educational strategies. The section then identifies some broad elements of these national strategies on the education of migrant and minority children and reviews the literature on policy implementation, policy evaluation and good practice. The **fifth section** of the report focuses on local level initiatives that seek to improve the educational position of children from migrant and minority groups. Some key areas of best practice are identified and these are illustrated by a variety of case studies from the four countries. Finally, the **sixth section** presents the conclusions of the report and makes recommendations for the ways in which ESP/OSI can work to promote greater inclusion, tolerance and cultural diversity in education in Europe.

1.2 The Marginalisation of Groups in Europe

This section offers context for the rest of the review by providing an overview of how different groups are marginalised in Europe, how 'marginalisation' is defined and how this relates to 'social exclusion', a key concept in the European literature. A conceptualisation of 'exclusion' is outlined which is useful for understanding how different groups might become marginalised and based on this conceptualisation, a number of different 'excluded' or 'marginalised'

groups are identified. The focus of this review – namely minority groups with a migrant background is explained and some historical context is provided which in part explains and highlights the significance of their current position.

1.2.1 Marginalisation and ‘Social Exclusion’

In their discussion of the concept of ‘marginality’, Gurung and Kollomair (2005) suggest that: “Marginality is generally used to describe and analyse socio-cultural, political and economic spheres, where disadvantaged people struggle to gain access...to resources, and full participation...In other words, marginalised people might be socially, economically, politically and legally ignored, excluded or neglected”

The process of marginalisation persists around the globe with the vulnerability of marginal regions and people increasing with growing globalisation and international competition for trade and development (Gurung and Kollomair 2005). In the European literature and policy discourse, however, the concept of ‘social exclusion’ is a more widely used concept. Though relatively recent in origin, it gained currency in response to rising unemployment and income inequalities which characterised the period from the 1970s, one of considerable economic and social dislocation for many European countries. The term was adopted by the European Union in the 1990s as part of the European Social Model which seeks to wed economic growth with job creation and social cohesion (e.g. Atkinson *et al* 2004; Kabeer 2005; Klasen 1998; McDevitt 2004).

The concept of social exclusion shares much common ground with the idea of marginalisation. Silver (2006) notes that the original meaning of social exclusion stresses social distance, marginalization, and inadequate integration but points to the “novelty and ambiguity” of the concept. Despite this ambiguity, Kabeer (2005: 2) and others argue that the concept “adds value” to other frameworks and concepts related to disadvantage. Kabeer offers a useful framework that, in the context of this section, aids an understanding of which groups (*or individuals*) are likely to be excluded or marginalised in society. In this conceptualisation of ‘exclusion’, disadvantage operates in three dimensions to circumscribe the opportunities and life chances of individuals and groups. These are identified as *resource*, *identity* and *spacial* dimensions.

The *resource* dimension captures the idea of a lack of income, assets, health, education and ‘voice’, commonly associated with a multi-dimensional conception of poverty. In other words, people are disadvantaged in terms of ‘what they have’. The *identity* dimension reflects the cultural devaluation of groups and categories of people in society by virtue of ‘who they are’. This may entail discrimination against distinct *groups* of people defined by distinct cultural practices or to an unbounded *category* of people who are defined by a single shared characteristic (e.g. gender, disability, HIV-positive status). Members of such categories may share very little in common, aside from the discrimination they face. The third, *spacial* dimension points to disadvantage that may lie in the remoteness and isolation of a location or may operate through the segregation of urban environments and the ‘sub-cultures’, of violence, criminality, drug dependence and squalor which often characterise the territorially excluded neighbourhoods. This dimension is linked to the other two dimensions since it is usually culturally devalued and economically impoverished groups that inhabit physically deprived spaces (Kabeer 2005: 3).

1.2.2 Identifying Excluded and Marginalised Groups

There is literature which seeks to identify those groups which have been, or are likely to be, disadvantaged or marginalised in each of the dimensions. In their attempt to identify groups in Europe at high risk of social exclusion, Tsakloglou and Papadopoulos (2001) identified the

extent of chronic cumulative disadvantage in the fields of income, living conditions, necessities of life and social relations. The study was largely focused on the *resources* dimension and used employment status as one way of grouping populations. Interestingly for this study, they found that some of the highest levels of aggregate risk of exclusion were observed in the UK, with some of the lowest in the Netherlands and Germany.

Nevertheless, the authors accept that the study is limited by its inability to consider the other dimensions in Kabeer's framework, including the consideration of group characteristics, but only "their material conditions of living". It does, however, group the study population by age and finds that in almost all EU countries children face a higher risk of social exclusion than the rest of the population (Tsakloglou and Papadopoulos 2001: 23-26).

Other literature considers the *identity* dimension of exclusion. Again it is possible to distinguish between groups and categories of people that are excluded or marginalised. In the European context, ethnicity and religion are widely documented examples of group-based exclusion (e.g. The Equalities Review 2007). Although categorical forms of exclusion vary in different contexts, Kabeer (2005) finds that age, gender, migration, illness and disability recur frequently in the literature dealing with excluded categories.

A recent report commissioned by the UK Prime Minister (The Equalities Review 2007) offers a historical overview of the inequalities over the last 60 years in the UK. It highlights the situation of a number of groups that have faced, and continue to face, identity-based discrimination. They include women, older people, lone parents, religious minorities, disabled people, gay, lesbian and transgender people and people from ethnic minorities. The review points to some of the ways in which the identity-based discrimination faced by these different groups has been recognised. One way has been through the struggles of grassroots, civil society organisations that enable neglected groups to voice their experience of marginalisation in the public arena. In addition, legislative or policy change to tackle discrimination has followed wider public recognition of broader social change. Such social changes include women's increasing participation in the labour market and international migration of different ethnic and religious groups. The report also suggests that the marginalised position of some groups has been illuminated by high-profile political or social events, such as inner-city disturbances (*ibid.*: 30).

The spacial dimension of exclusion offers further insight into the disadvantage faced by particular groups in Europe. It has been argued that the process of spacial exclusion has an impact on groups such as the Roma, asylum seekers, refugees, economic migrants and disabled people (Bancroft 2001; Kitchin 1998). Bancroft (2001) examines the spacial forms of regulation that affect some of these groups and provides examples of the use of ghettoisation, racist violence, and restrictions on migration in the form of regional zoning practiced by the EU.

1.3 Focus of this Review: Minority Groups with a Migrant Background

As the previous section showed a large number of different groups might be regarded as 'marginalised' or 'excluded' in the different dimensions identified. A huge literature exists on many of these groups. For example, there is growing body of literature on the situation of the Roma (and Gypsy-travellers), a group often regarded as being among the most marginalised groups in Europe.¹ Nevertheless, an analysis of the huge amount written on all these groups is beyond the scope of this review. Here, the specific focus is the educational position of 'minority' and 'migrant' children. But again, many of the groups identified in the previous

¹ This is a view expressed by Bancroft (2001) and Loewenberg (2006) among others. There is a growing literature on the Roma – see EUMC (2006) for an overview of the educational position of the Roma in Europe

section would be regarded as ‘minority’ groups or categories by virtue of a particular characteristic, usually the one for which they suffer identity-based discrimination (e.g. disabled people).

Therefore, the groups that are covered in most depth in this review are those at the apex of the two categories ‘minority’ and ‘migrant’, namely minority groups with a migration background. As the following section demonstrates in more detail, such groups are categorised in different ways across the four countries. However, it is useful at this point to briefly suggest some terms that might be used in the literature to identify minority groups with a migrant background. They include:

- Migrant
- First- or second-generation immigrant
- Foreign national
- Ethnic minority
- Newly-arrived migrant
- Refugee
- Asylum seeker

Other minority groups, such as linguistic, religious and national minority groups – those that may or may not have a migrant background – are considered at various points in the review although not in a systematic way.

1.3.1 Immigration since the Second World War

The significance of groups with a recent migrant background has grown in the populations of the UK, France, Germany and the Netherlands since the Second World War. The literature categorises countries based on the general characteristics of their immigration histories. The UK, Netherlands and France are *Northern European countries with colonial histories*, whereas Germany is categorised as a *European state with post-war labour recruitment*. Although the general pattern of these two categories is quite similar, immigrants in the UK, Netherlands and France are often from former colonies and are more likely to speak the receiving country’s official language. For a more detailed historical overview, Zimmerman (1995) usefully divides an analysis of migration during the period into four phases: War adjustment and decolonisation (1945-1960); Large-scale labour migration (1955-1973); Restrained migration (from 1974) and the dissolution of socialism and after (from 1988). To his analysis must be added the period from 2004 and the expansion of the EU.

During the period of *War Adjustment and Decolonisation*, an estimated 20 million people were displaced by the War. Most notably, twelve million ethnic Germans had to leave Eastern Europe by 1950, with eight million moving to West Germany and a further 2.6 million moving from East to West Germany. In the period up until early 1960s, the UK², France and the Netherlands saw an inflow of workers from their former overseas territories as well as return migration from European colonists (*ibid*).

The mid-1950s was the start of a period of *Large-scale labour migration*. Labour shortages in some countries induced openness, and sometimes even an active recruitment policy, for labour immigration. Especially for France and Germany, immigration policy focused on meeting the needs of business and industry and sustaining post-War economic growth.

² The United Kingdom (UK) refers to Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales) and Northern Ireland. Although Zimmerman refers to Great Britain, this is often used less formally to refer to the whole United Kingdom. Because this review refers to the entity ‘The United Kingdom’, unless an individual country is specified, the term is used in this section for the sake of clarity and consistency.

Germany established a guest worker system by means of a series of recruitment treaties with Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia. Similarly, Portuguese and Spaniards moved to France. All in all, net immigration to the north from the Mediterranean countries was about 5 million in this period. France also received the most African migration, while the transoceanic migration from the West Indies, India and Pakistan went to the UK. During this time, the Netherlands received immigrants from Indonesia, Latin America, Turkey and Morocco (*ibid*). Though policy in this period focused largely on recruiting men for the workforce, the size of the child population nevertheless increased. An example of the scale comes from the UK. It has been estimated that in 1970, of the 1.4 million non-White residents, one third were children born in the United Kingdom (Cabinet Office 2003: 14).

At the end of 1973 the first oil price shock brought an abrupt halt to labour recruiting in the face of increasing social tensions and fear of recession. Zimmerman explains that during this period of *Restrained Migration* attempts to induce return migration proved difficult and more and more 'guest-workers' brought their spouses and children from their country of origin. In Germany, for example, some authors estimate that family reunion accounted for more than half of the immigration in the 1970s and 1980s (Rainer and Ulrich 1997: 91). The foreign populations of the four countries also increased due to higher fertility rates and the admission of refugees and asylum seekers. Thus, after a drop in immigration in 1974-1975, particularly in France and Germany, immigration began rising again in 1976 (Zimmerman 1995).

The period since the late 1980s has been dominated by east-west migration and a strong inflow of asylum seekers and refugees. For example, Zimmerman (1995) shows that the total number of asylum seekers and refugees in Europe was only about 190,000 in 1987, but had already reached 700,000 by 1992. A large part of the east-west migrants were ethnic Germans, who moved directly to Germany. In 1992, Germany received 1.5 million new immigrants; net immigration was 800,000, and the number of new asylum seekers and refugees was more than 400,000.

In 2004 the nationals of ten new countries admitted to the EU obtained the right to move freely and live anywhere in the enlarged EU. However, until 2011, the established 15 member states are able to restrict the right to work of people from the central and eastern European accession states (Heinen and Pegels 2006). As one of only three countries to open up their labour markets immediately, the UK witnessed its largest wave of immigration since the 1950s and 1960s. UK Home Office figures show that 375,000 people from Eastern Europe came to work in the UK between 2004 and 2006.³ Nevertheless, other sources estimate the number of migrants amounted to only 0.4% of the total working age population (Heinen and Pegels 2006: 3). Furthermore, figures suggest that on average since 2004 only 6% of workers that registered in the UK from the 'new' EU countries were accompanied by their families. However, the number of registered workers with dependents is increasing and these are likely to be concentrated in particular geographical areas (Home Office 2007). It is also likely that an adult worker would migrate and register, then assess the situation regarding employment, housing and schools, before being followed by a partner and children at a later date.

France has announced its intention to gradually lift restrictions on certain sectors, with the Netherlands due to make a decision on its policy. Germany, however, will keep restrictions in place until at least 2009, possibly 2011 (Heinen and Pegels 2006: 6).

1.3.2 Outline of Current Position of Minority and Migrant Groups

³ According to the UK Commission for Racial Equality
<http://83.137.212.42/sitearchive/cre/diversity/migrationtimeline.html#2000>

Minority groups with a migrant background now make up a significant proportion of the European population. For various reasons that are discussed further in the following section, including issues of categorisation, it is difficult to present comparative demographic data on these minority and migrant groups. Furthermore, many existing statistics from sources such as census data do not include the latest wave of migration from 'new' EU countries. Nevertheless, the figures presented below provide an indication of the significance of the groups on which this report focuses.

Although the categorisations and data collection methods vary across the four countries, the various statistics show that in all four countries a significant proportion of the population are from minority groups with a migrant background. In the UK it is estimated that 4.6 million people, or 7.9% of the population, were from minority ethnic groups in 2001.⁴ In France, the official national statistics (INSEE 2006) estimate that in 1999 there were nearly 5 million foreign-born immigrants in the country.⁵ However, a study by Tribalat (2004) using a survey on family history estimates that around 13.5 million people in France were of foreign *origin*, equivalent of between a quarter and a fifth of the population. Of this group, 5.2 million people were of South-European descent and 3 million of North African (Maghreb) origin.⁶ In the Netherlands, people from ethnic minority groups are estimated to make up 17% of the population. Of these, 9% are of non-Western origin.⁷

Immigration patterns mean that the age structure of minority groups with a migration background is significantly different to the population as a whole. These populations are comparatively young, with higher proportion of school-age children. For example, in the UK 38% of people of Bangladeshi origin and 35% of Pakistani origin are under the age of 16. This compares with 19% of White British people (Cabinet Office 2003: 16).

These groups also make up an even larger proportion of the population in urban areas. According to estimates by Extra and Gorter (2001), in Western Europe in 2000, at least one third of the population under 35 years old in urban areas had an immigrant minority background.⁸ This is reflected by data from the UK on regional levels of ethnic diversity. For example, in the area of inner London, even before the latest wave of immigration from the 'new' EU countries, people from ethnic minority groups made up 50% of the population.⁹

The urban (bias) in the ethnic minority population can also be seen in the Dutch school system. For example, the schools in the four largest cities in the Netherlands have the highest concentration of pupils of non-Western ethnic minority origin. In over half of primary schools, more than 50% of the pupils are from non-Western ethnic minorities. In approximately one-third of the primary schools in these cities more than 80% of pupils are from these groups (MINOCW 2007).

⁴ Data from the 2001 National Census <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=273>

⁵ <http://www.insee.fr/fr/ffc/ipweb/ip1098/graphiques.html#carte>

⁶ This included immigrants or people born in France with at least one immigrant parent or grandparent. However, this figure excludes repatriates and their children and grandchildren as Tribalat (2004) shows that this distorts the picture of the disadvantages faced by immigrants and their children.

⁷ Central Office of Statistics Netherlands <http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/Table.asp?STB=G1&LA=en&DM=SLEN&PA=37325eng&D1=a&D2=0-2,127,133,198,216&D3=0&D4=0&D5=0&D6=a,10-5&HDR=T&LYR=G4:0,G3:0,G2:0,G5:5>

⁸ This figure is widely reported in a number of documents, although the source of the attributed source of the figure, Extra and Gorter (2001), does not reference the original data sources.

⁹ UK Office of National Statistics www.statistics.gov.uk; also quoted in Kenway and Palmer (2007: 21)

These statistics indicate that minority groups with a migrant background make up a significant proportion of the population in all four of the countries. Furthermore, the populations tend to be comparatively young with a high proportion living in urban areas. The evidence from the Netherlands indicates how these factors are reflected in the school system.

Other figures from the four countries provide an indication that these groups are at a high risk of social exclusion or marginalisation. French statistics indicate how some migrant groups face marginalisation or exclusion in the key area of employment. For example, Tribalat (1994) shows that men and women of North African origin face difficulties in entering and remaining in the labour market. The situation is particularly acute for people of Algerian origin and is persistent with age. For example, unemployment rates are five times higher for men aged 35-39 born in France of Algerian origin, than for French natives (Tribalat 2004: 71-72).¹⁰

Recent data from the UK also suggest that ethnic minority groups are more likely to be excluded in the *resource* dimension of Kabeers' framework. People from minority ethnic groups are far more likely to live in income poverty than White British people. The highest rates are to be found among Bangladeshis (65%), Pakistanis (55%) and black Africans (45%), with 20% for white British people. Furthermore, it is estimated that almost half of all children from ethnic minorities are in income poverty (Kenway and Palmer 2007: 13).

¹⁰ The distinction is again made between immigrants and repatriates.

2. The Educational Situation of Ethnic Minority and Migrant Groups in Europe Today

2.1 The Available Data

There are three main sources of data on the educational position of ethnic minority and migrant children in Europe: official international- and national-level sources, and academic papers that draw upon these official datasets and publications as well as upon authors' own research.¹¹ In this section, we examine the available evidence in order to identify the categories and definitions used by policy-makers in each country, and to describe the educational position of ethnic minority and migrant children in the four countries. The strengths and weaknesses of the different data sources are assessed.

2.1.1 International Data

The two most comprehensive and widely-used international educational datasets, in terms of understanding the educational position of ethnic minority and migrant children within and across European countries, are:

- The 'Program for International Student Assessment' (PISA), organized by the OECD in 2000, 2003 and 2006 (with a further round planned for 2009). The 2006 round was conducted in 57 countries, including France, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK. Between 4,500 and 10,000 15-year old students were assessed in each participating country in each wave.¹²
- The 'Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study' (TIMSS), conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 1995, 1999, 2003 and 2007 (with a further 'advanced' round planned for 2008). The 2007 round was conducted in 68 countries and subnational regions, including England, Scotland, Germany and the Netherlands, with all students in the fourth and eighth grades.¹³

In addition to providing details on student proficiencies in reading, mathematics and science, the surveys provide detailed background information on both schools and students and their households.

The PISA study is most widely referenced in the literature. This is because its student-level variables include not only language spoken at home and the immigration background of the student and her parents – also included in the TIMSS – but also family structure, parental occupation, an index of economic, social and cultural status, and parental educational level.¹⁴ For example, the OECD report *Where Immigrant Children Succeed: A comparative*

¹¹ A few independent research bodies and other non-governmental organisations have engaged academic researchers, or undertaken in-house research on this topic; this is primarily qualitative, specific to local areas, and in national languages. Some of this material is drawn upon in latter sections of this paper.

¹² See <http://www.pisa.oecd.org/>.

¹³ See <http://isc.bc.edu/>.

¹⁴ Although a third international educational assessment survey, the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), includes the same level of background data as the TIMSS, it is not referred to in the literature on the education of ethnic migrant and minority children to the same extent. PIRLS was conducted by IEA in 2001 and 2006. The 2006 round was conducted in 50 countries and subnational regions, including England, Scotland, France, Germany and the Netherlands, with all students in the fourth grade. PIRLS was undertaken in Germany under the name Internationale Grundschul-Lese-Untersuchung (IGLU) / International Primary School Reading Study. See <http://isc.bc.edu/> for details.

review of performance and engagement in PISA 2003 (Stanat and Christensen 2006) provides a detailed analysis of the data on the 'immigration background' variable, but because it is an international comparative review drawing on 17 countries (including France, Germany and the Netherlands, but not the UK), it only undertakes this analysis at an aggregated level, comparing *native students* (those born in the country of assessment with at least one parent born in that country) with *first generation students* (those born outside the country of assessment with parents also born in a different country) and *second generation students* (those born in the country of assessment with both parents born in a different country).

A number of country-level studies also draw on national PISA data, particularly in the case of Germany (e.g. Michaelowa and Bourdon 2006, Schnepf 2003, Will and Rhul 2004). As the following sections show, this is largely because official country-level data tends to lack information on second generation students – those children born in the country to immigrant parents.

While research has been undertaken on the education of migrant and minority children under the auspices of UNESCO, the large majority of this has focussed on developing countries (e.g. Sherman and Poirier 2007).

2.1.2 Country Level Data Sources

The most comprehensive official data appears to be from the UK, particularly England. There are notable gaps for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This review has also managed to uncover a number of English-language publications, and translations into English of publications in French, German and Dutch, that discuss the education of ethnic minority and migrant children in those countries. Although conclusions about these three countries are necessarily tentative, it has been possible to establish an overall picture of the level of country-level data collection.

That said, the overriding impression is of a paucity of data. It seems that for the Netherlands, Germany and France, there is no official routine collection of school-level pupil data on key indicators such as achievement, test scores, drop outs or exclusions that are disaggregated by nationality or ethnic background. This impression is supported by criticisms from European-level studies that have attempted to compare the position of minority and migrant children in education using country-level data.

For example, a briefing paper (Collicelli, 2001) describing the findings of the 2001 European Commission funded 'Child Immigration Project', focused on understanding the evaluation structures and policy responses to issues of the well-being of immigrant and ethnic minority children, with a focus on education and training, in Belgium, Greece, France, Israel, Sweden and the United Kingdom. It concluded that while "Current classifications for immigrant minors and minors of immigrant origin are insufficient and vary from country to country", it was still clear that "the school system is failing <these children> in a variety of areas".

Similarly, the analytical reports on education for the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (Luciak 2004:126) concluded that:

The European Union and Member States should...take the necessary steps to increase the availability, the scope and quality of data...The collection of differentiated data, including pupils', students' and parents' citizenship status, place of birth, ethnic group affiliation, and socio-economic status...will allow the collection of data of highest relevance, improve its comparability, and avoid unjustified generalizations based on aggregate undifferentiated quantitative data.

Academic studies have also been hindered by a lack of data. In the cases of Germany and the Netherlands, Crul and Schneider (2006:17) argue that: “the data needed for more adequate and in-depth comparisons are missing... more rigorously comparable data-sets are urgently needed”.

2.1.2.1 United Kingdom

Largest Minority Ethnic Groups in the UK
• Indian
• Pakistani
• Mixed Heritage
• Black Caribbean
• Black African
• Bangladeshi

In the 2001 Census, over 92% of the UK population described themselves as white (though not necessarily British). Asians made up 4% of the population, and Blacks made up 2%. The six groups noted above made up over 82% of the ethnic minority population in 2001 (ESRC 2005).

The effective monitoring of achievement and exclusion by ethnicity in England has been driven by requirements of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. In England, the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF)¹⁵ collects data on the ethnicity of pupils in government-maintained schools through its Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC). PLASC uses a basic ethnicity classification: white, Asian, black, mixed heritage and other, with three to five subcategories under each heading. It also allows Local Education Authorities (LEAs) to choose to use an ‘extended’ ethnicity schedule, with a greater amount of detail regarding the country or region of birth or heritage, for local planning purposes. This allows the production of comprehensive national data on a range of attainment indicators disaggregated by ethnicity, by matching the PLASC records with the national test and examination results held in the National Pupil Database (NPD) (DfES 2006a). A number of academic studies have made use of this data (e.g. Wilson *et al* 2005). Less comprehensive data seems to be available for the other parts of the UK, with the EUMC Report concluding “there are still significant gaps in the available data, especially for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland”, although Wales and Scotland have recently begun to collect comparable information.

However, the ethnic categories used in the collection of PLASC data do not allow for a systematic mapping of the relationship between asylum seekers and refugees in relation to education. Information is not necessarily collected or available on pupils by country of origin, and date of entry to the UK education system or immigration status is not collected. This means that there is limited systematic information regarding the educational outcomes and processes for asylum seekers, refugees and other new migrants. In order to get this information, Warren (2006) suggests that evidence has to be drawn from a number of alternative sources, including datasets where various proxy indicators are substituted for new migrant status. Much of the evidence is, however, provided by independent research, which is often small-scale, qualitative and overwhelmingly focused on London. The evidence base is thus not consistent across the nations and regions of the UK.

¹⁵ The Department for Education and Skills (DFES) became the Department for Children, Schools and Families in June 2007.

Another recent advance in data collection is the 'Termly Exclusions Survey' which was carried out for the first time in 2003. It now collects detailed information from LEAs in England on all types of school exclusions, together with information on the characteristics of excluded pupils such as age, gender, ethnicity and special educational needs, as well as the reasons for exclusion, and can be used to analyse trends (e.g. DCSF 2007).

The datasets described above are most valuable in highlighting problems and trends. Different forms of evidence are required to identify causes and generate policy. In particular, the national datasets do not contain wider contextual data to help interpret results on attainment or exclusion, such as information on pupil attitudes or family circumstances. This gap has been partly filled by the 2004 DfES Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE). This study interviewed a sample of over 15,000 13- and 14-year olds and their parents, combining this with information from the NPD. It is an especially useful source of information on minority ethnic pupils and their families and households, because the sample was boosted for the six major minority ethnic groups. Analysis of the LSYPE data focussing on the relationships between various pupil, family, school and neighbourhood factors in order to better understand the reasons for differences in the educational attainment of different ethnic groups was possible (DfES 2006, Strand 2007).

2.1.2.2 The Netherlands

Largest 'Ethnic' Groups in the Netherlands

- Indonesian
- German
- Turkish
- Surinamese
- Moroccan
- Antillean / Aruban

The conceptualisation of ethnicity in the Netherlands is complex, reflecting its particular colonial and migrant experience, so data is collected and organised differently than in other European countries. A person is defined as a member of an immigrant minority when at least one parent was born abroad. This means that the data includes country-specific information about both 'first generation' and 'second generation' migrants. National statistics in the Netherlands have included such data since the mid-1980s (Muskens 2006).

A person from these minority groups is referred to as an allochthon in Dutch political rhetoric. However, among the general public visible racial and cultural differences matter as well, and more recently data collected by Statistics Netherlands (CBS) takes this into account. Western countries of origin are distinguished from non-Western countries, with only the latter being targeted by policies for 'disadvantaged' ethnic minorities. A Western country is a European, North American or Australian country, along with Japan and Indonesia (a former Dutch colony). (People from the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, although they have Dutch citizenship, and for many people from Suriname who migrated when they too had Dutch citizenship, are considered non-Western allochthon.)

In 2007, just over 80% of the population of the Netherlands was considered autochthon – that is, someone with both parents born in the Netherlands. Of the remaining population, just over 10% are considered to be of Western origin and just under 9% were considered to be of non-Western origin. Just over 12% of the total population, or 60% of the ethnic population, is made up by the six groups listed above – although Indonesians and Germans, as Western allochthon, are not targeted as ethnic minorities.

Educational institutions register pupils according to the CBS standards. A database has been developed concerning ethnicity and school achievement in terms of the type of school at which pupils are enrolled (e.g. academic or vocational; Muskens 2006), and in 2002, the regional reporting and co-ordinating of school drop outs also became obligatory (Schreimer 2004). In addition, primary and secondary schools also use a CUMI (cultural minority) definition to assign a 'weight' to each student, so they can be recognized in the system and additional resources allocated. In addition to criteria specifying a low educational and earnings status of the parent/s, a key criteria is that one of the child's parents belong to one of the integration policy's target ethnic minority groups¹⁶ or is from a non-English speaking country outside Europe (with the exception of Indonesia) (Schreimer 2004).

A number of academic articles note, however, that adequate national level data that would enable more detailed analysis of the educational careers of ethnic minority and migrant children, in terms of attendance, educational performance and attainment, and repeated years, are not available. Whether the school attended is academic or vocational has been used as a proxy for attainment.

For the Netherlands, Crul and Schneider (2006) use data from the Social Position and Services Usage of Ethnic Minorities (SPVA) surveys to judge the impact of educational tracking systems on Turkish immigrant children. These standardised national social surveys have been carried out periodically to collect information on the four largest immigrant minorities (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans) and a native Dutch reference group, and were conducted in 13 municipalities in the Netherlands including Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague where the majority of the Dutch ethnic minority members live. Tolsma *et al* (2007) also use SPVA data to investigate trends in educational inequality through looking at the final level and type of completed education, and the transitions between school levels, among natives and the four major ethnic minority groups.

An additional source of data on ethnic minority children in the Dutch system are a number of large-scale cohort studies started since 1988 to evaluate the Educational Priority Policy (EPP). Driessen (2000) reports that the studies' main emphasis has been on monitoring the educational progress of various categories of students, including Dutch working-class and ethnic minority children, compared to the amount of additional resources the school received as an EPP or non-EPP school.

2.1.2.3 Germany

Largest 'Ethnic' Groups in Germany
• Turkish
• Former Yugoslavia
• Italian
• Polish
• Greek

In Germany, national statistics are collected by nationality, not by ethnic background. According to the German Federal Statistical Office and the Statistical Offices of the Länder, at the end of 2006, 8.8% of the German population was foreign – that is, holding nationality

¹⁶ Belonging to the Moluccan population group, or for whom at least one parent or guardian comes from Greece, Italy, former Yugoslavia, the Cape Verde Islands, Morocco, Portugal, Spain, Tunisia, Turkey, Surinam, the Dutch Antilles or Aruba.

of another country. Close to one-quarter of these people are Turkish, and about another one-quarter are from the countries of the former Yugoslavia, Italy, Poland and Greece. A greater proportion is foreign-born: the OECD statistical database, reporting on its SOPEMI data, states that almost 13% of the German population was foreign-born in 2004. Since 2000, new laws have meant that it is easier for children born on German soil, and for long-term resident foreigners in general, to acquire German citizenship. It is also important to note that many migrants of German descent from the former Soviet republics are immediately given German citizenship (Stanat and Christensen 2006: 27).

In Germany's federal system, school statistics are supplied by school heads to the State Statistical Offices, which then pass them to the Federal Statistical Office, which prepares collated federal statistics for the Conference of the Ministers for Education and Culture. Will and Ruhl (2004) have noted problems with these official national education statistics, particularly that the school-level statistics only register the characteristic of nationality and "thus underestimate the proportion of children and young people from families that have experienced migration". In effect, this means that there is no official school-level data on 'second generation' migrants. The national education statistics also offer less comprehensive information about migrant (i.e. 'first generation') students and apprentices than about 'ethnic' Germans. For example, the level of qualification achieved by pupils is only differentiated between German and non-German nationality, and is not disaggregated by migrant country. Thus specific forms of underachievement of certain 'national' groups might not be identifiable from the data.

Academic studies have made use of the PISA data, as well as other sources of official data, to overcome the lack of differentiation in education statistics. Riphahn (2003) applied data from the national annual census (*Mikrozensus*) for the first time to compare educational achievements of German-born children of immigrants (i.e. 'second generation') and their native counterparts. The measures of educational attainment used were the level of secondary school currently attended by teenagers (cohorts born from 1970 to 1980), and the highest educational degree completed by cohorts born between 1956 and 1974. Crul and Schneider (2006) also use this census data in their comparative study of Turkish immigrant children. Diefenbach (2002) used official data from the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) between 1984 and 1998 to look at the educational position of children from migrant backgrounds/families rather than just 'non-German' children. According to Will and Ruhl (2004), although these official datasets take social origin into account (in terms of the profession of the head of the family), they only allow assessments to be made relating to the larger nationality groups (Turks, Yugoslavians, Italians, Greeks).

Non-official data from various empirical studies are available which differentiate between first and second generation of migrants. These are largely based on interviews with 'native German' and German-born people of immigrant families and are relatively small scale.¹⁷ Unfortunately, the language constraints on this report mean further details of these studies could not be provided.

¹⁷ See summary translations of Hechman *et al* (2001), Kristen (2002) and Straßburger (2001) in Will and Ruhl (2004).

2.1.2.4 France

Largest 'Immigrant' Groups in France

- Algerian
- Moroccan
- Portuguese
- Italian

In France, immigration and naturalisation are monitored, rather than ethnicity or nationality, due to the French Republican principle of equality described below. The National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE; Borrel 2006) estimated that there were about 4.9 million immigrants living in mainland ('metropolitan') France, or about 8% of the population. About 40% of these immigrants had been naturalised. In addition, over half a million children were born in France but are foreign citizens, such that there are about 3.5 million citizens of foreign countries living in metropolitan France, or over 5% of the population. The national make up of these groups is unclear, but includes those from southern and eastern Europe as well as France's former colonies in North Africa and elsewhere.

In France, the 'Republican' principle of 'equality' is characterised by a refusal to recognise 'cultural' or 'group' differences within the public sphere. This holds that public institutions, including the school context, should be pluralist in its recognition of any one individual's right to define him or herself in terms of multiple, shifting identities and systems of reference, while remaining careful not to impose or ascribe any one group identity to an individual by virtue of some externally-determined 'cultural', 'ethnic', 'religious' or 'national' group membership. Franchi (2004) states that this: "renders it impossible to collect 'ethnic' and 'racial' statistics in France" and that "the French National Education System effectively refuses any and all references to the 'racial', 'ethnic', or 'religious'...origins of pupils, even when such information is essential to the monitoring of discrimination and inequalities".¹⁸ Thus, "in France, given the particularity of restricted data collection on educational issues and on pupils' minority background, little can be said about the achievement of the different migrant groups" (Franchi 2004:46).

Official education statistics are collected from school heads by the Ministry of Education on the *number* of pupils of 'foreign-born' nationality in French primary and secondary schools. There are explicit official instructions with regard to the census of pupils of foreign nationality specifying that it is the nationality of the *child* and not of her or his parents that is to be recorded, such that information specifying second generation students is not collected. However, Franchi (2004) also indicates that 'minority background' data *is* in fact collected at the academy level¹⁹ to determine which schools, or groupings of schools, are to be accorded Priority Education Zone (ZEP) status. Along with employment indicators and school rates of failure, drop outs and disciplinary problems, this includes information on the proportion of foreigners, newly-arrived pupils, *and children of migrants* attending the school. Nevertheless, the National Statistics bureaus and the Ministry of Education statistics do not reveal the number of pupils with 'foreign' or 'migrant' origins (i.e. the 'second generation').

Despite all these constraints it is possible to gain an insight into the educational position of children of 'immigrant origin' from official indicators. These are indirect and therefore imprecise but nonetheless valuable. It is possible to infer the educational position of ethnic

¹⁸ See also Payet 2003; Simon 2003; van Zanten, A.

¹⁹ Academies reflect geographical areas of jurisdiction defined by the National Education System. The curricula and overall educational policies are centralised and are disseminated through these academies.

minority and migrant pupils from national reference statistic indicators (ICoTEP) which are prepared by the Ministry of National Education for use by establishments which are part of ZEPs. It is also possible to highlight differences between Priority Education (EP) schools and non-EP schools regarding the population enrolled, pupils' school careers and their test scores. As ZEPs are designated in part on the proportion of foreigners, newly-arrived pupils, and children of migrants attending the school, the information provided on learning lags, repeated years and vocational orientation between EP and non-EP can be used to indicate the educational position of both 'ethnic' minority and migrant pupils.

Data on the educational situation of children of immigrant origin is available from non-official and academic sources as well. The most widely referenced study is that based on a special panel in the 1990s by Vallet and Caille (1996, 1999). This examined the school careers of new immigrants and nationals of French-origin and immigrant-origin of similar socio-economic backgrounds. It compared their chances of success, measured by school achievement, length of school career, and orientation towards mainstream or vocational streams.

* * * * *

The table below summarises the overall status of data collection and availability in the four countries. It is important to note that while it is possible to gather some level of information from national official and academic data sources in each country, comparability across countries is limited. In particular, this relates to the different definitions used for the 'second generation' in each country (Crul 2004). In the French INSEE survey, 'second generation' includes those born in the country of migration and those who are naturalised; in the German *Microzensus*, 'second generation' includes those that came before the age of seven and excludes those who are naturalised; in the Dutch SPVA surveys, 'second generation' includes those who came before the age of six and those who are naturalised. In the UK (which Crul does not consider), data on immigration generation is not collected, as the focus is on self-identification of ethnic status. Furthermore, Crul notes that sampling methods vary across these surveys which has an effect on the outcomes.

Summary table of available information on national-level data

	UK	Netherlands	Germany	France
Official school-level data collection	Yes	Yes	Yes	Unclear – some collection but not made available
Overall extent of data	High	Moderate	Low	Low
Extent of data	Tests and examinations, exclusions, contextual factors	Numbers of pupils in different school types; drop out rates?	Numbers of pupils in different school types; (pupil qualifications?)	Number of pupils in primary and secondary schools
Categories	Minority ethnic status (self-determined, using National Census 2001 categories, plus LEA 'extended codes'); home language	Ethnicity indicator (native/first/second generation; Western/non-Western; non-English speaking European)	Nationality; (or German/non-German)	'Foreign-born' by nationality; 'minority background' collected only at ZEP level
Other official	LYPSE	SPV, EPP cohort	<i>Microzensus</i>	INSEE

data sources on educational		studies	(information on second generation)	(information on second generation)
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2.2 Looking at the Data:

The Educational Status of Ethnic Migrant and Minority Children

This section draws on data from the international PISA study, which provides the most comprehensive and recent information on first and second generation students in the Netherlands, France and Germany, as well as the other data sources for these countries.²⁰ Although the main report on the PISA data (Stanat and Christensen 2006) does not cover the UK, DfES has undertaken detailed analyses of data on the educational status of minority children. The available information can be broken down into three parts. The first compares the competencies and test scores of migrant and minority students to those of the majority; the second looks at the type of school attended by different groups; and the third identifies rates of drop outs and exclusions.

2.2.1 Levels of Attainment: Competencies and Test Scores

There has been a general shift of focus from ‘equality of access’ to what Stevens (2007) considers as more radical models of ‘equality of outcomes’ in the education and ethnicity literature. This has led to an increased focus on comparing levels of attainment, measured by test scores and achievement of core competencies, of migrant and ethnic minority groups with those of the white majority.

The Stanat and Christensen (2006) analysis of the international PISA data compares first and second generation immigrant students to their native peers, in seventeen countries with significant immigrant student populations,²¹ considering how well they perform in key school subjects at the age of 15. One of its key findings was that although performance levels vary across countries, immigrant students often perform at levels significantly lower than their native peers. The study found that France, Germany and the Netherlands were three of the countries in which this difference was most pronounced, along with Austria, Belgium, Denmark and Switzerland. The figures on the following page are reproduced from Stanat and Christensen (2006: 33-5) to show the extent of the differences.²²

These were among a group of countries in which both first and second generation students scored almost one proficiency level²³ below their native peers. A particularly alarming finding was that in most countries in the study at least one in four first *and* second generation students failed to reach the lowest mathematics and reading proficiency levels, such that they “do not demonstrate skills that would allow them to actively use mathematics or reading in real-life situations” (*ibid*:54) and “are expected to face considerable challenges in terms of

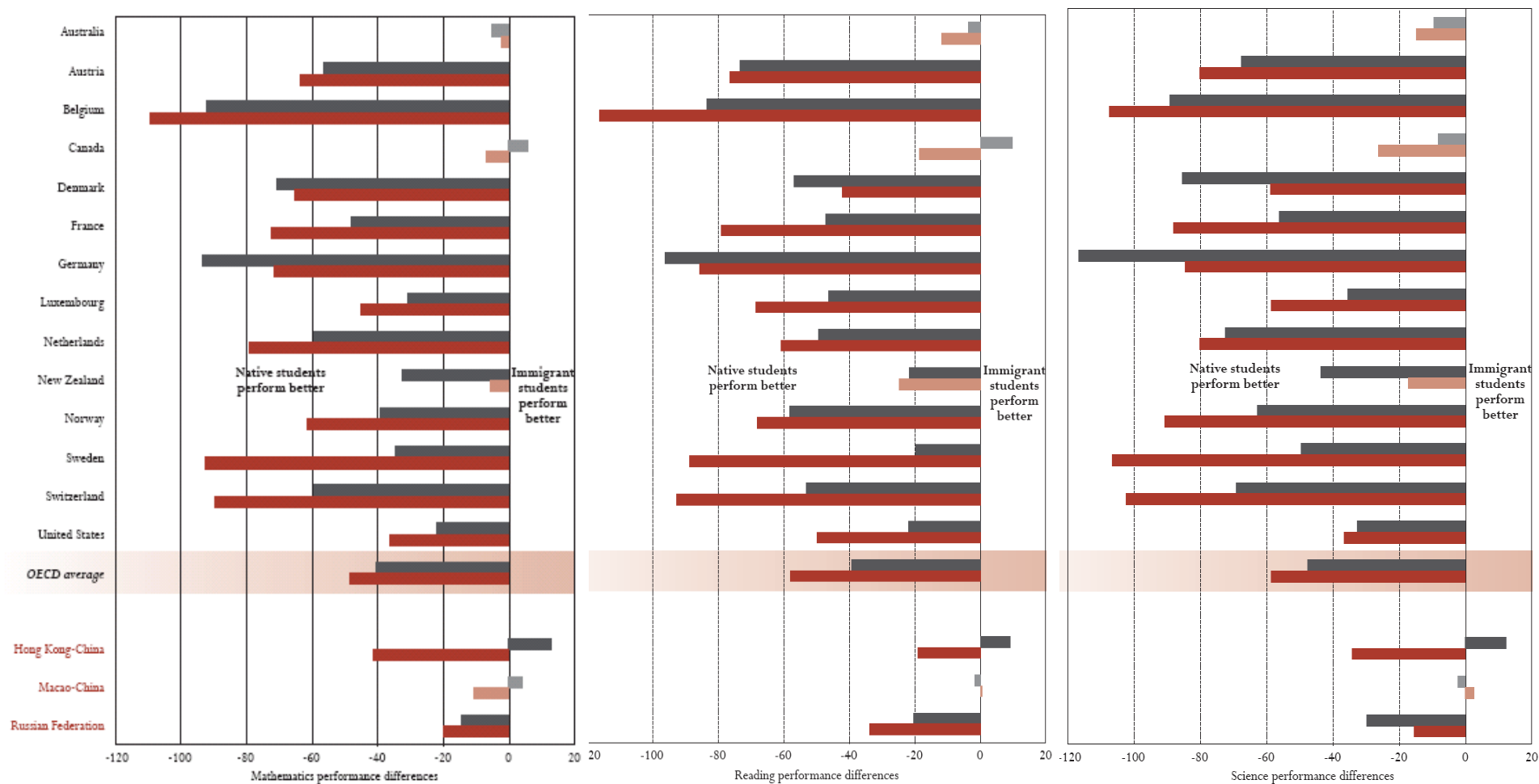
²⁰ The report is constrained both by the general data collection and monitoring issues highlighted in the last section, and by the language limitations as in the terms of reference. In particular, the review was able to identify few official (i.e. Ministry of Education or National Statistics) analyses of data on the educational positions of minority and migrant children in the focus countries.

²¹ OECD countries: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States; partner countries: Hong Kong-China, Macao-China and the Russian Federation.

²² These and other tables in the report suggest that Australia and Canada may be interesting models to consider.

²³ PISA 2003 classifies students into six proficiency levels according to the level of mathematical skills they demonstrate, and five proficiency levels according to their level of reading skills. See Stanat and Christensen (2006: 31, 173) for summary descriptions of each level.

Figure 1: Differences in mathematics, reading and science performance by immigrant status



■ Difference in performance between native students and second-generation students
 ■ Difference in performance between native students and first-generation students

Note: Statistically significant differences are marked in darker tones.

Source: OECD PISA 2003 database, Tables 2.1a-c, in Stanat and Christensen (2006: 33-35).

their labour market and earnings prospects, as well as their capacity to participate fully in society” (*ibid*:8). Indeed, the proficiency levels of high levels of second generation students (those who likely have spent their entire educational careers in the country) are a cause for alarm: 10% of second generation students in France and 20% in Germany scored in the bottom proficiency level – the highest of any country. The Netherlands is part of a small group of countries in which the situation is not so grave.

Germany is also of note because the performance gap between second generation and native students is larger than that between first generation and native students. The implication is that the German schooling system is having a negative rather than a positive effect in its support of immigrant students’ learning. Stanat and Christensen (2006: 56) note that there seems to be a cohort effect (i.e. variation in the composition of the two subgroups) at work in Germany: the first generation sample has a larger proportion of higher performing immigrant students from the former Soviet Republics, while the second generation sample has a higher proportion of relatively lower performing Turkish students. The main reason cited for the relatively poor performance of German immigrant students overall – the tracking system – is discussed in the following section, as are reasons why second generation Turkish students are on average lower performing than first generation immigrants from the former Soviet Republics.

In terms of absolute performance, first and second generation students in both Germany and France performed below the OECD average in both mathematics and reading, with German second generation students scoring the lowest of all countries in both proficiencies. Both first and second generation students from the Netherlands scored close to the OECD average for both proficiencies.

The most comprehensive analysis of UK data (DfES 2006b) draws on official data from NPD, PLASC, the Termly Exclusions Survey and the LSYPE. Among other topics the report covers the attainment and progress of minority ethnic pupils in 2005 (compared to previous years), and an analysis of exclusions and attendance data. It shows that White Other, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, Black African and Black Other pupils have consistently performed below the average for all pupils on every scale of the ‘Foundation Stage Profile’ – a statutory assessment of the attainment of three- to five-year-old children against early learning goals.

The latest analysis of data from the LSYPE on minority ethnic pupils confirms that the ‘gaps’ associated with ethnicity in national tests at age 14 are large. Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African groups achieve, on average, a point score around three points less than White British pupils. This is equivalent to around a whole year of progress (Strand 2007). Nevertheless, the gaps were larger when considering other differences. The gap was ten points for ‘social class’ (that between professional families and long-term unemployed families) and nine for ‘maternal education’ (between mothers qualified to degree level and those with no educational qualifications).

The available evidence on the French system provides a somewhat contradictory and partial picture of the educational differences between French-origin and immigrant-origin students. The most widely referenced studies, by Vallet and Caille (1996, 1999), suggest that when socio-economic conditions were controlled for, i.e. “all things being equal”, students from immigrant backgrounds had better chances of succeeding (measured by school achievement, length of schooling career, and orientation towards mainstream or vocational streams than both their French-origin peers and new immigrants (Franchi 2004). According to Franchi,

the results were taken to suggest that children of immigrant descent are assimilated into the education system, insofar as their access and performance

levels improve as they advance through primary and secondary schooling, as compared to their French origin peers from similar socio-economic backgrounds (*ibid*:38).

The studies have, however, been criticized for masking inequalities and discrimination at the school and national levels and for providing a distorted view of the overall educational situation (van Zanten 1997). Studies reviewed in the more recent French literature by Franchi reportedly contradict the Vallet and Caille study, suggesting that pupils of immigrant origin have worse educational outcomes than those of French origin in areas such as achievement, mainstream or vocational schooling, and dropping out.²⁴

For example, the official indicators on Priority Education (EP) schools and non-EP schools, show that pupils attending EP schools, in which there are a higher proportion of migrant children, are overrepresented for indicators of underachievement in basic competencies. Pupils in EP schools showed larger 'learning lags' than those in non-EP schools at the end of both the 3rd and 5th grades, and the proportion of pupils who had repeated two or more years by the end of 3rd grade is almost double in EP versus non-EP schools (Franchi 2004).

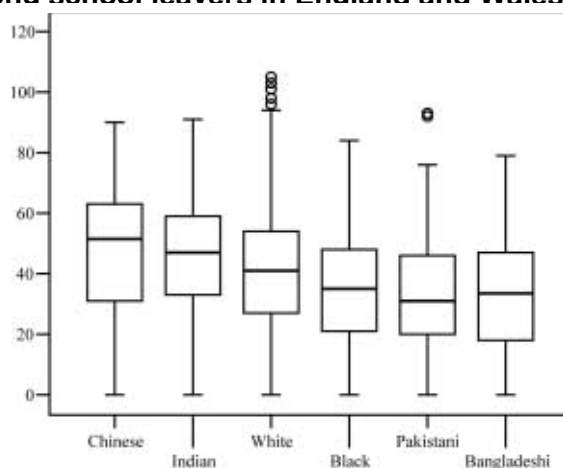
For the Netherlands, Driessen (2000) provides a summary of the impact on the educational attainment of ethnic minority children of the Dutch 'Priority Education' policy in place from 1988 to 1992. Driessen notes that the comparatively poor performance of ethnic minority children in language and arithmetic did not improve in this period; the Turkish and Moroccan children lagged far behind in particular. They were also more likely to repeat a year than 'native' students, and were more often referred to special education. In secondary education, minority students were also more likely to switch to a less academic form of education, repeat a year or leave school without a qualification. The highest percentage of drop-outs was found among Moroccan students.

A number of researchers have entered caveats against simplistic interpretations of quantitative summary statistics, such as those presented above. While a broadly negative picture emerges from the analyses of attainment data, questions are raised by researchers such as Connolly (2006) and Gillborn and Mirza (2000). Connolly says that statistics that simply compare the average performance of different groups has tended to lead to crude generalizations about *all* children from those groups and masks the considerable variation that exists within each group, and the overlap in levels of performance between groups. Gillborn and Mirza (2000) agree that this creates a tendency to label all pupils from specific minority ethnic groups as 'underachievers'. They demonstrate that there is considerable variation at the local level in the UK, where data shows that every minority group is the highest achieving group in at least one LEA.

In order to fully illustrate the complexities that exist in relation to patterns of achievement, Connolly argues for the need to compliment the use of simple summary statistics (e.g. comparing the average of two groups to show a 'gap') with additional methods of describing and analyzing quantitative data. Connolly as well as Gillborn and Mirza advocate using box plots, histograms and other graphical displays to illustrate these variations and overlap. For example, it can be seen from the boxplots below that ethnicity is clearly associated with average levels of attainment, as indicated by median scores for each group, and that these are cause for concern. However, the boxplots illustrate that although the pupils in the Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups have the lowest mean scores, there is so much overlap between them and other groups in terms of the range of scores achieved that it may be misleading to talk of a 'gap'.

²⁴ Franchi provides no further details on these studies.

Boxplots illustrating ethnic differences in GCSE scores among school leavers in England and Wales in 1999



Source: Connolly 2006

2.2.2 School Types: Academic vs Vocational

A second way of differentiating educational careers and outcomes is by focussing on the type of school in which a student enrolls at secondary level and beyond, in terms of whether the school provides an education that is more academic (offering entrance to university, and professional careers) or more vocational (offering entrance to further training, and jobs in the trades and service sectors). Vocational streams are generally less selective in terms of courses completed and grades achieved than general streams, which also tend to be differentiated into different levels of academic requirement.

There is inevitably some level of value judgement around this type of differentiation, whereby it is assumed that a student enrolls in a vocational programme because she is less intelligent, less capable or less motivated than her more academic peers, and that she will go on to earn significantly less than those who go to university and into a profession (not always the case), in a less prestigious job. It is important to note that while this is the way that education systems are generally constructed, for a significant proportion of students vocational training is a positive choice rather than an 'only option', through which they are able to reach a high level of attainment and participate in a chosen field – again, averages mask individuals.

Nonetheless, the evidence suggests that there are disproportionately high rates of 'streaming' or 'tracking'²⁵ of many ethnic groups into less academic schools. It is to this evidence that we now turn.

An overview study looking at the official CBS data in the Netherlands on the four education streams²⁶ shows that non-Western ethnic minorities are overrepresented in the less

²⁵ Brunello and Checchi (2007) explain that term 'tracking' is used to describe the educational mechanism by which pupils are allocated, at some stage of their career between primary and tertiary school, to different 'tracks', which usually differ in the curriculum offered as well as in the average cognitive skills of enrolled students. In the European context, tracking takes the form of well-defined separate segments in the education process, typically specializing in general and vocational education. Insofar that allocation to tracks is non random, school tracking introduces selection in the schooling process, which may take several forms, ranging from self selection to admission based on a test or on teachers' recommendations. ('Streaming', on the other hand, tends to refer to the allocation of children to different classes within a single school based on perceived ability; the terms are, however, sometimes used interchangeably.)

academic school levels. In 2001, 43% were enrolled at the lowest level (VMBO), compared to 28% of native Dutch pupils. Only 11% were enrolled at the highest level (VWO) that gives access to university, compared to 20% of their native Dutch peers (Schreimer 2004). Nevertheless, analysis of data from cohort studies show that the school types attended by ethnic minority students improved during the 1990s. The participation of Turkish and Moroccan students in the higher levels (HAVO and VWO) rose from just over 20% to almost 40%. Among Surinamese and Antillean students this improvement was even greater, with the division among the various types of schools in 1999 differing only slightly from that of native Dutch students. However, CBS figures for the 2005/2006 school year show a different picture of the school level distribution. They show that only 26% of non-Western ethnic minorities were enrolled in the higher levels (HAVO and VWO) compared to 43% of native Dutch pupils. Only 19% of pupils of Turkish and Moroccan origin attended higher level schools (MINOCW 2007).

For Germany, Will and Ruhl (2004) report that based on PISA data in 2001 first-generation migrant children and young people were over-represented at the least academic type of school (*Hauptschule*) and in special needs schools (*Sonderschulen*)²⁷ compared to German pupils: 20.6% of the first-generation migrants studied in *Hauptschule* compared to 10.3% of German children, and 6.8% studied in *Sonderschulen* compared to 4%. In 2001, 9.3% of first-generation migrant pupils were on the most academic track, the *Gymnasium*, compared to 24.6% of German pupils. They also show that there are large differences in the types of school attended by different nationalities. In 2001, pupils from Turkey, Italy, and Portugal, along with refugees from the former Yugoslavia, were registered in particularly low numbers at the *Gymnasium* but in high numbers at the *Hauptschulen* and *Sonderschulen*. Kristen (2002, in *ibid*) supports these findings and suggests that the ethnic origin of pupils plays a decisive role in decisions about in which type of school to enrol. The study found that even after controlling for school grades, first-generation migrant children enrolled in the *Hauptschule* more frequently than ethnic German pupils – that is, that a migrant child with the same grades as a German child was more likely to be ‘tracked’ into vocational education. Again, Turkish and Italian children were most over-represented: their rate of transition to the *Hauptschule* was more than twice that of ethnic German pupils.

The comparative study by Crul (2004) 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.

In France, a greater proportion of students from EP, in which there are a higher proportion of migrant children, move on to vocational secondary high schools as compared to non-EP pupils (37% versus 24%), and a correspondingly lower proportion of EP pupils are oriented towards general and technological streams of secondary high school (49% versus 60%) (Franchi 2004).

²⁶ VMBO (‘preparatory middle-level vocational education’) is regarded as the least academic and includes learning support education (LWOO) at all its levels. HAVO (‘higher general continued education’) is regarded as more academic and leads to a diploma which provides access to HBO-level (‘higher professional level’/polytechnic) tertiary education. VWO (‘preparatory scientific education’) is regarded as the most academic track of secondary education and provides access to university.

²⁷ These schools provide education for a range of students including those with physical, mental and learning disabilities and behavioural difficulties, those from particular ethnic groups and traveller communities, as well as high ability children.

In the UK, the situation is investigated by looking at the individual qualifications gained, rather than the type of school attended, as there is often not as clear cut a distinction between vocational and academic institutions in the UK as in the other countries in this study. Bhattacharyya *et al* (2003) note that minority ethnic students are more likely than white students to have vocational rather than academic entry qualifications. In 2000, an investigation of all those students who were admitted onto a degree-level course at university showed that ethnic minority students, except for Chinese and other Asian students, were significantly more likely to enter higher education with GNVQs or BTEC qualifications²⁸ than other students. Black students were also significantly more likely to enter higher education with an 'access qualification' – year-long foundation programmes for people over the age of 19 from non-traditional backgrounds and under-represented groups. For example, while among white students, 68% had as their main qualification two or more 'A' levels, 13% had vocational qualifications and 3% had access qualifications, among all minority ethnic groups the proportions were 57%, 22% and 5%, and among Black Caribbean students the proportions were 40%, 27% and 17%. It is important to note that these figures only consider those students who actually make it into degree-level higher education. At the same time, Bhattacharyya *et al* note that minority ethnic groups are in fact *more likely* to hold degree level qualifications compared to white people, but the class of degree varies, with minority ethnic students less likely to obtain a first or upper second class degrees.

In terms of 'special schools' and 'learning support', the situation in the UK may be somewhat different than that in Germany, although this requires further investigation. In the UK, a recent newspaper article (Curtis 2007) highlighted new research from the University of Bath that shows that while children from certain ethnic minority groups and poorer households are more likely to be identified as having social, emotional or behavioural disorders,²⁹ they are far less likely to get support than children from more affluent backgrounds with dyslexia or autism, for which there are powerful lobby groups.

In general, evidence suggests that throughout the four countries under investigation students from ethnic minority groups tend to be over-represented in less academic forms of schooling. 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. In section 3, we discuss the system of 'tracking' that contributes to this phenomenon.

2.2.3 Indicators of Underachievement: Drop Out and Exclusion Rates

The third indicator of underachievement investigated here – drop out and exclusion rates – is used to monitor interruptions in education careers, and as a proxy for the experiences and behavioural problems of ethnic minority children in school. Evidence suggests that particular minority ethnic groups have higher rates of exclusion and are more at risk of not completing school.

²⁸ GNVQs (General National Vocational Qualifications) were aimed at providing a general introduction to an area of work; they have recently been phased out and replaced with BTECs, vocational GCSEs (General Certificate of Secondary Education) and other qualifications. BTEC (Business and Technician Education Council) qualifications are usually taken from 16 years old, but may be studied at 14 in combination with GCSEs; they can offer work experience and apprenticeships.

²⁹ In the UK, after controlling for the effects of socio-economic disadvantage and gender (which have stronger associations) Black Caribbean and White & Black Caribbean (mixed heritage) pupils are around 1.5 times as likely to be identified as having behavioural, emotional and social difficulties as White British pupils (DfES 2006b).

In the UK, students belonging to several ethnic groups – Gypsy/Roma, Travellers of Irish Heritage, Black Caribbean, White and Black Caribbean (mixed heritage), and Black Other – are much more likely to be excluded from school than pupils from any other group (DfES 2006b). This has become a key political issue in the UK (DfES 2006c). In the Netherlands, drop out rates were higher among non-Western ethnic minority pupils than Dutch pupils, with 6.8% of Turkish students dropping out compared to 2.8% of *autochthon* students in 1997 (Schreimer, 2004:27)

The comparative study by Crul (2004) suggests that in terms of drop out rates, the German system outperforms the other two, in contrast to the findings regarding competencies and participation in less academic forms of education. The proportion of Turkish second generation children that leave school without any kind of secondary school diploma ('drop outs') is 46% in France, 21% in the Netherlands, and only 7% in Germany (see also Crul and Schneider 2005). The reasons for this may lie in the institutional arrangements of the different education systems. The impact of these structural factors on the outcomes for migrant and minority children is discussed further in the following section.

2.2.4 Positive Outcomes: Progress, and High-Achieving Minority Groups

These discrepancies are striking and important, but tell only part of the story. Gillborn and Mirza (2000) warn against a pervasive 'discourse of despair' among and about some minority ethnic groups. They also argue that analyses of inequalities of educational outcomes should "not lead to a hierarchy of ethnic minorities based on an assumption of inherent abilities". They underline the fact that differences in average levels of achievement are cause for concern but do not *prove* anything about the potential of those groups. Indeed they show that in the correct local environment, groups that 'underachieve' on average can do relatively well. As noted above, in the UK there is at least one LEA where each minority group is the highest achieving group. Indeed,

in one in 10 authorities...pupils in all recorded Black groups are more likely to attain the [exam] benchmark than their White peers. However, there is still a picture of marked inequality elsewhere: there are almost four times as many LEAs where the picture is reversed and White pupils outperform each of the Black groups" (*ibid*:10).

UK data also suggests that on average different groups make progress at different rates, and that many ethnic groups make more progress than White British pupils when controls are applied for prior attainment and other variables. There are, however, a number of groups for whom this 'catching up' is not evident. Black Caribbean, Black Other, Pakistani, Gypsy/Roma and Traveller of Irish Heritage pupils make less progress at primary school, and White and Black Caribbean (mixed heritage), Gypsy/Roma and 'Traveller of Irish Heritage' continue to make less progress at secondary school (Wilson et al 2005).

In some of the countries, it is evident that certain minority groups enjoy better educational experiences and outcomes than other groups and in some cases, than the majority or native group. Most evidence was identified for the UK where, for example, Indian, Chinese, White Irish and White and Asian (mixed heritage) pupils consistently have higher levels of attainment than other ethnic groups. Students from Asian and Chinese backgrounds were also extremely underrepresented in school exclusions.

In the Dutch system, a distinction is made between Western and non-Western ethnic minorities. Students from the first group are over-represented at the highest education level compared to Dutch native children. Will and Ruhl's (2004) analysis of cohort studies also suggest that in 1999 Surinamese and Antillean students were divided among the different types of schools in similar way to Dutch students. However, figures from the CBS for 2005/6

show that this group now takes a middle position between Turkish and Moroccan students and Dutch native children (MINOCW 2007).

In Germany, there is evidence of some slightly positive trends. For example, the proportion of those non-Germans who leave school without any certificate has slowly but continuously decreased since the early 1990s (20.9% in 1991/92; 18.1% 2003/04, 17.5% in 2005/06) (Bhandal and Hopkins 2007).

* * * * *

Overall, the picture that emerges from the data analysis is that there are significant inequalities in the educational position of migrant and minority children in comparison to the 'majority' populations, and these are particularly notable for certain groups. This is perhaps most comprehensively illustrated across the countries by the type of secondary school attended by pupils from minority groups in the Netherlands, France and Germany. Data analyses from the UK, along with the PISA data, also shows significant gaps in competencies and test scores, and in the rates of drop out and exclusions.

In absolute terms, first and second generation migrants seem to do better in the Netherlands than in France or Germany. Second generation students in Germany performed particularly badly in the PISA tests. A comparative study across these countries also suggests that in Germany fewer Turkish students move on to more academic levels of schooling. The complexity of the situation is indicated, however, by the comparatively low rates of drop outs in the German system.

In the Netherlands, the groups particularly at risk of underachieving seem to be children with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds. These groups have the highest drop out rates and the lowest representation in academic types of secondary schools that provide access to tertiary education. The outcomes for Surinamese and Antillean students tend to be better than for Moroccan and Turkish children but are still worse than for the majority group. In the Netherlands, however, the inequality in educational performance between immigrant students generally and 'native' students was shown in the PISA tests to be lower than in France or Germany. By this measure it appears the Dutch system actually works more effectively to support the education of children from minority and ethnic migrant groups.

It is very difficult to identify 'low-performers' by 'ethnic' group in the French educational system. Nevertheless, pupils in EP schools, that are likely to have high numbers of migrant pupils, are more likely to repeat school years, drop out and attend vocational secondary schools. The extent to which EP schools are really a good proxy for ethnic minority and immigrant students is unclear, as these schools also contain higher proportions of other at risk and poorly performing students. A notable feature of the French system, however, is that there are particularly high levels of drop out for particular minority groups. Overall, the PISA tests suggest that the system works to create higher educational inequalities between immigrant and 'native' students than in the Dutch system but lower than in the German system.

The German system seems to be least supportive of the education of minority and migrant children. The PISA study showed that there were the highest levels of inequality between the performance of immigrant children and 'native' children in Germany. Crucially, being taught in the German system seems to worsen outcomes rather than improve them, with second generation migrants performing at lower levels relative to German students than first generation migrants. Pupils of Turkish and Italian nationality appear to be most at risk of underachieving in Germany.

In the UK, pupils from Gypsy/Roma, Traveller of Irish Heritage, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black minority ethnic groups seem to be most at risk of underachieving across a variety of attainment measures. At the same time, this picture varies for each of these groups for different measures of attainment, and with some groups making gains and 'catching up' at later levels. Gypsy/Roma, Traveller of Irish Heritage and certain Black ethnic groups are much more likely to be excluded from school than other groups, with pupils of Black Caribbean origin over-represented in the identification of Special Educational Needs. The UK data highlights most clearly the high performance of certain minority groups. Indian, Chinese, Irish, and White and Asian (mixed heritage) pupils consistently have higher levels of attainment than other ethnic groups including the White British majority.

The differences in educational experiences and outcomes between ethnic minority and migrant groups and across the four countries suggest there are many explanatory factors at play. As the following section demonstrates, the literature points to the influence of socio-economic status, but also to a number of factors both within and outside the school.

3. Factors Explaining Inequality in Experience and Outcomes

In this section, we consider the different explanations put forward in the literature for the educational experiences of ethnic minority and migrant groups in Europe. There is a long history of empirical and theoretical work within European sociology and public policy in particular focussed on this issue, and it is impossible for us to provide a detailed commentary on the complete body of scholarship here. Instead, we provide an overview that is closely linked to both the empirical review in *Section 2*, and the policy and project reviews in *Sections 4 and 5*.

3.1 Controlling for Socio-Economic Status

In order to understand the extent to which ethnic minority or migrant status determines educational experience and outcomes, one must first understand the extent to which minority or migrant status overlaps with socio-economic status. Are most ethnic minority and migrant children poor? We have noted in the overview to this study that many ethnic minority and migrant groups experience much higher levels of poverty than the White majority. So, is it their ethnicity, their economic status or their class that is the main cause of any problems that this group has in accessing and achieving in education? That is, in the UK, does a low-income Black Caribbean child face a higher chance of failing exams, taking vocational rather than academic courses, and dropping out because she is an ethnic minority (suggesting explanations of exclusion, discrimination and segregation discussed below), or because she and her family are poor? Or does she face a ‘double disadvantage’?

There is rarely a clear-cut answer, because in reality social and economic status, and the ways in which they relate to education, operate together. Nonetheless, through ‘controlling for’ socio-economic status when analysing quantitative datasets, and through qualitative investigation, it is possible to better understand the direct and indirect ways in which minority status can affect educational outcomes, and how policy can best be harnessed to improve the situation.

Recent evidence from Europe suggests that both factors – ethnicity or immigration status, and socio-economic status – play a role in determining educational inequalities. Neither set of factors offers a complete explanation; local context (e.g. the ways in which race and class interact), as well as the ways in which studies are constructed, help to explain why one study emphasises the importance of race while another emphasises the role of class.

Some recent research emphasises the large role that socio-economic status plays in explaining educational inequality. Blanden and Machin (2007) demonstrate that in the UK the relationship between a child’s educational attainment and the socio-economic status of their parents is strong. Their study, which is not primarily concerned with ethnicity, showed that by age seven, those children from poor backgrounds who performed the best on cognitive tests at age three were likely to be overtaken by children from more affluent backgrounds who had scored poorly at age three.³⁰

One widely-cited study (Vallet and Caille 1996/1999, cited in Franchi 2004) that controlled for variables such as socio-economic status and mothers’ education, found that these factors, rather than immigrant status, explain attainment gaps between groups in France: i.e., “all

³⁰ Children from the poorest fifth of households but in the 88th percentile on cognitive tests at age three dropped to the 65th percentile at age five. Those from the richest households who were in the 15th percentile at age three rose to the 45th percentile by age five. If this trend were to continue, the children from affluent backgrounds would likely overtake the poorer children in test scores by age seven.

things being equal”, students of immigrant descent (i.e. the ‘second generation’) had a better chance of succeeding in education than their French-origin peers or immigrants who had started their school careers in another country³¹. This finding is at odds, however, with most major studies, which have found that the relative performance of immigrant or ethnic minority children cannot be solely attributed to socio-economic, or background education, variables. In most studies, attainment gaps remain for particular ‘ethnic’ or minority groups even when socio-economic status is controlled. For example, Stanat and Christensen (2006:79) state that based on the PISA data:

performance differences remain between immigrant and native students in many countries after accounting for these background characteristics. For example, there are still significant performance differences between native and second-generation students in...France, Germany, [and] the Netherlands.

A widely-referenced study from the US supports the view that differences in test scores of black and white children cannot be fully explained by the socio-economic status of their families. Their extensive analysis of data from the Children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (CNLSY) showed that this accounted for only one-third of the difference for six year olds (Phillips *et al* 1998).

For the UK, while noting that in the literature “social class is the most common explanation for ethnic group differences”, Strand (2007:98) points out that this argument does not hold for all ethnic minority groups, nor does it completely explain the differential attainments of any group. When the longitudinal data of the LSYPE was controlled for social class, maternal education, family poverty as indicated by entitlement to a free school meal, home ownership and family composition (single parent households), the low attainment of the Black Caribbean group was not accounted for at all, remaining 2.5 points below (about 10 months behind) White British pupils’ average. The controls substantially reduced the attainment gaps for other ethnic groups, although not completely. For example, the gap for Pakistani pupils relative to White British pupils was reduced by four-fifths, and the Black African pupils’ gap by two-thirds. Both Indian and Bangladeshi groups, on the other hand, achieved *higher* educational results than would be expected given the extent of their socio-economic disadvantage.

Similarly, in Germany, Stanat (cited in Kristen and Granato 2007) found that ethnic disparities in attainment largely came from socio-educational disadvantage rather than ‘ethnic’ factors. However, depending on the performance indicator and the immigrant group under consideration, ethnic disadvantages did not always vanish. This was particularly the case for Italian students.

Rothon (2007) has added to the debate by showing that in England and Wales, social class works in the same way for all ethnic groups; i.e. that the effect on attainment of moving one place down the social class structure is similar for all ethnicities. Nevertheless, the analysis also confirmed that there are significant differences in levels of attainment *between* ethnic groups, even when pupils from the same social class background are compared.

Thus, evidence indicates that socio-economic status is often a good predictor of academic attainment, and for some groups it can be a better predictor than ethnic or immigrant background. This suggests that poverty may be the most ‘marginalizing’ factor in terms of educational outcome for some groups. Therefore, in order to reduce educational inequalities for some migrant and minority groups it is crucial to improve their socio-economic status.

³¹ See also van Avermaet (2006).

Attempts to improve the economic condition and structural position of minority groups should be part of an aim to increase social mobility generally.³²

At the same time, studies consistently confirm that significant differences in outcomes remain between most minority groups and the majority after controlling for socio-economic status. These differences have been shown to be particularly significant for certain groups such as Black Caribbean pupils in the UK, and Turkish and Italian pupils in Germany. The following sections consider the main factors identified in the literature to explain these persistent differences in outcomes.

3.2 Researching Ethnicity and Education: Some Approaches

A review of the literature on secondary education in England between 1980 and 2005 (Stevens 2007) provides useful insights for this cross-country study, as it distinguishes between a number of different analytical approaches to studying relationships between educational inequality and ethnicity. Three of these approaches are of particular relevance to this section because they are characterised by attempts to *explain* differences in attainment rather than just *describe* them.

First, the *racism and racial discrimination in school* (RRDS) approach uses ethnographic and other qualitative research methods to explore how school selection processes, an ethnocentric curriculum, and White teachers' racist attitudes and discriminatory behaviour inform the educational experiences and outcomes of minority pupils. Stevens points out that this is by far the most developed research tradition (and as such, we devote the most space to it).

Second, the *culture and educational outcomes* (CEO) approach looks at the importance of racial/ethnic minorities' cultures in influencing the educational outcomes of particular minority children.

The third approach, *educational markets and educational outcomes* (EMEO), investigates how changes in the English educational system, realized through 1988 Education Reform Act, inform the educational experiences of various social classes and racial/ethnic minority groups in pursuing educational opportunities. According to Stevens (2007), these reforms created an 'educational market' in which schools were framed as providers that must compete against other schools for pupils. Central to the reforms was the creation of a statutory national curriculum; a benchmark of test scores and the evaluation of schools on the basis of these scores (published nationally in league tables); and the option for schools to 'opt out' of local control and operate independently to stimulate diversity in the market.³³ Other overviews of the UK literature on educational inequality and ethnicity broadly identify similar categories for explanations. For example, Strand (2007) categorises explanations in three general areas – social class, teacher expectations and cultural orientation. Although the labels are different, the final two categories correspond closely to Stevens' RRDS and CEO 'traditions'.

³² For more details on social mobility in the UK see Blanden and Machin (2007).

³³ Steven's (2007:149) other two frameworks – *political arithmetic*, which offers "general, more representative descriptions of how pupils of different racial/ethnic minorities perform in education over time", and *school effectiveness and school inclusion*, which "uses quantitative analytical techniques on large data sets to investigate the characteristics of effective schools for pupils in general and for specific social (racial/ethnic) groups" – are chiefly descriptive, rather than explanatory, in nature. The former relates to the information in the second part of *Section 2* in the current report; we touch on issues of inclusion and school effectiveness in the section on school and system factors below, and in the policy review section.

The structure used in this section builds on the categories used by Stevens and Strand. However, it makes a broader distinction between 'school' and 'non-school' factors. This is in part because 'school' issues identified in the French, German and Dutch literature do not quite fit into 'narrow' references to 'racism' or teacher expectations. Nevertheless, such issues are included. Similarly, although a number of 'non-school' explanatory factors are related to a broad definition of 'culture', a wider set of issues have also been identified.

While this review draws on a wide range of literature providing explanations for ethnicity-based educational inequalities, a key gap in the literature should be noted. This relates to studies that prioritise the 'voice' of children and young people from ethnic minority and migrant groups in order to understand their educational situation. Some of the quantitative data identified provides information on issues such as students' attitudes and perceptions of school; the most comprehensive data in this regard comes from the international PISA study (Stanat and Christensen 2006). Some other work provides qualitative evidence from interviews with pupils as part of project evaluations or analytical overviews (e.g. Tikly *et al* 2006; Franchi 2004).³⁴ Yet, in their study of minority ethnic pupil experiences of school in Scotland, Arshad *et al* (2004:105) found that

The literature that is available...is dominated by studies of young people's lives...These reports are written by adult researchers *about* young people. What is noticeable is the paucity of material that is owned by young people, that gives prominence to their voices and in which 'they speak for themselves'.

It is clear that an understanding of why inequalities persist for some ethnic minority and migrant children would be enhanced by further work in this area.

3.3 School and System Factors: Direct and Indirect Discrimination

The concept of 'indirect discrimination' is prominent in the literature explaining educational inequality. In the UK, the term 'institutional racism' is widely used.³⁵ This moves beyond discrimination as individualistic, conscious and intended behaviour to encompass organisational arrangements that may have nothing to do with ethnicity directly, but may nevertheless have disproportionately negative impacts on some ethnic groups. From this perspective, any difference in educational outcomes between social groups constitutes *prima facie* evidence of discrimination (Gillborn and Youdell 2000; Vasta 2007). The following section considers the ways in which structural characteristics of education systems can affect educational outcomes of ethnic minority and migrant children³⁶.

3.3.1 Structure of the Educational System

It has been argued that factors relating to the general institutional arrangements of educational systems help to explain differences in educational outcomes. While the literature in general warns against trying to create a perfect system through 'mixing and matching' from different national arrangements, institutional arrangements do have a significant impact on the outcomes of different minority groups and as such are an important area for policy.

³⁴ Qualitative studies prioritising children's 'voices' were identified for some other marginalised groups, for example, young carers or cared for children in Allard and McNamara (2003), and children with disabilities in Watson *et al* (1999).

³⁵ Vasta (2007) argues for the use of the term in reference to the Netherlands, but believes that policy-makers and researchers continue to use the 'milder' term 'discrimination'. She cites claims that if racism is recognised at all, it is seen as a problem of individual error, not as an institutional problem. She argues there is a 'politics of avoidance' in terms of academic research and society generally.

³⁶ Structural discrimination also in wider society also has an effect but cannot be discussed in detail here

Crul has produced a number of research papers focused on education systems as part of 'The Integration of the European Second Generation' (TIES) project. This comparative research project focuses on the descendants of immigrants in EU member states, including France, Germany and the Netherlands. In his comparative studies of the educational position of second generation Turks Crul (2004:18) argues that

the differential outcomes...do not seem to be attributable to arrangements specifically targeted at migrant youth, but more to the generic policies and the resulting institutional arrangements prevailing in each particular country.

In his most recent paper, Crul (2007) argues for the need to focus on why educational systems produce unfavourable results for children of immigrants. To explain why Germany's second generation Turks do relatively badly, Crul notes two key issues. The first is the *age at which <formal> education begins*. He argues that in Germany, where most second generation Turks start at age six, the cohort are disadvantaged during a crucial development phase, particularly for language acquisition, compared to peers in France where they start at age two or three, and the Netherlands where they tend to start at four.³⁷ He 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.

The 'institutional arrangement' that has received most attention in the literature is the school tracking system and the age of selection (e.g. Brunello and Checchi 2007; Crul and Schneider 2005; Schnepf 2002). In general terms, the 2006 OECD report drawing on PISA data suggested that there is a relationship between inequalities in immigrant student performance and school system design:

almost all of [the] countries with large disparities tend to have greater differentiation in their school systems with 15-year-olds attending four or more school types or distinct educational programmes...this may contribute to the size of the performance gap (Stanat and Christensen 2006: 54).

The German system has received particular attention because tracking commences very early on in students' educational careers (e.g. Schnepf 2002). As the previous section highlighted, 'migrant' students in Germany are over-represented in the less academic types of school, and under-represented in the more academic types. Crul (2007) argues that in the case of Turkish children, early selection, coupled with the late start in formal education and below-average number of contact hours, gives them little time to overcome their disadvantaged starting position (due to the non-school factors discussed below).

In an examination of the impact of early tracking, Schnepf (2002:13) concludes that it is:

the secondary school choice, based on a decision usually taken when the pupil is 10-years old,³⁸ that shapes an individual's lifetime chances and limits professional opportunities, especially for children tracked at the lower end of the hierarchical [three track] school system.

Recent work by Brunello and Checchi (2007) confirm previous literature that shows that early school tracking reinforces the impact of family background on educational attainment, having a detrimental effect on those from a more disadvantaged background. They suggest that raising the age of first selection, or reducing the number of tracks available, may increase the

³⁷ This suggests that there is differentiation in terms of whether early childhood education is compulsory, accessible and affordable in each country.

³⁸ 12 years in Berlin.

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).³⁹

Radical reform of the German educational system has been proposed in a recent UN report (Muñoz 2007). The Special Rapporteur on the right to education has urged the German government to reconsider the multi-track school system with classification of students at the lower secondary level. He argues the system is not inclusive, can lead to discrimination, and has a negative effect on particular groups of children including those from minority backgrounds.

The process of tracking deserves a note here. In Germany, students are placed in one of the three tracks based on their academic performance and the recommendations of their teachers, such that the system allows for any bias held by the teacher to affect the student's educational career (and future livelihood). In theory, this decision can be influenced or overruled by parents, but ethnic minority or migrant parents often find it difficult to understand or engage with the education system; this is discussed below. Kalkan and Yazer (2007) relate the story of a first-generation Afghani migrant in Amsterdam, who, despite his strong high school entrance exam and language test results, and the protestations of his parents, was tracked into a vocational school. The extent to which this 'under-advising' is a unique or common occurrence is currently an issue of political debate in urban Netherlands.

A core criticism of the tracking system is that it causes segregation by class, ability and ethnicity in the school system. The impact of segregation and its causes are the focus of the following section.

3.3.2 Segregation: Extent, Impact and Causes

There is a considerable body of academic and policy-related work on 'segregation' – the concept and its measurement; evidence on ethnic residential segregation, and on ethnic and income segregation across schools; and literature on the impact of segregation on educational outcomes (Massey and Denton 1988; Allen and Vignoles 2006). This section provides a brief discussion of the concept, and the causes and effects of segregation.

Massey and Denton (1988) distinguish five dimensions of residential segregation: evenness, exposure, concentration, centralisation and clustering. Each focuses on a different aspect of the phenomenon, with the last three regarded as explicitly spatial concepts. In order to study school segregation, Burgess *et al* (2004) use the dimensions of evenness and exposure. 'Evenness' refers to the differential distribution of two social groups within an area. They argue that an uneven distribution of a minority group results in segregation of that group. 'Exposure' refers to the degree of potential contact between members of different social groups within an area.

Burgess *et al* (2004) show that in the UK there is evidence of high levels of ethnic segregation in both neighbourhoods and schools. They measure the level of segregation experienced by secondary school age children using school and national census data, and find that for most ethnic groups, children are *more* segregated in school than in their already highly segregated neighbourhoods. A highly-charged political issue in the UK, this reflects

³⁹ The British Government's 28 January 2008 controversial announcement that certain corporations (MacDonalds, FlyBe and Network Rail in the first instance) will be able to offer vocational certificates that will be 'equivalent' to the academic 'A'-levels shows the importance that a strong vocational programme is perceived to have in terms of keeping young people in education and training.

both the capacity for parents to move residences that fall into the catchment areas of ‘better’ schools, and the capacity for parents to select schools – and schools to select students – within a particular LEA.⁴⁰ Similarly, in the Dutch case, Vedder (2006) points to two factors to explain the distribution of ethnic groups between schools: the academic selectivity of the school system, and the founding and maintaining of schools along religious lines.

The issue of ‘black’ and ‘white’ schools is particularly notable in policy documents and academic literature from the Netherlands (e.g. MINOCW 2007; Vasta 2007; Vedder 2006; Vermuelen 2001). Vasta (2007) argues there are very high levels of segregation in Dutch schools, particularly in the cities, although the situation has recently begun to improve. Vermuelen (2001) also highlights a Dutch political debate over whether the tendency towards further segregation should be countered by legal measures.

In the French context, Payet (2002) has done extensive field research that has considered the role of ‘ethnic’ segregation at the urban, school and intra-school levels. He also identified a “fabrication of classes” within schools, where head teachers unofficially endorse practices that allow the creation of divisions between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ classes, in order to keep ‘good’ pupils from transferring to the private sector or elsewhere (e.g. streaming). Pupils’ origins constituted an important criterion in their strategic allocation to ‘good’ or ‘bad’ classes within the same section. It was found that boys, and pupils born to non-French parents, were overrepresented in classes with high concentrations of ‘low achievers’ and ‘slow learners’.

Segregation is regarded as problematic in the literature for two main reasons. The first relates to the wider goal of social integration. The nature of the relationship between neighbourhood and school segregation, and the perceived low levels of social integration among some ethnic minority and migrant groups – particularly Muslims – is a highly politicised debate throughout the four countries.

The second reason that segregation is viewed as a problem is that the distribution of pupils with different characteristics is perceived to have implications for overall levels of attainment, and for the pattern of attainment by different groups (e.g. Zimmer and Toma 2000).

The question of whether segregation has an impact on pupil attainment largely relates to what pedagogues call ‘peer effects’. Tough and Brooks (2007) point out that the evidence in this area is complex; however, the literature identified seems to suggest that peer effects can be significant. For example, in a cross-country analysis, Zimmer and Toma (2000) find that peer effects are most significant for low-attainment students: they find that the positive impact on the achievement levels of these students resulting from a greater mix of abilities exceeds any negative impact on high-attainment students’ achievement. They argue that school reform policies that influence enrolment patterns would be improved by a recognition of peer effects in affecting the achievement of low attainment and low socio-economic status children.

Studies on the relationship between *ethnic* segregation specifically, and educational performance in a European context provide a somewhat mixed picture. For example, in the UK, Johnston *et al* (2006) use PLASC data to investigate the relationship in schools in Bradford (which has a large Pakistani population) and Leicester (which has a large Indian population). They found evidence of a correlation between school ethnic composition and performance in Bradford, but not Leicester. Pakistani children in Bradford performed better in schools with a greater number of white children. The authors stress, however, that while this

⁴⁰ Tough and Brooks (2007) argue that UK schools’ admissions procedures are a key cause of school segregation. The report shows that where schools are able to administer their own admissions, they covertly select on the basis of ability and socio-economic background.

may be a causal relationship, it may also show that particular (high performing) Pakistani students attend mainly white schools. They suggest that the explanation for the differences between the groups is likely to be a combination of class background and educational aspirations differences between the two groups.

A number of studies on the relationship between segregation and the educational attainment of ethnic minorities and immigrants come from Sweden. Using multilevel analysis of data from two cohorts of graduates from Swedish comprehensive schools, Szulkin and Jonsson (2004) found that a high density of ethnic minority students depressed grade point averages in general and especially for immigrant pupils (see also Nordin 2006).

3.3.3 Classroom Discrimination and Educational Inequalities

The vast majority of the literature on classroom interactions comes from the research tradition identified by Stevens as *Racism and Racial Discrimination in School* (RRDS). His discussion of the evidence presented by these studies concludes that:

There is a wealth of case studies that explore how minority pupils experience schooling and how particular institutional processes influence the educational outcomes of these pupils. Although these studies provide evidence that...ethnic minorities experience (institutional) racism and discrimination in schools, they are less clear on how strongly teachers' particular expectations, attitudes, and practices and the school curriculum and structural organization affect minority pupils' educational outcomes and wider benefits, related to their self-esteem, social integration, and happiness (Stevens 2007:161).

Stevens (2007) suggests that in the UK context, a considerable amount of literature finds that classroom interactions discriminate against racial/ethnic minority pupils (see also Gillborn 1997), citing Wright (1988) as a widely discussed research study in this area. This study used ethnographic observations and analysis of interview data and school records to explore minority pupils' experience of school. A key observation was that the relationship between Black Caribbean pupils and their teacher was characterized by conflict. White ascribed this to teachers' negative attitudes to, and lower expectations of, Black Caribbean pupils, and their experiences of racism, even if this was not the teachers' intention. (Findings based on single or small numbers of case studies such as these, however, are often criticised as not generalisable beyond the case.)

It is important to note that teachers are not the only group responsible for direct or indirect discriminatory behaviour against ethnic minority and migrant students, affecting their capacity to study, achieve, and enjoy the school experience. The entire social structure of a school, including other members of school staff (e.g. administrative, maintenance and transport staff), and other students, are also involved, and that this is often in the form of bullying. Bullying can have significant negative effects on children's health and safety, educational attendance and achievement, and their dignity, self-esteem and social relationships. The 2001 UN *Study on Violence Against Children* considers that bullying can include a very wide range of activities: name calling; making false accusations or spreading rumours to make trouble for the victim; physical violence; damaging or stealing belongings or money; threats and intimidation; making silent or abusive phone calls; sending offensive phone texts; posting insulting messages on the Internet. The international standard definition of bullying emphasises the importance of *repetition, harm and unequal power* (Stassen Berger 2007).

These *unequal power relations* are often based on ethnicity or migrant status. However, in her recent review, Stassen Berger (2007) notes that while ethnicity-based bullying is a significant worry in countries that are multi-ethnic or receiving large numbers of immigrants, the evidence on its prevalence in OECD countries is both mixed, and inconclusive (because much available data does not specify the ethnicity of bully or victim). Cited evidence from

Australia, the US and the UK suggests that many ethnic minorities do not feel that they face bullying based on their ethnicity; a British study of South Asian students found more victimization by other Asian students than by students of traditional English heritage. A study comparing German and English primary schools noted a weak correlation between bullying, victimisation and both ethnicity and socio-economic status (Wolke *et al* 2002). At the same time, on the basis of a Dutch national survey, Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) report that ethnic minority children – especially Turkish children – are more often victims of racist name-calling and social exclusion than Dutch children, and that this increases when there are fewer ethnic minority children in the school. Shaw (2001) reports on evidence from a Canadian province that suggests that students from ethnic minority groups were least likely to report victimisation.

3.3.3.1 Impact of Teacher Expectations on Student Assessment

Evidence 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 through pupils' allocation to different groups (or 'sets'), streams or school types ('tracking'). Teachers' assessments of pupils' academic ability play an important role in determining outcomes in all four school systems. As noted above, in the systems with secondary school tracking – 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.

A systematic review of research on the reliability and validity of teachers' assessment found evidence of bias in teachers' judgements in certain circumstances (Harlen 2005). 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.

In the UK, the debate around teacher expectations has focused on the attainment levels of Black Caribbean pupils. The recent study by Strand (2007) demonstrates unequivocally the extent of ethnic differences in exam tiers in a large and representative UK sample. The results show that Black Caribbean, Black African, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups are roughly half as likely to be entered for the higher tier papers in GCSE science and mathematics compared to their White British peers.⁴¹ The under-representation is accounted for in the case of the Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black African groups when controls for prior attainment are applied. However after controlling for prior attainment Black Caribbean pupils are still under-represented, at a level of around 67% of that of White British pupils. Strand (2007:91-2) concludes that

The important issue raised by the tiering results is not so much that differential entry rates are the cause of the low attainment and poor progress of Black Caribbean pupils (although they may contribute somewhat) but that it might illustrate wider teacher expectation effects...tiering decisions need to be set within the wider context of teachers' perceptions and the social consequences of assessment.

⁴¹ If a teacher is not convinced of a student's capacity to achieve a high mark, it is risky for him to enter the student for an upper tier paper, as if he misses the threshold an 'unclassified' will be awarded; this affect the statistics for the teacher and school, as well as the student's prospects.

3.3.3.2 Impact of Teacher Expectations on Student Aspirations

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).

There is qualitative 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 (Cassen and Kingdon 2007; Franchi 2004; Stevens 2007; Tikly *et al* 2006). In the UK, this has again been put forward as an explanation for the relatively low attainment of Black Caribbean pupils. Tikly *et al* (2006) find that the great majority of Black Caribbean pupils report low teacher expectations that have an impact on their school experiences. They provide some illuminating quotes from children in the case study schools, for example:

Yeah, because the teachers think that you are stupid. [The teacher] tells you that you are stupid to your face. [The teacher said] "Oh you're not going to achieve anything anyway, so there's no point in helping you".

– Year 8 female pupil (*ibid*: 58)

Strand (2007) suggests that teacher expectations might impact directly on student motivation through the tiering process. In the UK, decisions about which exam tier a student will be allocated to are made at least six months before the tests and sometimes substantially in advance of this. This makes the teacher's expectations explicit to the student. Strand suggests that this may have the effect of demotivating students, helping to explain why Black Caribbean pupils also got lower test marks *within* tiers (Tikly *et al* 2006).

3.3.3.3 Curriculum Bias: Valuing Majority Culture

Similarly, it has been argued that both the formal and informal school curricula are biased against minority cultures by attaching higher status to a White, middle class culture, and marginalising expressions of minority cultures (Stevens 2007), and perhaps particularly students of mixed heritage (Tikly 2004). Teacher expectations and cultural 'visibility' in the curriculum are regarded as being important to whether children from minority groups feel valued and can therefore 'fit in' and reach their potential.⁴²

Vasta (2007) argues that in the Netherlands that the delivery of a multicultural curriculum is extremely important in terms of ethnic minority attainment, but there seems to be little research on how curricula relate to educational experiences or outcomes. Indeed, for the UK Tikly (2004) notes that although, after the 1999 MacPherson Report's findings of institutionalised racism in schools, the Home Secretary's Action Plan prioritised the amendment of the school curriculum to better reflect the needs of a diverse society, analysis of curriculum content in relation to discrimination and racism remains almost totally absent.

3.4 Non-School Factors Explaining Inequalities

3.4.1 Home Language and the Language 'Deficit'

⁴² This is linked to discussions about wider political policy that emphasises either multiculturalism or assimilation (see e.g. Vasta 2007 and Rijkschroeff *et al* 2005).

Language is self-evidently a vital component of education, and many studies have looked at the effects on migrant and ethnic minority children for whom the language of instruction in school is different from the one spoken at home (Eurydice 2004a). This section considers the evidence on how levels of language competency effect educational attainment.⁴³

It is important to note that on average, different ethnic minority and immigrant groups speak the school's language of instruction at home to different extents, depending on their country of origin, time spent in the country, and extent of integration. For example, Wilson *et al* (2005) show that in the UK, there are wide variations between the proportions of ethnic minority students who do not have English as their mother tongue: Black Caribbean 7%; Black African 66%; Indian 85%; Pakistani 93%; Bangladeshi 97%.

The most comprehensive source of data on students' educational attainment and the language spoken at home are the PISA surveys. Stanat and Christensen (2006) examine the data on performance differences between 'native' students, first generation and second generation immigrants who speak the language of instruction at home, and immigrant students who do not. The study suggests that students who do not speak the language of instruction at home face a significant disadvantage in school, and have substantially lower mathematical and especially reading scores. When language spoken at home is controlled for, the performance gaps between immigrant students and their 'native' peers are substantially smaller in both mathematics and reading, but remain significant. Even after accounting for parents' educational and occupational status, the performance gap associated with the language spoken at home remains significant in a number of OECD countries, including Germany.

Two factors are suggested to explain the relationship between lower attainment and home-school language differences. The first is that using a different language at home might suggest a lower level of integration, where parents lack the language skills to assist with homework, or engage with school processes. The second is that students themselves have not mastered the language of instruction because of a lack of exposure to it in their personal lives. The report concludes that "countries with a strong relationship between the language students speak at home and their performance ... may want to consider strengthening language support measures in schools" (ibid:10).

For England, the PLASC also contains information on the language pupils speak at home. This information has been used with attainment data from the NPD to suggest that in the English context, language spoken at home has a more complex relationship with attainment. Wilson *et al* (2005) and Cassen and Kingdon (2007) find that having English as an additional language initially restricts the attainment of Asian and African children relative to White British children in primary school, but that the gap progressively disappears. They suggest that the effect of having a different mother tongue to English is positive and significant in the gain made by some minority ethnic groups in key national tests between the ages of 11 and 16.

It seems likely that students whose first language is not English will find school difficult initially, and then improve... The progress that we have observed through school could be due to the simple passage of time in an environment where English is used intensively (Schreimer 2004:27).

Evidence from the Netherlands also confirms that the language deficit is significant in primary school. A large-scale longitudinal study of the development of language proficiency of

⁴³ Some may argue that if schools are unable to effectively include those children who do not speak the language of instruction as their mother tongue in the learning and attainment process, this is a school factor, rather than a home factor. We would argue that it is the interaction between the two.

primary school children in the Netherlands provides some interesting findings. It shows that over a two year period, although Moroccan and Turkish speaking children made progress in terms of Dutch language proficiency in absolute terms, the gap compared to Dutch speaking children did not decrease. In fact, for Turkish-speaking children, the gap increased. The authors argue that this is “bad news for the debate on language deficit reduction through education” and that over the study period “the actual competitive position in education has not changed in favour of immigrant groups” (Driessen *et al* 2002:190).

However, van Avermaet (2006), Driessen *et al* (2002) and others, argue that the actual relationship between 'home language' and 'school language' is highly complex. This debate on language acquisition of immigrant children draws on the distinction made by Cummins (1996) between CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) and BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills). The former refers to a more abstract and decontextualised language use as is common in school subjects, while the latter relates to everyday language use among people who are familiar with the conversational context.⁴⁴ Van Avermaet finds that the proficiency gap for 'academic language' is observed with 'native' speakers as well as immigrant children. He shows that this gap is socio-culturally rather than 'ethnically' determined. Driessen *et al* (2002) conclude that the use of the Dutch language in itself is not important in the development of language proficiency. Their analyses show that children who speak a particular dialect (Limburgish) use Dutch the least, but have the highest language proficiency score; whereas Turkish and Moroccan-speaking children speak Dutch more often, yet they have a much lower language proficiency score. This suggests that the frequency with which the language of instruction is spoken in the home is less important than having opportunities to develop CALP, either at home or through school language support.

3.4.2 The Role of Parenting

Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) conducted a review of the literature on the relationship between parental involvement, parental support and family education on pupil achievement and adjustment in schools. The literature describes a variety of parental 'activities' under the terms 'parental involvement' or 'participation'. These include good parenting in the home (including intellectual stimulation, high aspirations for personal fulfilment and models of educational values); information sharing with the school; attendance at school events; and formal participation in school governance (see also Smit and Driessen 2007). Epstein (1995) suggests a widely-used classification of six types of parental participation: Parenting; Communicating; Volunteering; Learning at Home; Decision-making; Collaborating with Community. The evidence suggests that that parental involvement in the form of “at-home good parenting” (values and aspirations modelled in the home) had the most significant positive effect on children’s achievement and adjustment, even after controlling for other factors.

The Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) review is also concerned with the extent to which parental involvement is implicated in the educational attainment of different ethnic groups in the UK. In other words, does parental involvement have less of an impact on certain groups? They warn that most of the studies fail to take into account the influence of socio-economic status on achievement, limiting their relevance to understanding ethnic differences in the relationship between involvement and achievement (see also Sacker *et al* 2002). Nevertheless, they conclude that: “whilst there are important differences between ethnic minority parents and how they express their support and involvement, the basic mechanism and the scale of impact is constant across all ethnic groups studied” (Desforges and

⁴⁴ For Cummins’ summary of the CALP-BICS distinction, see <http://www.iteachilearn.com/cummins/bicscalp.html>.

Abouchaar 2003: 37). In other words, parental involvement of a particular level will help a child to the same extent, regardless of ethnicity.

Desforges and Abouchaar also review literature that attempts to explain differences between parents in their *levels* of involvement. They identify a number of influencing factors including social class, poverty and health. However, the review did not identify any studies that provide evidence that parents from certain ethnic groups were more involved than parents from others.

In the Dutch context, on the other hand, a large-scale empirical study by Smit and Driessen (2007) focuses on the differences and similarities in ideas about the parent-school relationship among ten ethnic groups. The study found that groups of immigrant and Dutch parents had very different ideas and expectations of education, and that their own education, faith and traditional culture shaped their upbringing of their children. The main differences in involvement relate to direct contact with the school through information sharing and discussion.

A key factor for some groups in this regard is language. For example, Cape Verdian, Surinamese and Pakistani parents were frustrated at being unable to have a say at school because of their lack of Dutch, and many Moroccan mothers had virtually no contact with the school because they cannot read or speak Dutch. Many parents also felt they were “put off” by teachers who were unwilling or unable to discuss issues of education and child upbringing with them (Smit and Driessen 2007).

These factors are clearly important to ways that families from different backgrounds experience interaction with schools. Nevertheless, the evidence reviewed by Desforges and Abouchaar shows that it is the values and aspirations modelled in the home that have greater effect on child achievement than these other forms of involvement. It seems likely, however, that some of the ‘school contact’ factors identified by Smit and Driessen might influence how values and aspirations are modelled in the home, and *vice versa*. For example, harmonizing the educative ideas of the school with those of the home might be important. Many parents wanted to discuss or get advice on school values, on child upbringing and education or on issues such as their children avoiding crime but they reported that teachers had a poor regard for their attempts to support their child’s education (*ibid*).

The value that some parents put on education as a vehicle for social mobility has also been highlighted as a key factor. In the UK context, the parental aspirations of some groups have been described as an ‘Asian trajectory’. Modood (2003) argues that there is evidence that Asians in the UK place particular value on social mobility by education and progression into the professions, via obeying teachers and sacrificing leisure pursuits. He provides examples that South Asian university entrants are less likely than other groups to come from a non-manual background and that, in contrast, members of the Caribbean ethnic group are much more likely to come from non-manual backgrounds than Pakistani or Bangladeshi groups.

On the other hand, in a recent literature review of the British and American evidence on the relationship between parenting and ethnicity, Phoenix and Husain (2007) note the highly complex and often problematic nature of making judgements on the ‘level’ or ‘quality’ of parenting offered by a particular ethnic group, particularly in comparison to a White ‘norm’. As an addendum to the issue of parenting, it is important to note the ongoing political debates around the participation of Muslim girls in European education. The ‘headscarf debate’ in France, which erupted around the 2004 law on secularity and banning conspicuous religious symbols in schools, has brought to the forefront issues regarding how best to promote both social integration and educational attainment. Is this best achieved through allowing pupils to express the religious and cultural identity of themselves and their

families, or through compelling a level of conformity to offer children a secular, gender equal classroom in which to learn? Relatedly, the relatively conservative socio-religious views of parents, other male relatives, and girls themselves – again, particularly Muslims from some countries – can limit the physical independence and mobility of young women. In extreme cases this can lead to the girl dropping out after compulsory education. It is beyond the scope of this paper to delve into these debates here, but it is important to note that the evidence, while more anecdotal than systematic, suggests that the relationships are complex (see e.g. Archer 2002).

* * * * *

This brief review of the explanations offered by recent scholarship for the persistent educational inequalities experienced by particular ethnic minority and migrant groups has demonstrated the complexity of the issue. Many factors interact to play a role in limiting the capacity of these children to learn and progress in the school environment; in some cases, the relative importance of a particular cause depends on the local context and the particular ethnic group. For this reason, policy interventions may not be easily transferable from one country, local context or minority ethnic group to another. We turn to European, national and local policy initiatives, and attempt to define ‘good practice’ in *Sections 4 and 5*.

In particular, we have noted that there is a significant correlation between socio-economic status and educational outcomes, and there is also often a significant correlation between socio-economic status and ethnic or migrant status. However, the extent to which socio-economic status explains any educational disadvantage faced by a specific minority group varies. For effective policy-making, it is crucial that these relationships are disentangled, through both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis.

The school-based factors that affect the educational careers of ethnic minority and migrant children are numerous and interrelated. These include:

- the structure of the educational system, with practices of ‘tracking’, ‘streaming’ and ‘tiering’ at the forefront;
- segregation within and between neighbourhoods and schools;
- direct and discrimination in the classroom and playground by teachers, staff and other students, including bullying and the ways in which teacher expectations affect student assessments, progression and aspirations; and
- curriculum bias.

In addition, there are also ‘home-based’ factors, including language deficits, parenting styles, and in some cases social, cultural and religious practices. Broadly speaking, these can all be considered as problems of *inclusion*.

4. Policies and Strategies: European and National Levels

4.1 Overarching European Union Legislative and Policy Frameworks

The EU principle of 'subsidiarity' means education systems are primarily a matter for national governments and parliaments. There are however, an number of legislative measures, policies, conventions and recommendations which provide a European framework relevant to this study.

The EU's role in this area derives both from its responsibility for Europe-wide issues and its broad social and economic objectives. These are encapsulated in the conclusions of the March 2000 Lisbon Summit when the EU set itself the objective for the decade ahead of becoming "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" (Eurydice 2004a:11) The integration of immigrants is central to the last point, and education is key to knowledge based economic growth.

4.1.1 Legislative Measures on Non-discrimination and Right to Education

EU policy is mainly implemented through directives that, once established by the European Council, have to be incorporated into national legislation before taking full effect. The Race Equality Directive, adopted in June 2000, attempts to tackle racism and xenophobia in the fields of employment and social affairs. It states that "specific action in the field of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin should go beyond access to employed and self employed activities and cover areas such as education" (Bhandal and Hopkins 2007:10). The Directive also entitles immigrant children or children of immigrant origin to appeal in the event of less favourable treatment (direct discrimination), or when apparently neutral provision or practices put them at a disadvantage (indirect discrimination).

A number of directives also constitute specific legislative measures on the education of immigrant children. Since January 2003, children who are asylum seekers themselves or whose parents are asylum seekers have been able to access the education system under conditions similar to those of nationals. Nevertheless a number of differences in provision are permissible: education may be provided to children in accommodation centres rather than mainstream schools, and although access must be granted within three months of the asylum application, it may be postponed for up to a year if special tuition is provided to facilitate access to the system.

Since November 2003, children of 'third country nationals' (i.e. from outside the EU) that are long-term residents, receive the same treatment as nationals with regards to education. However, member states may restrict equal treatment with nationals with respect to access to the education system by requiring proof of appropriate language proficiency (Eurydice 2004a).⁴⁵ For example, this means that immigrant children can be grouped together separately from other children within a school so that they can receive special attention geared to their language needs.

Thus European legislation in general is aimed at granting entitlement to education for first-generation immigrant children under the same conditions as nationals, with some exceptions. It does not, however, include any *positive* measures for the assistance of immigrant children. Immigrant children have the same right to financial assistance as other children, but are treated no more favourably, and decisions about language assistance are left to member states (Eurydice 2004a).

⁴⁵ See also summaries of EU legislation at EUROPA <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/l23034.htm>.

4.1.2 Key Policy Measures: Equality, Social Inclusion and ‘Education and Training 2010’

The role of education and training is regarded as central to achieving the aims of the Lisbon Agenda. ‘Education and Training 2010’⁴⁶ constitutes a strategic framework for co-operation in education, in which Ministers of Education have agreed on shared objectives and a coherent approach to national education policies. One of the aims of the strategy is the “development of society in particular by fostering democracy, reducing the disparities and inequalities among individuals and groups and promoting cultural diversity.” A subsequent ten year work programme was commissioned by the Education Council. The programme includes a number of key policy measures designed to promote equality and social inclusion.

The EU Working Group on Active Citizenship and Social Cohesion (referred to as the ‘cluster for social inclusion’) focuses on the need for education and training policies to create equal opportunities for Roma and migrants, and highlights the importance of applying EU anti-discrimination guidelines in education along with the possibilities of legal sanctions. The cluster issued a range of recommendations that largely relate to promoting a multicultural approach through staff employment and training, addressing a lack of multicultural curricula and learning materials, and ensuring the participation of minority groups in their development.

Education and Training 2010 also provides a framework of eight key ‘lifelong learning’ competencies. It acknowledges that these need to be underpinned by equality, participation and non-discrimination principles. The framework recognises equity considerations by including a prescription for additional support for those young people that are at an educational disadvantage because of personal, social, cultural or economic circumstances, in order for them to fulfil their potential.

In order to implement the Education and Training 2010 programme, member states are strongly encouraged to base strategies on a solid evidence base and evaluation culture within their education and training systems. It is recommended that members prioritise producing and accessing statistical data, and recognise the importance of benchmarking as a policy tool in education to promote understanding of the impact of different practices and to enable the sharing of good practice. A number of EU-level benchmarks are established that relate to the integration of migrant and ethnic minority groups. These include: no more than 10% of students to leave school early; a decrease of at least 20% between 2000 and 2010 in the share of low achieving pupils in reading and writing; and at least 85% of young people aged 22 should have completed upper secondary education (Eurydice 2004a). Although the targets apply to all pupils, because particular migrant and ethnic minority groups tend to be over-represented in the lower percentiles, raising the level of overall achievement in these areas will raise the achievement of pupils in those particular groups.

4.1.3 Council of Europe Recommendations on Education

The Council of Europe has also developed numerous policy recommendations and programmes related to education, as part of its work in the field of human rights. The most recent example is its adoption of 15 recommendations for schools produced by the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) towards combating racism and discrimination in and through school education. These guidelines cover measures including adopting and promoting equality policies and monitoring progress on compliance. They also recommend reviewing mainstream curricula and materials, mandatory training on teaching in

⁴⁶ See http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/et_2010_en.html.

a multicultural context for all education staff, and awareness raising on racism and racial discrimination for all staff, pupils and parents. They stress the need to avoid segregation in schooling, including the segregation of ethnic minority children into the poorest schools, special needs schools, or separate classes (Bhandal and Hopkins 2007).

The European Network Against Racism (ENAR) review of EU and national policy frameworks finds that the impact of EU policy at national level remains limited. It notes that “educational policy and practice at national levels is...a response primarily to national legislation, political ideologies and priorities, and to local demographic and socio-economic contexts” (*ibid*: 34). The report suggests that although EU Education and Training 2010 policy and objectives are beginning to have some impact at national level, the measures the EU has at its disposal under the framework should be used more effectively to strengthen the race equality dimension of its education work with member states. The box below summarises the report’s suggestions for how the EU can strengthen its position as a leader in promoting inclusion and diversity in order to reduce education inequality based on ethnicity.

4.2 National Legal Frameworks

4.2.1 The Right to Education

In all four countries focused on in this report, all children of compulsory school age⁴⁷ have the right and the obligation to receive free education. This right takes expression in a number of international legal instruments, including the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 26; see UNHCHR 1948) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 28; see UNHCHR 1989). In line with the EU directives outlined above, this right is extended to children irrespective of their migrant or minority status, including children who are newly-arrived migrants, refugees or asylum seekers. These children are also entitled to benefit from school services and financial support awarded by education authorities in the same way as nationals (Eurydice 2004a).

In the Netherlands, Article 23 of the Constitution gives parents the ‘freedom to provide education according to religious or other belief’. This is the basis for the existence of religious schools, which have their own pedagogic approach but are funded by the state on an equal basis with public schools. The situations in the UK and Germany are similar, although private funding is also involved. In France, schools affiliated with religious bodies must follow the same curriculum, whether or not they have public funding. Discrimination of students on the basis of religion is banned in all four states, and students and parents have choice as to whether to participate in religious classes.

⁴⁷ Starting age is 4 in Northern Ireland, 4 or 5 in Scotland, 5 in England, Wales and the Netherlands, and 6 in France and Germany. Minimum school leaving age is 16 throughout the UK and in France and the Netherlands; it is 18 in Germany. In the Netherlands up to the last half year can be part-time; in Germany up to the last 3 years can be part-time.

Increasing EU leadership in the promotion of inclusion and diversity in education

The ENAR report (Bhandal and Hopkins 2007) identifies a number of areas in which the EU can increase the effectiveness of its work to promote inclusion and diversity, and reduce educational inequality between racial/ethnic groups:

- ***Policy and legislative framework on non-discrimination***

Implementation of the Race Equality Directive in the field of education, through the adoption of national legislation, would drive forward non-discrimination policy and practice at institutional level in member countries. Legal compliance is a key driver for institutions.

The EU should develop guidance documents and toolkits on how to mainstream race equality in education through the adoption of policies and action plans at all levels of education systems.

- ***Mechanisms for co-ordination, exchange of information and peer review***

The EU must use these mechanisms in a more structured way to promote best practice exchange.

Education and Training 2010 (cluster on social inclusion) should take a lead in promoting systematic dissemination of guidance to ensure best practice lessons are integrated into education institutions in member states and ensure the participation of civil society in its work.

The EU could support a new network of education professionals, policymakers and NGOs, including ethnic minority educators and civil society groups. This would allow for structured dialogue that would help bridge the gap between policy directions and implementation on the ground. The EU could enhance opportunities for networking and information exchange through a programme of seminars and conferences on promoting equality in education.

- ***Training and guidance***

The EU should provide specific guidance and transnational funding for teacher training and professional development strategies that enable educators to tackle inequality and discrimination and deliver intercultural education.

- ***Data collection, monitoring and evaluation***

In order to measure the extent and impact of discrimination in education systems on ethnic minorities the EU should support the development of evidence, based on quantitative and qualitative data.

Comprehensive EU and national level monitoring and reporting mechanisms should be established using the guidance from the 'European handbook on equality data' (Makkonen 2006). The European Statistical System (ESS) and EUROSTAT should incorporate monitoring by ethnic group.

The EU should encourage member states to compile statistics on the attendance, exclusion, completion rates, results and progression of minority groups in the school system. The European Commission could monitor and publish analysis on a regular basis, establish baselines and develop priorities.

They should supplement this with research studies on educational practices (e.g. curriculum, teacher training, parental involvement), models of integration and raising attainment, effective language support strategies, school measures to address discrimination, and on the most effective methods of intercultural education.

- ***Funding***

The use of structural and community funds should be strengthened through the development of explicit race equality objectives and the adoption of clear criteria on equal opportunities and social inclusion in programme funding and evaluation criteria. In particular the European Commission should monitor funding uptake by ethnicity and the number funded to promote equality.

4.2.2 Anti-discrimination Laws and Policies

This section identifies the legislation and policies concerned with discrimination and inequalities, particularly in the field of education. The European Network Against Racism (2007) notes that of the EU countries, the UK “has the strongest anti-racist legislative, policy and implementation framework covering all areas of education” (Bhandal and Hopkins 2007: 34).

UK race equality legislation is over 30 years old and complements other statutes relating to equality in education based on sex and disability. The key driver of attempts to promote anti-discrimination policies is the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000). This means all public authorities, including education authorities, are obliged to be pro-active in challenging racial discrimination and promoting race equality, and the national schools inspectorate, the Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED), is responsible for monitoring school and Education Authority compliance with the new legislation.⁴⁸ For schools, this means they are expected to monitor the impact and operation of policies on pupils from different minority ethnic groups, including in terms of pupil achievement (Eurydice 2004d).

The Commission for Racial Equality is tasked with working towards the elimination of discrimination and promoting equality of opportunity and good race relations. It has the power to investigate organisations for racial discrimination and to enforce the duties placed on public bodies by the Race Relations Act.

In the Netherlands, the Dutch Equal Treatment Act forbids direct and indirect discrimination in a number of areas, including the provision of education services. ‘Race’ discrimination is taken to include that on the basis of skin colour, descent and national or ethnic origin. The Quality Act provides for the establishment of complaints commissions at schools, providing individuals with the right to complain about discrimination. There are three national monitoring bodies: The Equal Treatment Commission promotes and monitors compliance with the Equal Treatment Act; the National Federation of Anti-Discrimination Agencies and Hotlines registers complaints of unequal treatment; and the National Bureau Against Racial Discrimination screens all cases and case law in the area of discrimination.

France has no anti-discrimination legislation for the field of education. As discussed previously, the way in that France characterises the principle of ‘equality’ is incompatible with the recognition of ethnic and cultural difference in the public sphere. This has implications for both the schooling of ethnic minority and migrant groups, and for dealing with discrimination in education (Luciak 2004). A recent OECD report, drawing on French language sources suggests, however, that France has reinforced its anti-discrimination policy focusing particularly on institutional discrimination (Field *et al* 2007). Further, according to the Ministry of Education website,⁴⁹ since 1997, but particularly over the last three years, there has been an inter-ministerial and inter-law enforcement agency policy commitment to deal with illegal acts of racism, anti-Semitism and violence (widely defined – includes ‘serious insults and threats’) in schools rapidly and effectively. ‘Safe schools’ mean that schools are not outside the purview of state law, and indeed require special attention. There is careful monitoring and annual reporting of all incidences of violence in secondary schools; there are policies for dealing with perpetrators and victims of violence; the curriculum is intended to promote non-violence through promoting social equality, ‘living together’, health and citizenship, and educational success.

⁴⁸ The extent to which this has been implemented and supported by other education (and migration) policies under ‘New Labour’ is discussed (and challenged) by Tomlinson (2003) and Warren (2007).

⁴⁹ <http://www.education.gouv.fr>.

According to the EUMC (Luciak 2004), Germany also lacks any anti-discrimination legislation in the field of education, or any official body to monitor discrimination, racism or inequalities in education. The report does suggest, however, that various regulations concerning equal opportunities for migrants and children of migrant backgrounds have been under discussion.⁵⁰

The ENAR review (Bhandal and Hopkins 2007:34) concludes that:

positive national legislation and policy...are essential for creating an environment that is conducive and supportive of educators and education systems in addressing the problems and challenges of racial inequality in education at the practitioner level.

It argues that such legislation forms the basis for successful national responses to racial discrimination and the underachievement of ethnic minority pupils that must be systematic in their approach. At the same time, the report notes that even in countries where there is a strong legislative and statutory policy framework in place, implementation and non-compliance by educational institutions remains a problem.⁵¹

4.3 National Strategies

This section considers how national policies and strategies have taken form within the varying legislative and statutory frameworks outlined above. In the Netherlands, France and the UK, national strategies relating to the education of children from migrant and ethnic minority groups have contained a core *redistributive* element. This involves targeting additional resources, in the form of finance and teaching staff, at those groups who are most at risk of underachieving. In a comparative study, Karsten (2006:7) describes these as the 'classic programmes' which "still form the core policies to combat educational disadvantage in many Western countries". Alongside these 'classic programmes' the literature points to some broad elements that might fall within the remit of national policy (as opposed to *local initiatives*) on the education of minority and migrant children. These include intercultural education, language support, and centrally-led initiatives aimed at specific minority groups.⁵² In broad terms, this section attempts to identify which countries include these elements in national policy and the extent to which they have been implemented. It also considers the success, or potential success, of these elements of policy by considering literature on impact evaluations, policy criticism, and recommendations and examples of what works.

4.3.1 'Classic Programmes': Resource Allocation

There are differences in the target groups and the way in which funding is allocated by central government in those countries with 'classic programmes'. In the UK, Tikly *et al* (2006) explain that the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) funds both language support for pupils with English as an additional language and, more broadly, initiatives to raise the achievement of minority ethnic pupils at risk of underachieving. The funding is devolved from central government to Local Education Authorities (LEAs) on the basis of 'bids' or 'action plans'. These make the case for funding for individual LEAs and contain often quite detailed information concerning numbers of minority ethnic students, their achievement data, targets

⁵⁰ See also Will and Ruhl (2004). This report was unable to identify any more recent progress in this area.

⁵¹ The issue of compliance at the local level in the UK is highlighted in DfES (2006c).

⁵² It should be noted that these national policy areas are necessarily broad, and that more specific interventions and practices are implemented at the local level. These elements of national policy are not an exhaustive list but represent examples that receive considerable attention in the academic and policy literature. That said, the extent of the information available on these areas varied considerably across the four countries.

for raising achievement and strategies for meeting the targets. It is also stipulated that 85% of the funds must be devolved by LEAs to the school level (Tikly *et al* 2006).

In contrast to the EMAG 'action plans', the Dutch and French 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. The Dutch Educational Priority Policy (EPP) is aimed at all disadvantaged pupils, including those from ethnic minorities. There are two components to the policy. The first is based on priority 'areas', in which there is an accumulation of disadvantaging factors impacting on educational attainment. Primary and secondary schools, and institutions such as libraries and nurseries, work together to help combat disadvantage through collaborative activities. The second component is extra funding for primary schools, largely to increase staffing levels. Primary schools receive proportionately more staff for minority pupils to reflect their greater disadvantage. Minority pupils are counted as 1.9 in the allocation system, thus receiving nearly twice the resources of Dutch majority pupils. Though schools are free to decide on the use of staff, research suggests schools use them to create smaller class sizes and to teach Dutch as a second language (Driessen 2000; Rijkschroeff *et al* 2005). From the 1980s, decentralisation meant that the municipalities became responsible for the policy on combating educational disadvantage (Rijkschroeff *et al* 2005).

The French system for additional resource allocation is largely based on Priority Education Zones (ZEP). Franchi (2004) explains that grouping of schools accorded ZEP status in each academy is determined on the basis of a combination of criteria indicative of "socio-economic and cultural disadvantage". These are: the employment status of learners' parents and the rate of unemployment in the area; the proportion of foreigners, newly-arrived learners and children of migrants attending the school; and the rates of dropout, absenteeism, violence and disciplinary problems. The schools are allocated additional teaching and non-teaching staff (such as educational counsellors) and financial resources. These are intended, in part, to allow for the implementation of innovative locally-based initiatives (Franchi 2004; Karsten 2006).

4.3.1.1 The German Exception

In contrast to the other three countries, education policy in Germany is, due to its federal structures, determined by local government in the states (Länder). The co-ordination of Länder educational policy at the national level is led by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder (KMK). All its resolutions are required to be unanimous and are then implemented by the Länder through their own legislatures. While this study was unable to identify any English-language KMK policy documents, it is clear that initiatives at the Länder and community levels (discussed in *Section 5*) are central. At present, however, the educational component of local strategies is entirely comprised of language promotion for immigrant children and parents, as part of local integration objectives (German Federal Ministry of the Interior 2005).

The UN report on the German education system (Muñoz 2007) identifies a number of education priority areas identified by the KMK in response to the poor results in the PISA study. These have been implemented to varying degrees at Länder level. A number of them are directly relevant to improving the educational position of ethnic minority and migrant children. These include: the improvement of language competence especially for children with a migration background; strengthening of the link between preschool and primary school with the aim of an early school entry; efficient support of educationally disadvantaged children with particular regard to children and youths with a migrant background; the improvement of professionalism in teaching; and the expansion of the provision of whole-day

provision with the aim of increasing opportunities and support for pupils with educational deficits.

4.3.2 'Classic Programmes': Evaluations and Critical Analyses

This section looks at the literature that has evaluated whether increased resource allocation has raised the attainment of minority pupils, and then considers the main criticisms of the strategy.⁵³

Driessen (2000) suggests that evaluations of educational strategies are hindered because most countries do not conduct large-scale longitudinal research that would make it possible to identify changes over the period of a strategy's implementation. Driessen (2000:69) argues that "in many countries, many provisions have hardly been evaluated, or evaluations have been restricted to qualitative or descriptive research." Even for the UK, with the most material available to this study, there is a notable lack of policy analysis and evaluation of the EMAG. Tikly *et al* (2006:283) found that despite it being the "central plank in New Labour's strategy to raise the achievement of those minority ethnic groups at risk of underachieving...very little has been written about the...effectiveness of the Grant". Nevertheless, despite these limitations, the literature considered here provides an indication of how successful these strategies have been.

Tomlinson (2003) provides an interesting overview of the effectiveness of educational policy concerning the inclusion of minority groups. It draws on papers presented at the Congresses of the International Sociology Association on the educational systems of a range of countries characterised by ethnic and cultural diversity. Tomlinson reports that the common premise for all these papers was that the outcomes of educational policies devised with egalitarian intentions were often the opposite of what was intended.⁵⁴

Tikly *et al* (2006) are not quite so negative about the outcome of the EMAG strategy, and are able to identify several aspects of the programme that work (see box below). Their evaluation is based on a comparison of the strategies and targets set by LEAs with a quantitative analysis of changes in minority ethnic performance. The patterns that emerge from LEA data are consistent with the analysis of national data from the PLASC and the NPD outlined in *Section 2* of this review. The data confirms that Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage pupils, along with Black Caribbean pupils, remain the most 'at risk' of underachieving. However, rates of improvement were greater for Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils than for other groups, a sign that the attainment gap might be closing for these groups. However, despite the EMAG initiatives, the evaluation finds that the rate of improvement among Black Caribbean pupils is slightly lower than average, such that the attainment gap is actually widening for this group. They conclude that although changes in attainment during the period may not be solely attributable to the effects of EMAG, it has had a limited positive impact on raising attainment, in particular for one group most at risk of underachieving.

⁵³ It is again important to note that only a small number of sources were identified that considered these elements of the national level strategies on the education of minority and migrant children. In part, as has been highlighted in previous sections, this may be due to the language restrictions to which this review is subject. The literature that was identified, however, also suggests that a limited number of sources are available, both in terms of data collection for evaluation and discursive literature.

⁵⁴ Tomlinson points to some historical policy periods to which the papers referred. For example, remedial measures introduced in the 50s and 60s attempted to compensate minorities for their supposed deficiencies but failed to overcome patterns of inequality and discrimination. She argues that 'multicultural' policies in the late 70s and 80s were slow to take effect, abandoned before they had a chance and were often cosmetic and inadequately funded.

What Works: Positive Aspects of the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG)

In their evaluation of the EMAG Tikly *et al* (2006) regard government commitment to the grant, and pushing for its extension through increased levels of funding, as crucial to tackling educational inequality. Although a number of weaknesses of the strategy are identified, some positive aspects have also been noted:

- The expanded aims of the EMAG which shifts from a historical spotlight on language support to a broader and more explicit focus on under achievement.
- A new, clear and transparent funding formula explicitly targets Black Caribbean and mixed heritage pupils at risk of underachieving, as well as those minority ethnic groups with English as an additional language.
- The funding from EMAG is 'ring fenced' so that schools with already tight resources are not tempted to siphon off funds to other areas of need.
- An enhanced role for Local Education Authorities. Where schools have been most effective in raising achievement, LEAs have played a central role and supported them with a broad range of strategies. They argue that the critical role of LEAs still has not been fully recognised by central government, although in broad terms the government has begun to more clearly articulate an important role for LEAs in relation to school improvement based on a 'support and challenge' model.

In the Dutch case, Rijkschroeff *et al* (2005) strike a positive note. They argue that the 'equal opportunities' objective of Dutch educational policy 'is coming steadily closer', and cite evidence that pupils from minority groups are gradually performing better at both primary and secondary level.⁵⁵ However, the Rijkschroeff *et al* paper does not make explicit whether *all* minority groups are making *more* progress than the Dutch majority, and thus closing gaps in attainment.⁵⁶ While they also warn that "the relative success that emerges from the data could in fact be attributable to other factors", in fact "the conclusion that the results do not contradict the ambitions is nevertheless important in a field where, according to international research, 'perverse effects' are commonplace (Rijkschroeff *et al* 2005: 430).

Driessen (2000) is less positive about the Dutch strategy. He suggests that up until the mid-1990s the EPP had limited success in reducing inequality of attainment. This is based on data from large-scale cohort studies specifically designed to evaluate the strategy. According to Driessen, the poor performance of ethnic minority children in language and arithmetic did not improve, and Turkish and Moroccan children lagged far behind. Nevertheless, where schools had been allocated the most resources possible under the weighting system, minority children had caught up somewhat. However, Driessen warns that the minor differences involved were more likely to be attributable to the fact that the children had been in the Netherlands for a longer period of time than to the EPP itself.

In the conclusion to a comparative study on the impact of these 'classic programmes' in several countries, including England, France and the Netherlands, Karsten (2006:277) finds that they "do differ in administrative approach and intensity, but they have proved to be remarkably similar in one respect, that is, the limited results they have achieved".

The modest success of national strategies in reducing inequalities is reflected in the nature of the overall assessments in the literature. Criticism seems to be directed mainly at the scope of the strategies, and at a lack of underlying political will to tackle educational disadvantage.

⁵⁵ The paper cites the Dutch language study Dagevos, J. *et al* (2003) *Rapportage minderheden 2003. Onderwijs, arbeid en sociaal-culturele integratie* [Report on minorities 2003 – Education, employment and socio-cultural integration] (Den Haag, Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau/ Social and Cultural Planning Bureau).

⁵⁶ The data sources used in the study could not be accessed for this review.

For example, in their analysis of Dutch policy Rijkschroeff *et al* (2005) observe that it has focused almost exclusively on influencing the financial resources available to ethnic minority pupils and schools. They argue that ‘the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion’, which include low teacher expectations and secondary school selection policies, have not been tackled at all by national policy. In the UK, the issue of a lack of central intervention in critical areas is strongly emphasised by Tikly *et al* (2006). They believe that the EMAG does demonstrate an increased commitment on the part of central government in the UK to tackle the educational underachievement of some minority ethnic groups. Nevertheless they argue that this commitment is tempered by the failure to link the initiatives funded by the EMAG into a consistent commitment to tackling institutionalised racism in the educational system.

Some of the literature argues that the narrow scope of the strategies and the lack of commitment to tackling institutional racism mean that the policies are unlikely to change wider trends in integration policy. Vasta (2007:714) argues that mainstream political parties and governments are increasingly introducing policies designed to ensure immigrant integration that “often seem like a return to old style policies of assimilation”. It is argued that the Netherlands is seeing a particularly extreme turn in integration policy, away from multicultural policies and towards a more restrictive approach including increased coercion to undertake integration programmes.

Literature from the UK also notes a more ‘assimilationist’ thrust to government policy. For example, Back *et al* (2002) argue that this is based on a historical tendency towards appeasing White nationalistic sentiments over immigration and asylum seekers and that it works in tension to the commitment to tackling social exclusion. Tikly *et al* (2006) note that in the overall picture of government spending, the funding for the EMAG has to compete with funding for a number of new Home Office measures such as more robust immigration controls, and English and citizenship lessons for newly arrived learners.

Given the criticisms of the ‘classic programme’ strategy, an educational perspective that seeks to facilitate cultural inclusiveness and a critical awareness of discrimination and inequalities would appear to be a crucial component of policy. The following section considers the literature on intercultural education, and assesses the extent to which it has been incorporated into national policy.

4.3.2 Intercultural Education

Intercultural education receives considerable attention in the literature on migrant and ethnic minority education. According to Coulby (2006), it is a field in which normative and prescriptive elements receive more consideration than theoretical concerns. Indeed, proponents of intercultural education regard it as “probably the major theme, which needs to inform the teaching and learning of all subjects” (Coulby 2006:246; see also Leeman and Reid 2006; Luciak 2006). Luciak (2006:75) offers an explanation of what the intercultural ‘theme’ brings to education: the aim is “to deepen students’ knowledge and appreciation of different cultures, to reduce prejudices, to facilitate critical awareness of discrimination and inequalities and to foster debate about diverse culturally based perspectives and practices.” Nevertheless, he notes that there are both different conceptions and different ways of implementing intercultural education.⁵⁷

The use of the terms *intercultural* education and *multicultural* education in the literature requires some consideration. According to Coulby (2006), a terminological shift took place in the 1980s from multicultural to intercultural education. This was in large part because of a

⁵⁷ See also COR-EU (1999), and the working definition of ‘multicultural education’ on the EdChange website (<http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/initial.html>).

concern that multicultural education did not sufficiently directly address issues of racism and offered only a tokenistic understanding of non-dominant knowledge, “reducing cultural difference to the study of samosas, saris and steel bands” (*ibid*: 247). Coulby explains that while the terminological shift did not resolve the issue, it seemed to offer a fresh start and one less influenced by the dominant theory and practice emanating from the US and UK. This shift is evident in the recent literature where the use of the term ‘intercultural’ is definitely more widespread. Nevertheless, at times the terms seem to be used interchangeably, or conceptual distinctions seem contradictory.⁵⁸ Other scholars feel that the substantive difference between the terms is minor. For example, Jackson (2004) claims that although the term intercultural education is more widely used in the UK, the term multicultural education is preferred by some people that have a much more sophisticated view of cultural discourse than early multiculturalists. This suggests that the preferred term does not signify an adherence to a distinct concept.

The prominence of intercultural education in national policy discourses varies considerably across the four countries. It is far more evident in the literature on the UK and Dutch systems than on those of France and Germany. In the Netherlands, intercultural education has been part of official national policy for over 30 years. According to the 1985 Primary Education Act, all primary schools are required to provide intercultural education to all children, regardless of whether minority children are present or not. It should also be integrated into the whole curriculum, and inform school policy and the composition of schools’ staff and boards (Hermans 2002). Similarly in the UK, intercultural (or multicultural) education has long been recognised in national policy discourse. As early as 1977, the Department for Education and Science stated “Our society is a multicultural and a multiracial one, and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society” (Jackson 2004:5).

This study uncovered some references to intercultural education in the French and German contexts. These almost exclusively related to individual initiatives at the local level and some examples of these are presented as case studies in the final section of this report. Nevertheless, this review was unable to identify any discourse on national policy in either Germany or France in relation to intercultural education.

Despite the clear policy intentions on intercultural education in the UK and the Netherlands, the picture presented in the literature is one in which the central government has been unable or unwilling to drive implementation at regional or local level. Leeman and Reid (2006) note that in the Netherlands, content and pedagogies are not officially prescribed and that schools and teachers have considerable freedom in the way they bring intercultural education into practice. Evaluations of the extent to which this has been done in practice have not been encouraging. According to the Committee for the Evaluation of Primary Education in 1994, it appeared that only 20% of the schools had integrated intercultural education into their curriculum (Hermans 2002).

According to Driessen (2000:67), the Dutch government has failed to take appropriate steps to ensure intercultural education is implemented at school level: it “has simply languished from the very beginning. It is an extremely vague concept receiving absolutely no attention in the schools. The government does not seem to know how to handle it, either.” In the case of the UK, Jackson (2004) argues that in much of the 1980s and 1990s early work on multicultural and anti-racist education was eroded by the Conservative government. Central government’s support of a variety of projects and policy measures related to multicultural

⁵⁸ For example, according to Leeman and Reid (2006) it is the inclusion of an anti-racist element in Australian *multicultural* education that distinguishes it from Dutch *intercultural* education which focuses more on integration, seeming to contradict Coulby’s claim.

education disappeared in favour of a drive to raise general standards, market competition and a regulated National Curriculum. In 1990, The Times newspaper judged that “There seems to be a definite though unformulated intent to starve multicultural education of resources and let it wither on the vine” (in Jackson 2004: 5).

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. Focusing on the first of these, Hermans (2002) found that in the Dutch context teacher training programmes are largely failing to prepare teachers to implement intercultural education. Although it had become part of the teacher training curriculum, it was given low priority and was offered without commitment and in too abstract a way. In the case of the UK, Tikly *et al* (2006) argue that there has been unwillingness by central government to intervene in teacher training provision to ensure the inclusion of key issues of inequality and exclusion. Furthermore, very little has been done to provide training in LEAs and schools on the implementation of anti-racism legislation, which has the potential to ensure an intercultural approach is taken.

Tikly *et al* (2006) extend their criticism to the question of curriculum. They say little progress has been made in reversing the mono-cultural thrust of the curriculum and that senior government advisors have been ambivalent in promoting a specifically anti-racist agenda. Nevertheless, Jackson (2004) is more optimistic about the trend in the UK. He claims that the introduction of citizenship education in 2002 as a statutory part of the curriculum for secondary schools has given a new impetus to intercultural education in England and Wales. 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” (Jackson 2004:5). Although the policy and academic discourse on intercultural education suggests that intercultural education should permeate and inform the whole curriculum, Jackson suggests that a specific focal point in the curriculum, such as this ‘citizenship course’ may also be crucial.

Despite Jackson’s optimism, the overall position of intercultural education at national policy level seems weak. In France and Germany it receives very little attention at national level and in the UK and the Netherlands implementation is weak. While national governments have been slow to take action to promote intercultural education, resources have been developed to promote its implementation at the school level. The most notable resources identified by this review are those of the *INTER Project*. A prize-winning initiative, the jury considered it to be “a very innovative and intercultural project which is capable of being transferred and implemented in schools, providing a practical tool for initial and in-service training of teachers”.⁵⁹ The guide is made up of eight modules that are structured to provoke thinking; provide information, activities and resources; and support planning and adapting of the curriculum (Aguado *et al* 2005).⁶⁰ Additional DVD and web resources are also available to teachers from the *Inter Project* website.⁶¹

4.3.3 Language Support Policy and Measures

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. This section considers the position of language support measures within

⁵⁹ The Evens Foundation (http://www.evensfoundation.be/en/ice_2005.html).

⁶⁰ The eight modules are compulsory education; homogeneity versus diversity in schools; school, home, community; theoretical assumptions; educational policies; evaluation and quality; school structure and organisation; teaching and learning strategies.

⁶¹ <http://inter.up.pt/>

the educational policies of the four countries. First it looks at the general approach taken to developing proficiency in the language of instruction. It next looks at the issue of bilingualism, or mother tongue initiatives, and how they are addressed in each country. Then it considers some policy issues in Germany and the UK. Finally some overarching recommendations for national programmes, and a case study, are provided.

The international PISA study (Christensen and Stanat 2007) examined language proficiency policies in many of the participating countries. It includes information on the policies in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK, but not France. The survey starts with the assumption that proficiency in the language of instruction is a key prerequisite for the integration of first and second generation immigrant pupils. The sources reviewed in the previous section of this report suggest that while the relationship between home language and school language proficiency is a complex one, the role of in-school language support is crucial.

The PISA survey shows that the Netherlands, Germany and England all use the most common general model of language support, “immersion with systematic language support”.⁶² 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. The available PISA data shows that in Germany and the Netherlands the estimated averages are 2 and 1.5 hours of language support per week per pupil respectively.

The funding for such support generally comes from the national distributive systems outlined above (e.g. EMAG, Priority Education). In the Netherlands and in some German Länder, a preparatory phase for new immigrants provides intensive classes in the language of instruction, lasting for six to 18 months before immersion in the mainstream classes (Christensen and Stanat 2007).

4.3.3.1 Bilingual Education

Bilingual language support, or ‘mother-tongue initiatives’, is a widely-discussed policy option. 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 (2007:4) 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

⁶² The other models are: ‘immersion’ in mainstream classes with no specific language support; ‘immersion’ with a preparatory phase before the transition to mainstream classes; transitional bilingual – teaching gradually shifts to language of instruction; and maintenance bilingual – programmes aim to develop proficiency in both languages (Christensen and Stanat 2007).

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). The previous section showed that the implementation of intercultural education has not been prioritized at national level. Given that, it is not surprising that bilingualism is also marginalized in national policy.⁶³

In the Netherlands, the teaching of the mother tongue of immigrant pupils was actually abolished in 2004, as it was regarded as shifting the focus away from attaining Dutch language proficiency (Eurydice 2004b). Rijkshroeff *et al* (2005) show that this has been the culmination of a policy shift over the last 30 years, from viewing a groups' cultural and linguistic identity as having intrinsic value, to viewing it as an obstacle to successful integration.

In the UK, it is reported that while the use of first languages (mother tongues) is encouraged as a means to improving attainment and English language proficiency, there is no statutory right to this. The extent to which first language support is offered is dependent on individual school resources (Christensen and Stanat 2007).

Sources on the extent of 'mother-tongue instruction' in the German education system seem to be contradictory. The country contribution to the Eurydice report on the integration of immigrant children suggests that in most of the western German Länder 'mother-tongue instruction' is offered in some form to immigrant children (Eurydice 2004c). However, the German contribution to an ENAR report on racism states that "currently, the promotion of bilingualism as a specific resource for children of migrant origin is not accepted within the German education system" (Hieronymus *et al* 2007:19).

The marginal policy position of bilingual support in the Netherlands, England and Germany seems to reflect the situation across the OECD. The PISA report found that

transitional bilingual programmes with initial instruction in students' native language and a gradual shift toward instruction in their second language...do not play a substantial role in any of the countries presented in this report (Stanat and Christensen 2006:10).

4.3.3.2 What Works in Language Support Policy and Programmes

The PISA report (Stanat and Christensen 2006:155) emphasises the difficulty in evaluating the impact of a particular country's language support policy:

It is not possible to establish the extent to which the different language support programmes contribute to the relative achievement levels of immigrant students in the case countries on the basis of the analyses presented in the present report.

Nevertheless, there are some interesting sources providing illuminating information on some policy issues in Germany and the UK. Furthermore, the practices of 'successful' countries can be drawn upon to provide some overarching recommendations for language support programmes.

Inadequate language support measures in the German system were highlighted in the PISA study as a possible factor in the poor performance of first and second generation immigrant students (Christensen and Stanat 2007). It was one of the countries in which support programmes tended to be less systematic. Two specific weaknesses are identified. First, the

⁶³ In France, a new bilingual education policy was announced in 2001 and came into force a couple of years later. The policy prioritises French 'regional' languages (e.g. Breton) and considers 'migrant' languages differently. This review has been unable to locate English-language evaluations.

absence of explicit curriculum framework documents or certification programmes for teaching second-language learners. Second, a virtual absence of language support at the secondary level.

The findings of the PISA survey have elicited a response at the national policy level in Germany. In his report on the German education system, the UN Special Rapporteur notes that language support is now a priority area for the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder (KMK). Interestingly, the main focus is on language support at the preschool level.⁶⁴ However, the KMK has also highlighted revisions to lower secondary curriculum to offer more intensive support classes in German language. It also recommends the extension of the school day and using the extra hours to intensify language learning. Furthermore, KMK priorities include 'special contingents' of teachers of German as a second language, to support pupils with a migrant background (Muñoz 2007).

Of the four countries, the clearest evidence of success comes from the UK. Tikly *et al* (2006) found that the EMAG funding has had its most significant impact through effective language support. They regard this as one reason why the attainment gap for Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils has narrowed. They provide an insight into successful strategies at the local (LEA) level. A number of common features characterised successful LEAs.

One is that they tend to adopt a broad range of strategies to support English as additional language learners to access the curriculum and target this support at all levels. Another feature is the production and dissemination of good practice guidelines for meeting the needs of learners. Importantly, this was aimed at mainstream teachers and not just language support staff. Those LEAs that were particularly successful at the final national test stage (16 years old) tended to have well-developed strategies for supporting newly-arrived English as additional language learners, and to have a high number of staff development strategies, including centrally managed training for specialist and mainstream staff on providing language support (Tikly *et al* 2006).

Some of these specific issues and measures, noted at national level in Germany and local level in the UK, are reflected in overarching recommendations for language support programmes made by Christensen and Stanat (2007). They draw on practices from 'successful' countries – those which have relatively small achievement gaps between immigrant and native students, or smaller gaps for second-generation students compared to first-generation students. Analysis of these countries identifies three key areas for language support programmes.

1. The first recommendation is that countries invest in models of language support for all education levels that are "efficient, systematic and effective" (*ibid*:.11). This can be done by testing a small number of approaches and implementing and developing the most successful one systematically. The 'immersion with systematic language support' model, evident in England, Netherlands and Germany, can be effective if programmes are systematic with explicit standards and requirements. They suggest new immigrants, especially those entering secondary school, should have a preparatory phase and continuous language support.
2. The second recommendation is that programmes should have a comprehensive framework that includes "guiding principles, goals and standards, and benchmarks for measuring progress" (*ibid* 12).
3. Finally, teachers that provide language support should be trained in second-language acquisition. This requires pre-service training for new teachers at universities and

⁶⁴ This is a measure that is widely supported in the literature, and should be central to a wider study that considers the specific role of pre-school factors and policies in the educational position of migrant and minority children.

opportunities for professional development for veteran language support teachers. Co-operation between language support teachers and classroom teachers is also a key area of good practice.

These general principles may be a useful guide for national policymakers. Nevertheless, Christensen and Stanat note that there is a limited understanding about how best to support language acquisition. They advocate a more in-depth evaluation of 'best practice' programmes, as well further comparative research on high-quality 'immersion' programmes. The Swedish support programme, outlined below, is cited one example which should be evaluated in greater depth.

Case Study: Swedish Language Support

International survey data suggests that countries with relatively small achievement gaps between immigrant and native students tend to have long-standing language support programmes with clearly defined goals and standards. In the European context, the language support programme in Sweden is noted for the positive outcomes it seems to have for immigrant students learning the language of instruction.

Immigrant students who are not proficient in Swedish take Swedish as a second language (SSL) as a subject. The goal of SSL is to provide students with the language skills necessary to express complex ideas through speech and writing. Importantly, SSL has an explicit curriculum, and the proficiency requirements for SSL are similar to those for non-immigrant Swedish students. In fact, SSL in secondary schools is equivalent to regular Swedish in terms of eligibility for post-secondary education.

According to education authorities, SSL teachers should have completed a specialization in teaching second-language learners. The number of instruction hours for SSL is the same as for mainstream Swedish courses. In addition, recent immigrants may attend a preparatory programme that introduces them to both the language and the school system. Depending on individual student progress, recent immigrants stay in these programmes between six and twelve months. The preparatory programmes are less developed than SSL in that they do not have frameworks or guidelines for the curriculum.

Source: Christensen and Stanat (2007)

4.3.4 Targeted Programmes: Raising Attainment of Specific 'At Risk' Groups

Allocating extra resources, intercultural education and language support are elements of policy designed, in part, to improve the general educational position of minority ethnic groups. However, as *Section 2* of this report has showed, there is variety in both the average and the range of attainment by different groups. The 'Aiming High' programme in the UK is an initiative to raise the achievement of children from a specific minority ethnic group, namely Black Caribbean pupils. In the context of the decentralisation trend and criticisms of a lack of central intervention noted earlier, this as a central government-led initiative is somewhat unusual.

The project was conceived by the DfES as a way of supporting schools to fulfil their duties under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act to tackle Black Caribbean achievement disparities. As part of the pilot, thirty schools were provided with additional financial and staff resources in order to implement the project. This included support from a consultant and additional training support from the National College for School Leadership. An independent evaluation was also commissioned. The project required schools to conduct an initial audit in which pupils, parents, teachers and governors identified issues and areas of concern that impact on the achievement and experiences of Black Caribbean pupils to be prioritised (Tikly *et al* 2006).

The evaluation found that overall the initiative has been highly effective in raising awareness of Black Caribbean issues in schools. Schools had mainstreamed Black Caribbean achievement into development plans, fostered the professional development of senior teachers to lead on race equality issues, developed 'fairer' more systematic processes on issues such as behaviour management, provided quality academic and pastoral support for pupils, and mobilised Black Caribbean parental support (*ibid*). There was also some evidence from the evaluation that levels of attainment had increased. In the most successful schools, the rate of improvement for Black Caribbean pupils exceeded both that of other pupils in the school and national average rates of improvement, so that the gap in performance closed. However, these improvements were not consistent across all the schools (*ibid*).

The strategies used by individual schools inevitably varied considerably. They included components that addressed areas such as leadership, the use of data, the curriculum, staff training, mentoring and parental involvement. These and other school level-initiatives are considered in detail in the following section. What perhaps distinguishes the 'Aiming High' project are the external support provided and the role of the DfES. The evaluation concluded that the external support had been successful and was widely praised by schools. The DfES (2003) guidance document for schools was generally viewed as a solid resource for the lead teachers, generally without any previous expertise in issues around Black Caribbean achievement. The schools also welcomed the clear guidance given by the external consultants in terms of planning, tackling resistance and involving all key groups within the school, particularly parents. The provision of support for the lead teacher in each school by the National College for School Leadership was widely praised for its impact during the programme and for developing these staff to lead on equality issues over the longer term (Tikly *et al* 2006).

According to the evaluation report (Tikly *et al* 2006:73):

The Aiming High project has shown that despite decades of entrenched race inequality, there are practical things that schools can do to make real improvements...mainstreaming race equality is a central part of this strategy.

In September 2005, the project was rolled out to around 100 schools nationally as the 'Black Pupils Achievement Programme'.

4.3.5 A Wider Policy Approach: Scope, Coherence and Power

This section has so far considered some of the components of national policy on the education of ethnic minority and migrant children. These largely attempt to tackle factors that are directly relevant to the educational position those particular groups – through additional resources aimed at minority or migrant groups, reducing cultural prejudices and facilitating awareness of cultural discrimination through intercultural education, support in the language of instruction, and programmes targeted at raising the achievement of specific 'ethnic' groups. However, this report has also shown that while ethnicity and migrant status are important, for many ethnic minority and migrant groups, socio-economic status is a highly significant factor explaining inequalities in educational outcomes.

A recent study by Raffo *et al* (2007) is therefore of great interest to this report. It reviews the literature on the relationship between poverty and education and uses the findings to analyse current policy in England. The authors conclude by identifying three fundamental issues for education policymakers.

Raffo *et al* suggest that the literature can be differentiated according to how it understands the role of education in producing 'the good society'.

- The *functionalist* position assumes that education plays an important part in the proper functioning of society. The problem it seeks to explain and/or solve is that these supposed benefits often do not materialise in the case of individuals and groups from poorer backgrounds. Explanations are offered in terms of dysfunctions at the micro (e.g. the individual learner), meso (e.g. the social contexts within which the learner is placed, including schools, families and neighbourhoods) and macro levels (underlying social structures such as class, race and gender), or some interaction of these.
- The *socially critical* position tends to focus either on the meso – exploring the ways in which schools systematically marginalise certain groups of learners – or the macro – demonstrating how privileged groups within society sustain a whole range of social structures, including the education system, to maintain their positions of privilege. These studies often reveal and encourage activist approaches with and within marginalised groups, in order to not only ‘answer back’ regarding how they are positioned, but also to recognise the value and contribution that those deemed to be poor can and do make to society.

The report highlights how both *functionalist* and *socially critically* explanations relate to current policy developments that focus on educational disadvantage. The review suggest the plethora of policy initiatives in England tend to focus in a piecemeal fashion on mainly meso level factors, rather than at the macro or micro levels, and appear to be based on a functionalist explanation of those aspects rather than a socially critical one.

It is easiest for policymakers to work at the meso level...it is one thing to target some limited additional resources into schools, quite another to change the ways in which particular families function on the one hand, or set about significant redistribution of wealth on the other (*ibid*: 60-1).

The review concludes that those interventions that have been implemented have so far had only very partial impacts in breaking the link between poverty and poor educational attainment. Policy needs to simultaneously address a whole series of factors and at different levels if it is to have any meaningful impact. In other words, it needs to have an overarching vision of how various interventions fit together and for what purposes.

According to Raffo *et al*, the most fundamental issues facing educational policymakers are *scope*, *coherence* and *power*. They stress that policy interventions must be complex, and extensive in their scope, if the established relationship between poverty and poor educational outcomes is to be interrupted. As there is no single explanation for why learners from poor backgrounds do badly in educational terms, there are no ‘magic bullets’ that will enable such learners to perform as well and derive the same educational benefits as their more advantaged peers.

Abandoning the hope of a ‘magic bullet’ should not lead to a ‘scattergun’ approach – one in which a wide range of relatively small-scale initiatives are undertaken in the hope that separately or together some of them might make a difference. The issue facing policymakers is how to make multiple interventions coherent, how to sequence them chronologically, and how to prioritise the most effective or most important interventions amongst all those that could or should be employed. Evidence on what works can be patchy or out of date, so policymakers need to develop their own ‘theories of change’ about how interventions are likely to work and then build these theories through careful monitoring of the effects of interventions.

According to the authors, the relationship between poverty and education is unlikely to be disturbed unless fundamental issues of power and interest, advantage and disadvantage are addressed. Simply tackling the presenting ‘problems’ of poverty and education will, this perspective suggests, ultimately prove to be ineffective if underlying inequalities are permitted to reproduce these problems in other forms. Given that policymakers are

implicated in these inequalities, stepping outside the social arrangements that have placed them in a privileged position can require significant political will and courage. It is tempting to say that this cannot happen – except that there are examples of countries, politicians and individual educators that have addressed these issues. Raffo *et al* argue that in situations where particular explanations of poverty and education dominate the thinking of elected and appointed policymakers, it may be that the best hope lies in grassroots movements in schools, classrooms and communities across the country.

Corroborating this evidence, from a slightly different angle, and whilst not specific to migrant and minority children, recent research by the new economics foundation (Shar & Marks, 2007) in the UK revealed a disturbing picture of the secondary school experience. In a pilot study with Nottingham City council to measure wellbeing, young people's satisfaction with their school experience plummeted between primary and secondary school and did not recover. Only 18% felt they learnt and 12% found school interesting at secondary level as compared with 71% and 65% respectively at primary. Nef suggests the purpose of the UK education system seems unclear to parents, children and teachers and that a radical new agenda should be introduced, which is not target based, but cultivates the variety of intelligences we have, including musical, spatial, physical, interpersonal and intrapersonal. Early on in their lives young people should be exposed to the evidence about the kinds of satisfaction derived from different sorts of life choices with a much broader understanding of what wellbeing is. This approach may not tackle poverty and disadvantage head on, but allows individuals to change their value system and have a much broader understanding of opportunities and success.

4.3.5.1 Tackling Social Disadvantage: Community-Oriented Schools

Despite their largely critical stance towards the current policy agenda in England, Raffo *et al* do see potential in some of the policy interventions, most notably community-oriented schools such as the Full Service Extended Schools (FSES). Although they note some warnings about current implementation (e.g. Dyson and Raffo 2007), they argue that community-oriented schools represent a policy development that shows how educational action might have both scope and coherence, and address issues of power.

The FSES initiative was launched by the DfES in 2003. The aim was to fund and support the development of one or more schools in every local area which would provide a comprehensive range of services, including access to health services, adult learning and community activity, as well as study support and 8am to 6pm childcare (Cummings *et al* 2007). Most FSES served disadvantaged areas and are expected to intervene in the multiple health and social problems that beset children, families and communities. However, at the heart of these interventions is a commitment to education as the pathway to achievement, and hence to employment, social inclusion, and raised expectations.

The initiative shows how policy can integrate educational programmes into economic regeneration, and suggests a new model for schools that can act as the base for other community agencies offering a range of services to children, families and communities. Further, Raffo *et al* (2007) suggest that FSESs might also have the potential to address issues of power through 'democratic renewal' and the redistribution of power through the participation of local young people and families in decisions about aspects of their lives.

The final evaluation of the initiative is encouraging in terms of educational outcomes and wider social impact. It found that the FSES approach is positively affecting pupils' attainment, and that these results are clearest in the case of pupils facing difficulties. They also had a range of other effects on outcomes for pupils, including engagement with learning and family

stability, and positive outcomes for families and local people facing difficulties. For example, over two-thirds of FSESs claimed they had an impact on adult learning, and over one-third that they had affected on employment opportunities. However, the impact was less strong for communities as a whole, and large-scale effects were not yet evident at the time of the evaluation.

* * * * *

Components/ examples	Country examples	Impact/extent	Comment
Allocation of additional resources			
Resources to educational priority areas	UK, France, Netherlands	Limited	Not sufficient – requires more explicit link to anti-discrimination/racism, and a focus on implementation
Intercultural Education			
Curriculum	UK, Netherlands	Limited	Criticism of a lack of implementation
Teacher training	UK, Netherlands	Limited	Evidence that it has been a low priority
Language Support			
Immersion with support	All	Impact in the UK; weak in Germany	A crucial component of policy. Importance of systematic aims, local support for schools
Bilingualism	Marginal in each country		Inconclusive evidence of impact on attainment, although may be important to aims of intercultural education
Targeted attainment programme			
e.g. Aiming High:	UK	Significant	Encouraging effects on group at highest risk of underachieving
Wider strategies			
e.g. Full Service Extended Schools	UK	Significant effects on pupils and families	Attempting to tackle multiple deprivations that (re)create inequalities in education and society. Potential to address policy issues of scope, coherence and power. Too early for definitive evaluation.

5. Local Level Initiatives: Good Practice in Schools

The tendency towards educational decentralisation in the UK, France⁶⁵ and the Netherlands, along with the federally determined German policy, means that strategies for improving levels of attainment are heavily dependent on local level initiatives and implementation. It also means that there is great variety in policies, practice and outcomes.

In the UK, highlighting and spreading the practice of successful schools has become the central strategy for improving levels of attainment. Tikly *et al* (2005:293) in their evaluation of the EMAG argue that in the UK “there has been a shift in recent years towards a devolution in responsibility for race equality to the school level coupled with centralised guidance and targeted national initiatives”. This central guidance is, in part, composed of publications that identify common factors in schools showing particularly high levels of achievement among ‘at risk’ minority groups or effective in integrating newly arrived migrant pupils.

There are two problems, highlighted in the literature, with this “spreading good practice” approach. The first problem concerns criteria for what constitutes ‘good practice’. For example, in a comparison of European local initiatives, the EUMC found that although countries reported ‘good practice’ for reducing racism and fostering diversity in schools, the “criteria constituting a good practice were defined only rarely” (Luciak 2004:95). The second is the strength of evaluation. In relation to studies of interventions targeted at children of newly arrived migrants, Warren (2006:77) notes that “though they are consistent in the issues raised, they are weak in terms of evaluating particular initiatives and practices, and at relating the practices to outcomes.”

The discussion of good practice below draws mainly on documents from the UK. Where possible, however, evidence is included from the other countries when contextual information is available on why the intervention is regarded as good practice. It should be noted that there is no certainty that school level initiatives might bring about positive changes if they were implemented in other educational systems. This clearly requires further inquiry into the details of the practices and contexts.

5.1 Culture: Reflexive and Committed to Equality

A key starting point for successful schools is making explicit a commitment to equality in education, to promoting diversity and multiculturalism and tackling racism and discrimination and back explicit policy statements with actions that continuously promote and implement those policies (Ofsted 2002).

Such commitments may not be enough, however; they are only ‘made real’ in a context of reflexive action. Researchers have found that underlying the practices of the most effective schools is a culture in which teaching, learning and school systems are a focus for critical reflection. Warren (2006) notes that this may be a crucial factor in making different interventions successful in different contexts. In the UK, the Race Relations (Amendment) Act requires all schools to develop such a culture, reflecting critically on their normal practice and how it might negatively effect different groups of pupils. Warren argues that the key challenge facing education in the UK is how to develop such a reflexive culture.

⁶⁵ For details see <http://www.inca.org.uk/france-system-mainstream.html>

Case Study: ‘School Without Racism – School With Courage’, Germany

‘Schools Without Racism’ began in Belgium in 1988 as an initiative by students and youth activists. In 1995, a German organisation initiated the German version of the project, which has awarded 375 schools the title ‘School Without Racism – School With Courage’.

The project aims to help schools be explicit about their values and commit to taking action to support them. To be awarded the title, at least 70% of individuals in the school must sign up to making action against violence, discrimination and racism a central task in their school, and a long-term commitment for the school community to engage in such projects. A co-operative network supports the pupils in their activities with advice and information. The network is made up of NGOs, youth work organisations, subgroups of teachers’ unions and government bodies. The project has particularly been noted for the way it works from the bottom up, originating from the pupils. They formulate the ideas for projects and activities, with teachers’ support, and gain both theoretical knowledge, and practical and social skills. These include intercultural competence, democratic awareness and planning, teamwork, and implementation skills. The project has received a large number of awards, including those for its contribution to youth culture, peace and democracy.

Source: For further details see <http://www.schule-ohne-rassismus.org/the-project.html> and Will and Ruhl (2004).

Case Study: Backing Explicit Policy Statements with Action in the UK

Sudbourne Primary School in London is a school where around half the children are from ethnic minority groups, and at which Black Caribbean children do very well. It achieves higher than national average test scores, and has not had any exclusions in the last five years. One key feature of the school’s approach is how direct and unambiguous policies on racism can have an impact. An extract from one policy document states:

The staff at Sudbourne Primary School are opposed to racism in any form. We are committed to the principle that all children should be given equal opportunities to fulfil their potential. We condemn discrimination against people because of skin colour and cultural background because it is illegal, offensive and wrong. Our school is multi-cultural and multi-racial and we value this cultural diversity. Every member of the school community should feel their language, religion and culture are valued and respected. In order to achieve this we will use what children know and understand about themselves in our teaching.’

Any signs of racist attitudes are dealt with swiftly and decisively and pupils respond well to the school’s clearly stated values about respect for one another. Action to respect and celebrate diversity focuses on how the school operates, through relationships, structures, routines and pupils’ learning. This is informed by analysis of data on participation and achievement of individuals and groups.

Source: OfSted (2002).

5.2 An Inclusive Curriculum

Successful schools, it is argued, are creative in their attempts to reverse negative stereotypical images of certain cultures. They are sensitive to the identities of pupils and make efforts to include in the curriculum their histories, languages, religions and cultures (DfES 2002).

Case Study: A Systematic Approach to the Curriculum in the UK

Critics argue that planning the curriculum by systematically analysing how it can reflect the ethnic and cultural diversity of a schools pupils can be too complicated and possibly risky. But one example of how it can be done comes from a French lesson at Heath Park School in the UK. In this case, the teacher used the web site of Arsenal Football Club, with its contingent of black star players from France and francophone Africa, to challenge attitudes about black boys speaking modern European languages (OfSted 2002b).

At another UK comprehensive school, African Studies was initially introduced in response to one group, the Black Caribbean male students, whose behaviour was causing concern. From an optional class, it was extended to regular after-school sessions, open to all. It was then brought into the school curriculum for all students as a compulsory six-week element of the Personal and Social Education programme. Irish Studies was also later introduced. Despite giving time to these extra initiatives, the school had progressively improved in terms of overall higher grades at GCSE (DfES 2002).

5.3 Leadership

The literature on good practice highlights the importance of strong leadership. For example, a number of leadership factors were regarded as necessary preconditions for schools to meet goals for Black Caribbean achievement. It suggests that head teachers need to be committed to addressing inequality issues and to mainstreaming initiatives to raise achievement. They also need to have the vision and commitment to address pupils' needs and implement systems of accountability on the issue. The importance of professional development of governors on equality is also highlighted (Tikly *et al* 2006).

Case Study: Communicating a Vision of Excellence in the UK

Moat Farm Junior School serves a deprived area in which only 3.2% of adults have higher education qualifications and a high number of households lack basic amenities. The percentage of pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds is 20%. Compared with similar schools, attainment in all subjects was above average and attainment of Black Caribbean pupils particularly impressive.

A school inspection found that "leadership and management in the school are excellent and a great strength of the school". The head teacher has raised standards considerably over a ten year period by focusing on the quality of teaching and a creating a culture of high academic and behavioural expectations. The leadership is authoritative with staff highlighting: a clear vision of excellence across the range of the curriculum; good communication of the vision, ensuring everyone understood as precisely as possible the expectations of attainment and behaviour; clear feedback, based on consistent monitoring, about whether the expectations were being met; reflection in his own approach of the way he expected pupils to be treated. Teachers were also confident that their views will be listened to and acted upon so that there is a genuine team approach (OfSted 2002a).

5.4 Data Collection and Monitoring

The collection and use of data disaggregated by ethnicity and migrant background to check the participation and achievement of individuals and groups is widely regarded as a component of 'good practice' in much of the UK literature. Analysis of performance data allows groups at risk of underachievement in certain areas to be targeted with resources and effectively designed interventions. Along with data on national test scores and permanent exclusions, schools also monitored by ethnicity in some of the following areas: examination tiering, the 'gifted and talented' register, pupil withdrawals, attendance, and parents' evenings (DfES 2002; Blair *et al* 1998; Tikly *et al* 2006).

The OfSted (2002a) study of successful primary schools also highlights how monitoring systems were used to ensure equal opportunities in all areas of successful schools. It notes, for example, that schools monitored which pupils were chosen for 'good work' prizes, which were asked questions, and which were punished for misdemeanours. One study also noted how strategic data use helps to tackle resistance among staff to a dedicated focus on raising the attainment of particular underachieving 'ethnic' groups.

However, Warren (2006) sounds a note of caution, suggesting that the lack of detailed data on new migrants does not necessarily mean the policy response should be to seek more personal data. He reminds us that the current use of 'ethnic monitoring' is a politically contentious issue, and suggests that its role in benefit-led strategies is inconclusive. This argument was not, however, found elsewhere in the literature.

5.5 Admission and Induction Practices

Some of the literature focuses on good practices in relation to 'newly arrived' migrant pupils, including children from asylum seeker or refugee families. Along with specific language support, practices relating to the admission and induction of new children, who rarely come at the beginning of term and generally require language support, receive most attention. There are a variety of practices that make up a positive admission and induction strategy, including managing admission procedures efficiently and supportively, which involves interactions between with teaching and administrative staff, students, parents and often LEA or other officials. This can involve establishing briefing meetings so that migrant families can meet with teaching staff from their own ethnic or linguistic background, being creative in involving local community members as interpreters, and linking in with other forms of support for asylum-seekers and new migrants (OfSted 2003).⁶⁶

5.6 Staff Development and Training

The UK guidance on good practice (DfES 2002) highlights the importance of schools providing high quality training so that staff can tackle the needs of ethnic minority pupils with confidence. In the UK the different LEA strategies have been important to the success schools have had in raising achievement of minority pupils. Successful schools have often been supported by LEAs that use a great range of staff development strategies. This includes training of staff, centrally or in-school, so that they have the skills, knowledge and experience that enable them to plan for and meet the needs of minority ethnic pupils. It also includes the collection and dissemination of good classroom practice.

In both France and Germany, 'good practice' examples include non-governmental organisations supporting teachers' development. In Berlin, the Centre for Democratic Culture (ZDK), is involved in a project to help teachers deal with right-wing extremist youth. The project includes seminars, classroom practice and developing teaching materials. A teacher in every school district is trained as an expert on right-wing extremism as a point of contact for surrounding schools (Luciak 2004).

⁶⁶ See also the information on 'Welcome, admission and induction' from the National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC), available at www.naldic.org.uk/ITTSEAL2/teaching/Welcome.cfm.

Case Study: The Rotterdam ‘Deltaplan’ on Language Policy and Training (Netherlands)

The ‘Deltaplan’ on language policy for primary and secondary schools is a large-scale initiative that is central to attempts by the city to reduce educational disadvantages. It provides schools with a working method and support through consultants to develop a language policy document and work plan, and teacher training on language support. The Deltaplan is *not* a set of instructions or teaching materials but rather a working method in which the school and the support system agree to start a process aimed at minimizing educational disadvantage.

Initially schools make an assessment of the language situation of their pupils in relation to attainment, the curriculum, staff teaching abilities and the expected influx of multilingual pupils in the near future. This is done with the support of expertise from the Deltaplan centre including consultants, trainers and curriculum developers. The first year is spent entirely on diagnosis and design. The emerging school language policy document aims to: have a clear view of how to adjust the curriculum to multilingual pupils; establish a clear place in the curriculum for Dutch as a first language and Dutch as a second (or additional) language; promote the teaching of minority languages and promote an assessment of multilingual pupils’ academic results to guide educational planning.

These language topics within the policy are then translated into teaching skills such as strategies to stimulate language acquisition and effective instruction. These are then used to develop in-service training programmes for teachers. This training is provided by the language policy consultants on the basis of the schools particular needs. In-service training is thus integrated into the schools’ language policy.

Although evidence of changes to pupils’ academic results is not available, a positive impact on the schools involved is reported. The schools were found to be highly motivated to start and to implement the Deltaplan process.

Source: COR-EU (1999:23-25).

5.7 High Expectations, Aspirations and Mentoring

In most of the ‘good practice’ studies identified, a common feature of the schools are the teachers’ high expectations of their students. One UK study observes that the:

schools treat students of all ethnic backgrounds, and with all kinds of learning needs as potential high achievers. They communicate their expectations effectively and positively, and make them explicit to all involved” (DfES 2002:9).

In the schools studied, high expectations were supported by: programmes of mentoring and the introduction of pupils to potential role models; structured learning and support programmes, including additional curriculum support, assessment and target-setting; and an inclusive curriculum (*ibid*).

Mentoring programmes are regarded as a particularly helpful in raising expectations and attainment of ethnic minority pupils. There are a number of types of mentors:

- a peer mentor, an older student assigned the task of helping a younger student with academic and social concerns;
- a teacher mentor from within the school who meets regularly with a student to discuss academic progress and help with academic or social issues that may concern the student;
- an external mentor, an adult from the wider community, often from the same cultural and ethnic background as the student, that provides a positive role model for the student and serves as a source of encouragement and support; and
- a learning mentor, trained to help students tackle the barriers which prevent young people from learning effectively (*ibid*).

One study found that mentoring programmes were most successful where there was a clearly structured contract between the mentor and the school. It was clear that the mentor's role was to support and encourage the child, and to be a role model, not take over the school's primary responsibility for the pupil's education.

The use of mentors is also highlighted as a useful strategy to support asylum seeking and refugee children. Bilingual or bicultural mentors can be used to help raise achievement in a similar way to other minority groups. However, they might also be used as part of a wider strategy to help new migrants settle and provide emotional support. In one school 'peer partnerships' were arranged between sixth-formers and refugee students. In another, refugee children were teamed up with somebody from their neighbourhood to help integrate the child into the local community (Blair *et al* 1998).

Case Study: Leeds Black and Minority Ethnic Mentoring Programme (UK)

This programme was developed by Leeds Mentoring to target ethnic minority students from groups identified as achieving below national average (Black Caribbean, Black Other, Pakistani and Bangladeshi). It identifies and supports students who have the potential to move on to higher education but who are at risk of leaving education early through lack of motivation or academic support. The scheme links young people working towards GCSEs or advanced qualifications with ethnic minority university students. They can act as role models, provide academic support and understand cultural and relationship issues faced by young people of different ethnic backgrounds.

Mentors are recruited from local universities and receive training on issues such as the roles and responsibilities, key tasks of the process, negotiating with teachers, common problems faced by children. They are supported through induction sessions, a handbook, mentor group reviews and one-to-one reviews with professional mentoring staff. Mentors support a cohort of 10-12 students, meeting each one at their school for at least one hour every two weeks.

The scheme has achieved considerable success. In a cohort study to establish the added value of volunteer mentors in raising achievement, 83% of ethnic minority student met or surpassed their 'value added' target in national tests at age 16. Student testimonies from the project support other research evidence that mentoring is beneficial for both mentee and mentor. The scheme has had positive impact on the knowledge and skills of mainstream staff in matters concerning young people from minority ethnic backgrounds, with mentors bringing an alternative perspective to how teachers consider their relationships with students. The scheme has been extended beyond the city of Leeds itself to four other local authorities.

Source: Renewal.net (<http://www.renewal.net/Nav.asp?Category=:education:pre%2016:BME%20achievement>)

5.8 Involving Parents

Strategies and practices to increase parental involvement are regarded as important in all the 'case study' and 'good practice' literature. It is regarded as particularly important for literacy and numeracy amongst newly arrived migrants, and in reducing exclusions among particular groups. There is a general acceptance of the particular challenges faced by schools in this area. Even 'successful' schools report difficulties but they do demonstrate innovation and resourcefulness in finding ways to communicate with parents and actively involve them in the school.

Recognising constraints on parents seems to be a key to 'good practice'. This is reflected where schools made arrangements for home visits, held open door sessions on set days of the week and were flexible in setting times for parent interviews/evenings. An underlying factor in all these methods is language, with the use of translation and interpreters highlighted.

Case Study: 'Inspire' Reading and Mathematics Initiative (UK)

Inspire is an city-wide initiative in Birmingham to encourage the involvement of parents in their child's literacy and numeracy. Its effect on literacy and numeracy achievement and parental involvement in the city has been striking. The model is intended to be simple, cost-effective and sustainable. A family workshop in each school follows an induction day for teachers. Children invite parents, extended family members and even neighbours to attend the workshop at which they sit beside the child and the teacher for practical activities such as stories, puppets or games. The participants then attend a review meeting to plan how to extend the practice throughout the school. Teachers from participating school become trained mentors to support the process in new schools. The initiative has achieved unprecedented family involvement in learning. Over 40,000 parents get involved each year, including from groups who have been hard to engage, such as men and some minority ethnic families. Schools reported an increase in parental involvement from 5% in the first year up to an average of 87% per class in 2003; increased educational activity in the home (73% of schools); increased parental understanding of children's learning (88%); and raised achievement in literacy and numeracy (61%).

The Inspire programme has acted as the jumping-off point for a number of other family learning initiatives, leading large numbers of family members on to adult literacy and numeracy programmes as well as volunteering.

Source: renewal.net <http://www.renewal.net/Nav.asp?Category=:education:pre%2016:under-achievement>

5.9 Respect, Discipline and Behaviour Management

The DfES (2006c) review identifies some of the practices of schools that have acted to reduce their 'exclusions gap' (i.e. the disproportionate number of black pupils excluded). These tend to be characterised by some particular features. Some of them relate to other areas of 'good practice', such as strong leadership and teacher training on race equality; the involvement of parents in shaping the school community, and effective communication on behaviour and attainment; and the effective use of data to track the progress of individual pupils, analyse trends by ethnicity, and identify weaknesses in the application of behaviour policies by staff.

However, they also include 'restorative' and 'preventative' approaches to behaviour management that seek to mediate the root causes of conflict rather than simply punishing. There is also the sense that exclusion is undesirable, a last resort and to some extent a failure on behalf of the school. The review also identifies the active and continuous involvement of pupils in shaping school rules and the disciplinary process as good practice.

Measures such as pastoral mentors, counsellors and advocates can ensure that individuals have a voice in the disciplinary process.

Case Study: The Boyhood to Manhood Foundation (UK)

The 'From Boyhood to Manhood Foundation' (FBMF) programme is recognised as achieving effective results with 'hard to reach' groups of young black boys excluded from school. It is based in Southwark, the ninth most deprived borough in the UK. It is rooted in the local black community, but has developed very close relationships with schools and a range of other local agencies.

The core of FBMF is the 'day support programme', a 12-week course including at least four hours of academic tuition a day, a range of individual and group activities and a weekly formal key worker session. The programme takes a holistic and flexible approach in which staff support each boy in whatever way is needed (e.g. helping find accommodation, buying a change of clothes), so that boys feel project staff genuinely care about them. The project provides very intensive support (1:5 staff to student ratio, with 1:1 work) so that boys feel somebody is really listening to them.

It has an overall positive outcome rate of almost 60%, where students move on to either college or another education centre, or return to school. An recent evaluation of the service says its greatest achievement is in the positive impact it has on the lives of the young people it supports, the benefits of which are 'immeasurable'.

An evaluation of the project cited the single most important reason for the project's success as "the strong ethos of love, commitment and responsibility". The belief that 'it takes a community to raise a child' is central to the way the project operates. It fills a gap in the capacity of the boys' main support structures (their families and schools) to help them grow up in an acutely disadvantaged and challenging environment.

The evaluation also highlights two areas of practice that could be transferred to other contexts. First, staff give each boy a daily score out of ten for traits which range from punctuality to showing respect to staff. These traits have been selected by FBMF to allow for a more rounded view of individual achievement than can be assessed through, for example, academic attainment.

The second point of good practice is the 'peer mentor' programme which trains young people aged 14-21 to act as mentors within and on behalf of the project. They receive training from the project and partner organisations. They play three distinct roles: As mentors for the boys on the programme; as mentors for other young people they are trained to work in schools to communicate positive messages on issues such as sexual health; as ambassadors for FBMF.

Source: The Gilfillan Partnership and Black Training and Enterprise Group (2004).

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

With clear targets set for EU countries to achieve better educational outcomes the question remains as to whether and which countries are likely to see the level of change required. The implementation of the action plan, 'Education and Training 2010', flowing from the Lisbon agenda sets the following challenge: *no more than 10% of students to leave school early; a decrease of at least 20% between 2000 and 2010 in the share of low achieving pupils in reading and writing; and at least 85% of young people aged 22 should have completed upper secondary education.* Although the targets apply to all pupils, because particular migrant and ethnic minority groups tend to be over-represented in the lower percentiles, raising the level of overall achievement in these areas should affect migrant and ethnic minority groups and also raise their achievements.

This report has covered a wide range of measures that have been recommended by a number of bodies, and attempted by a range of authorities and voluntary groups, to tackle the problems of excluded minority children of migrant background. In the main these are aimed specifically at the education sector itself, although a much wider range of problematic issues are acknowledged. Many of the issues in the sector relate directly to exclusion and discrimination, and are connected to school and minority cultures, quality of leadership, teacher expectations, bullying, and implicit and explicit racism. These appear fundamentally important issues, however other factors are at play, including the structure of the education system itself, in particular curriculum shape and the presence or not of policies for intercultural education, preschool, contact hours, and streaming, tracking and segregation, all of which are related (indirectly or directly) to issues of inclusion. It seems relatively clear that early selection and tracking and segregation in general, have negative overall impacts. However, one difficulty lies in the way in which different systems actually work internally. Thus, whilst a vocational stream in Germany reduces school drop outs and enhances work possibilities, other factors in the system, such as low teacher expectations or implicit racism, can also push children into vocational streams, when they have potential to take up more academic opportunities. In contrast the lack of such an efficient vocational system in France is implicated in higher school drop out rates, but also higher academic achievements. In the main segregation is regarded as problematic in the literature for two main reasons. The first relates to the wider goal of social integration. The nature of the relationship between neighbourhood and school segregation, and the perceived low levels of social integration among some ethnic minority and migrant groups – particularly Muslims – is a highly politicized debate throughout the four countries. The second reason that segregation is viewed as a problem is that the distribution of pupils with different characteristics is perceived to have implications for overall levels of attainment and for the pattern of attainment by different groups (e.g. Zimmer & Toma, 2000).

Interlocking with these factors are two highly important variables, firstly socio-economic status, where poverty is clearly linked to educational outcomes, and secondly the very complex set of factors that constitute life outside of school, and which inevitably play an important role in influencing educational achievement and influencing aspects of the school system itself, such as segregation. This includes issues such as parenting and language, the most obvious to investigate, but also includes, neighbourhoods and ethnic densities, youth culture, social networks, and the interaction between young people and the state, to which we will return later.

As the report has discussed, evidence, whilst patchy and difficult to compare, does reveal many similarities and some intriguing differences between countries. The overall pattern seems to be one in which the problem of exclusion is recognized, resources to a degree have been allocated, initiatives have been implemented but progress remains slow, with some exceptions.

The data limitations have been explored in some depth in section one and clearly set a challenge for all four countries. Overall, the picture that emerges from the data analysis is that there are significant inequalities in the educational position of migrant and minority children in comparison to the 'majority' populations, and these are particularly notable for certain groups. This is perhaps most comprehensively illustrated across the countries by the type of secondary school attended by pupils from minority groups in the Netherlands, France and Germany. Data analyses from the UK, along with the PISA data, also shows significant gaps in competencies and test scores, and in the rates of drop out and exclusions.

However the picture is complex with some minority groups performing better than white majorities. Importantly, the data can be misleading and it is too easy for a sometimes blunt analysis to lead to generalizations about the capabilities of particular groups, whereas in fact, the data does not prove anything about the potential of these groups. On the contrary, the data shows that in the correct local environment, groups that 'underachieve' on average can do relatively well and some groups clearly perform or have the potential to perform above average. However, and crucially, data on the efficacy of interventions and therefore on the best way to enable better performance is particularly thin.

This raises two major issues. Firstly, there clearly needs to be more attention paid to evaluation and to learning. In some cases it is quite clear why a particular policy is not working or why others are, but there are an equal number of cases where the learning is not clear. The lack of evaluation is frustrating and efforts in this area clearly need to be redoubled.

The second issue raised relates to the extent to which addressing problems within the education system without attention to wider socio-economic, societal, and structural and community issues will ever have the desired effect. The last but one case study in this report regarding community oriented schools provides food for thought, not simply because it is about the participation of families in education and the provision of comprehensive services, but also because it touches on the way in which individuals, families and communities relate to the state. The way in which they embrace what is offered or required of them, or the way in which they resist it.

These questions are much wider in scope than we have been able to address in this report, but they may be fundamental to how poor and excluded communities relate to education and to society as a whole. The segregation of public versus 'private' in terms of community or family, could be very problematic in the education sector, especially when learning is seen as strongly coming not just from the state, but from families, elders and traditions. If this is the case, it is not surprising that some communities feel unable to engage with a formalized system that does not involve them within its hallowed walls. However, qualitative or anthropological analysis which could reveal these perceptions and potentially new understandings is rarely undertaken in comparison to quantitative analysis.

The paucity of children and young people's voices in the research literature is in part a reflection of this. This may be a matter of presentation and usage, but is more likely to be a failure to allow young people the opportunity to not only voice their opinions, but to also be allowed to act as researchers themselves (for which many techniques exist), and thus present a more analytical and relevant set of data than might otherwise be the case.

Ultimately, it is a sobering thought that, as Schnepf (2002:13) states, "[it is] ...the secondary school choice, based on a decision usually taken when the pupil is 10-years old, that shapes an individual's lifetime chances and limits professional opportunities, especially for children tracked at the lower end of the hierarchical school system". Whether it is schooling alone that influences a child's prospects so profoundly is clearly a matter of debate, but schooling

in European countries is undoubtedly a very influential factor in determining much of one's subsequent life-course. Ensuring it provides the best of opportunities for our young people is a primary responsibility of every European State and citizen.

Recommendations

A number of clear recommendations emerge, many of which have been identified also at the European or national level. It is worth, however, considering the fact that, as Raffo has identified, "It is easiest for policymakers to work at the meso level...it is one thing to target some limited additional resources into schools, quite another to change the ways in which particular families function on the one hand, or set about significant redistribution of wealth on the other" (Raffo et al 2007:60-1). Policy interventions that work in changing complex realities, particularly ones associated with poverty, power and knowledge, are themselves necessarily complex. There is no single magic bullet. Raffo's analysis is particularly insightful because, controversially, he also implicates the privileged position of the policy maker and educator as being part of the problem requiring significant political will and courage to see the problem and the solutions in a different way. However, there are examples of countries, politicians and individual educators that have addressed these issues. He suggests that in situations where particular explanations of poverty and education dominate the thinking of elected and appointed policymakers, it may be that the best hope lies in grassroots movements in schools, classrooms and communities across the country.

Education Sector

Probably of most importance is national policy regarding **segregation, tracking and streaming** where the evidence is clear that it is, overall, detrimental for overall outcomes. However, the complexity of the picture and range of issues should not be underestimated and there are contexts where these policies do have positive outcomes. **Local initiatives** are not widely considered in the literature and could receive more attention. Inaccurate assumptions may well be made about the capacity or willingness of diverse communities to help to find solutions to the problems of mixed ability.

Allowing **extra resources** for ethnic minority areas is the most common national approach and remains important but the policy is criticized by some for focusing almost exclusively on influencing the financial resources available to ethnic minority pupils and schools. The mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, which include low teacher expectations and secondary school selection policies, have, in many cases, not been tackled at all, thus limiting the potential for extra resources to make a real difference.

In part as a result of this **intercultural education** is highlighted as probably the major theme which needs to inform teaching and learning in all subjects, thereby deepening student's knowledge and appreciation of different cultures and fostering debates about diverse culturally based perspectives and practices. Related to this **improved teacher training and curriculum development**, where, in both areas, there is evidence that implementation has been poor.

In contrast **language support** has received much attention, however it still requires more resources, and teachers trained in second language acquisition, pre-service training and in school support for co-operation with class teachers. More research and evaluation of the importance of language differences and support is needed, in particular related to the significance of bilingualism.

Teacher development in relation to the problems of implicit racism and equality issues are also widely identified, as is attention to developing a more **reflexive school culture and strong leadership**. Training also for school governors in similar areas is recommended.

The use of **mentors, counsellors and advocates** for particular children has proven quite successful, also in limiting exclusions, which are generally seen as a non-productive.

Data

The quality of the data is clearly an issue and at an EU level countries have been asked to produce better and more comprehensive data. This has been discussed above, but includes better analysis of existing data, including new analysis of cohort studies, more in depth collection, evaluation evidence, more qualitative analysis, and the generation of data by young people and communities themselves. Certainly more case study evidence of what works including micro, meso and macro initiatives would be very useful.

Learning

Learning should be enhanced by analysis of success stories at a national level. More in-depth country studies are also necessary to complement the overview presented here. Studies of non-European countries may be useful – in particular Australia and Canada. And using learning from non-western countries may be useful, especially in relation to inclusion, discrimination and community participation.

Shared learning by professionals or students can also kick-start a creative process of change and can be supported through study tours or joint research.

Legislation

A better understanding of the actual implementation of legislation at a national level, through evaluation, would enable countries to be held to account. Some budget monitoring could be helpful in actually identifying the resources being allocated and used at a local level. Budget monitoring in developing countries has proved useful for many groups in holding their administrations to account.

Education before and after School

What happens before and after school in educational terms needs to complement the overall educational picture. Early years and pre-school in particular needs greater examination, as does the effect of formal schooling 'start' ages related to outcomes in general and in relation to minority children with migrant backgrounds. It is known that language acquisition is especially important at pre-school age along with confidence and socialization skills. At the other end vocational training and youth employment need to be related more strongly to the educational picture. The progressively earlier preferred leaving age for many poor performing children begs the question as to what it is, both within, but also further to school that enables young people to progress. Education is, after all, a life long pursuit and moving to a wider understanding of what education is and where it comes from could be fundamental to improving outcomes.

Beyond nominal parental and community involvement

Community and parental involvement in schools in a genuine rather than tokenistic way holds much promise. This includes the above mentioned wider understanding of what education means, whether it should be seen as a lifelong pursuit and how different cultures,

including white culture, understand education, including valuing parental and community roles in teaching their children – as they do daily, in life skills, and knowledge based areas. However, this does require a radically different approach by professionals in the education sector, opening up to alternative knowledge systems and ways of working. Additional to this an approach to education which promotes the wide variety of human intelligences and presents a broader understanding of wellbeing (Shar & Marks 2007) encompassing other aspects of life and life choices, would provide a more relevant educational system for all young people.

Improving socio-economic status

Socio-economic status is clearly of prime importance. It is a good predictor of educational outcomes and can be a better predictor than ethnic or immigrant background. Poverty may be the most marginalizing factor in terms of educational outcomes for some groups. Attempts to address this are beyond the scope of this report, but education is part of the picture in terms of anti-poverty policy and is also part of the solution. And those working nationally and locally to improve social mobility more generally need to see education in this light. Clearly further analysis of the relationships between education and socio-economic status in particular, using both quantitative and qualitative analysis could be highly revealing.

Non School Factors, citizenship and the State

Related to this, the importance of non-school factors needs more integration into attempts to improve schooling outcomes. This involves a diverse range of factors from better integration of cultural differences by educational staff to a broader take on the relationship of young people to authority and the State. These relationships have a profound influence on young people's attitudes and feelings of citizenship, of belonging and of having a stake in society. Consequently they impact on their commitment to formal learning and the school as a representation of state authority at a local level. There is a body of literature in this area which could be usefully examined in relation to educational outcomes and where the implementation of effective policy and local action could have educational impacts.

Advocacy for change

In areas where exclusion is particularly problematic shared learning between students could be encouraged. The support of advocacy groups or social movements for poor and excluded peoples is not uncommon in Europe (as identified in section one) and provides the basis for support for excluded and marginalized groups and children in a way which reaches the ears of policy makers. Thus supporting NGO initiatives to promote the voice of young people, or those acting on their behalf, with a focus on educational achievement, in its broadest sense should be considered.

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Annex: List of Actors with Work Relevant to EMMME

Centre for Research in Education Inclusive and Diversity (UK) CREID

<http://www.creid.ed.ac.uk/about.html>

Based at the University of Edinburgh, CREID undertakes research exploring issues of inclusion and diversity in relation to children, young people and adults in education and related areas of policy and practice (including, health, social welfare, training and employment).

Centre on Migration, Citizenship and Development (Germany) (COMCAD)

<http://www.comcad-bielefeld.de/>

Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (UK) (COMPAS)

<http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/>

Based at the University of Oxford, the mission of COMPAS is to provide a strategic, integrated approach to understanding contemporary and future migration dynamics across sending areas and receiving contexts in the UK and EU. It does this through research, policy assessment, dissemination, user-engagement, teaching and training and capacity building.

Centre d'Information et d'études sur les migrations internationales (CIEMI) (France)

<http://www.ciemi.org/>

Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) (*Now part of the Equality and Human Rights Commission*) (UK)

<http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/Pages/default.aspx>

The new commission is working to eliminate discrimination, reduce inequality, protect human rights and to build good relations, ensuring that everyone has a fair chance to participate in society. The Equality and Human Rights Commission is a non-departmental public body (NDPB) established under the Equality Act 2006 – accountable for its public funds, but independent of government.

Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) (UK)

<http://www.dfes.gov.uk/>

The Department for Children, Schools and Families leads work across UK Government to ensure that all children and young people: stay healthy and safe; secure an excellent education and the highest possible standards of achievement; enjoy their childhood; make a positive contribution to society and the economy; have lives full of opportunity, free from the effects of poverty.

Equal Treatment Commission (CGB) (The Netherlands)

<http://www.cgb.nl/index-en.php>

The Dutch Equal Treatment Commission is an independent organisation that was established in 1994 to promote and monitor compliance with Dutch equal treatment legislation. The Commission also gives advice and information about the standards that apply. Everyone in the Netherlands can ask the Commission for an opinion or advice about a specific situation concerning unequal treatment, free of charge.

EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (*Formerly the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia*) (EUMC)

<http://eumc.europa.eu/fra/index.php>

The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) became the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights on 1 March 2007. The objective of the Agency is to provide the relevant institutions and authorities of the Community and its Member States when implementing Community law with assistance and expertise relating to fundamental rights in order to support them when they take measures or formulate courses of action within their respective spheres of competence to fully respect fundamental rights.

EU Monitoring and Advocacy Programme (EUMAP) <http://www.eumap.org/>

EUMAP, a program of the Open Society Institute (OSI), monitors the development of human rights and rule of law standards and policies both in the European Union and in its candidate and potential candidate countries. EUMAP has published monitoring reports highlighting specific areas in which state performance conforms to, or falls short of, broadly accepted international standards. These reports also examine ways in which EU standards or policy could be clarified or further articulated.

European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education <http://www.european-agency.org/>

The Agency is essentially a network of member country representatives and experts nominated by the Ministries of Education in its member and observer countries. It aims to provide policy makers and professionals with access to relevant information in the field of special needs education by providing mechanisms and services that facilitate contact and exchange between different users. It facilitates transfer of accurate and reliable information and offers its member countries the opportunity to learn from each other in such a way that quality in special needs education provision is promoted.

European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) <http://www.ecmi.de/index.php>

ECMI advances majority-minority relations in the wider Europe through action, research and documentation. It supports the stabilisation of areas of ethnopolitical tension and conflict, contributes to the strengthening of relevant legislation and best practices in governance and enhances the capacity of civil society actors and governments to engage with one another in a constructive and sustainable way

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)

http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/ecri/

ECRI is the Council of Europe's monitoring body, combating racism, xenophobia, anti-semitism and intolerance in greater Europe, from the perspective of the protection of human rights. ECRI's action covers all the measures needed to combat violence, discrimination and prejudice against persons or groups of persons on grounds of race, colour, language, religion, nationality or national or ethnic origin.

European Education Policy Journals

<http://www.educationpolicy.eu/?page=journals>

A gateway to research into European Policy on Education, providing access to a number of academic journals and regular publications which engage with the European-level of education policy.

European Federation for Intercultural Learning (EFIL) <http://efil.afs.org/>

The members of EFIL are voluntary, non-governmental, non-profit organisations providing intercultural learning opportunities to help people develop the knowledge, skills and understanding needed to create a more just and peaceful world.

European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS) <http://web.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/>

EFMS is an institution dedicated to basic migration research to contribute to an informed discourse on migration and integration in Europe. It co-operates on an international level and contributes to the knowledge transfer between science, politics, administration, media, the general public and the education system.

European Network Against Racism (ENAR) <http://www.enar-eu.org/en/>

ENAR is a network of European NGOs working to combat racism in all EU member states. Its establishment was a major outcome of the 1997 European Year Against Racism. ENAR aims to fight racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, to promote equality of

treatment between EU citizens and third country nationals, and to link local/regional/national initiatives with European initiatives.

Ethnic Minority Attainment Online (UK) <http://www.emaonline.org.uk/>

This online resource base for teachers has been developed by Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester LEAs with funding from the DfES.

European Programme for Integration and Migration (EPIM) <http://www.epim.info/>

EPIM was initiated in 2005 by a group of foundations from different European countries. It aims to strengthen the role played by NGOs active on migration and integration issues in advocating for a European agenda that benefits migrants and host communities.

Federal Ministry of Education and Research (Germany) <http://www.bmbf.de/en/index.php>

The BMBF has many different tasks at national level within the framework of its responsibilities under the Basic Law. They include: Legislative, policy and coordination tasks for non-school initial and continuing vocational training; research promotion; legislation on training assistance and the funding thereof (in conjunction with the Länder); the promotion of gifted school students, trainees and students and the fostering of young scientific talent; the promotion of international exchanges of trainees, students, persons taking part in continuing education, instructors as well as scientists. Until responsibilities are redistributed within the framework of the Federalism Reform, the tasks of the BMBF also include: Regulation of general policy in the higher education sector; education planning (in conjunction with the Länder), and the extension and construction of institutions of higher education, including teaching hospitals (in conjunction with the Länder).

From Boyhood to Manhood Foundation (FBMF) (UK)

<http://www.usatfbmf.com/TheFromBoyhoodToManhoodFoundation1.php>

The Foundation is a community organisation based in the London Borough of Southwark. It believes that boys in trouble deserve a chance to turn their lives around before it becomes too late. It helps teachers deal with disruptive pupils to prevent exclusions. But for those who are excluded from school, it offers an alternative to dropping out of the system and hanging out on the streets. Boys are referred to the FBMF by local education authorities, special needs departments, youth-offending teams and social services departments. The FBMF helps them to get back on track through its day-programme of education and self-development.

Information Network on Education in Europe (Eurydice) <http://www.eurydice.org/>

Eurydice is one of the strategic mechanisms established by the [European Commission](#) and Member States to boost cooperation, by improving understanding of systems and policies. It is an institutional network for gathering, monitoring, processing and circulating reliable and readily comparable information on education systems and policies throughout Europe.

Integration of the European Second Generation project (TIES)

<http://www.tiesproject.eu/index.php?lang=en>

The TIES project is a collaborative and comparative research project on the descendants of immigrants from Turkey, Ex-Yugoslavia and Morocco in eight European countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland). The "second generation" refers to those children of immigrants who were actually born in the receiving country, and have followed their entire education there.

International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)

<http://www.iea.nl/>

The IAE is an independent, international cooperative of national research institutions and governmental research agencies. It conducts comparative research and assessment projects

in education, including TIMSS and PIRLS, with the aim of providing high-quality data for policy-makers.

Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (The Netherlands) <http://www2.fmg.uva.nl/imes/>
IMES is an interdisciplinary and inter-faculty research institute. The primary goal of the IMES research programme is to gain fundamental insights into the processes of international migration and societal integration of immigrants and their descendants, while moreover strengthening the theoretical basis of such research. IMES also engages in the [monitoring and advisory of various activities](#) based explicitly on systematic research.

Institute on Minority Rights (EURAC) <http://www.eurac.edu/Org/Minorities/IMR/index>
EURAC carries out research and practice in the area of international minority protection, with a central interest in current "European" issues such as management of ethnic and cultural diversity.

L'Institut national d'études démographiques (INED) (France) <http://www.ined.fr/>
INED studies the populations of the world and of regions or countries – in particular Europe and France – using the tools of demography in association with those of other disciplines such as history, geography, sociology, anthropology, economics, biology and epidemiology. It conducts research on universal phenomena such as births, unions, migrations and mortality, and its researchers work in a wide variety of fields, ranging from contraception and abortion to migration trends, marginal populations, and life expectancy.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (UK) www.jrf.org.uk
The Joseph Rowntree Foundation is one of the largest social policy research and development charities in the UK. They work on a large range of issues, several of which are of relevance here, including child poverty; poverty and disadvantage (includes ethnicity); public interest in poverty issues; governance and public services; and parenting. Most include research focusing on ethnic minorities, migrants and/or education

Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (MINOCW) (Netherlands) <http://www.minocw.nl/english/>
The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) makes policies, drafts legislation and appropriates public funds on behalf of Dutch citizens. It serves 3.5 million pupils, students and their parents, as well as artists, curators and teachers. And it serves everyone else in the Netherlands affected by the activities in its remit.

Multiverse (UK) <http://www.multiverse.ac.uk/index.aspx?menuId=583>
Multiverse (funded by the UK Training and Development Agency for Schools) is an Initial Teacher Education (ITE) Professional Resource Network created to meet the challenge of raising the achievement of pupils from diverse backgrounds. It has been developed for teacher educators, student teachers and trainees in response to newly qualified teachers' request for more support in teaching pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds and those with English as an additional language.

National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) (UK) <http://www.naldic.org.uk/>
This is an organisation whose membership is largely drawn from teachers and practitioners working with pupils for whom English is an additional language.

National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (France) (INSEE) http://www.insee.fr/en/home/home_page.asp
INSEE collects, produces, analyses, and disseminates information on the French economy and society. It is responsible for coordinating France's official statistical system. It represents

France in European Union institutions and international bodies in charge of statistical harmonisation.

National Ministry for Education (France) <http://www.education.gouv.fr/pid1/accueil.html>

New Economics Foundation, London, www.neweconomics.org

Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED) (UK) <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/>

Ofsted inspects and regulates care for children and young people, and inspects education and training for learners of all ages in order to raise aspirations and contribute to the long term achievement of ambitious standards and better life chances for service users. The Office carries out hundreds of inspections and regulatory visits each week, publishing themed and subject specific findings and recommendations on wider issues within the care, learning, and skills agenda, as well as statistical information.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

The OECD brings together the governments of thirty countries, that accept the principles of [representative democracy](#) and a [free market](#) economy, to support sustainable economic growth, boost employment, raise living standards, maintain financial stability, assist other countries' economic development, contribute to growth in world trade. Work on education at OECD seeks to develop and review policies to enhance the efficiency and the effectiveness of education provisions and the equity with which their benefits are shared. Strategies include thematic reviews in specific policy areas, and collecting detailed statistical information on education systems, including measures of the competence levels of individuals.

Renewal.net (UK) <http://www.renewal.net/aboutus.asp>

An on-line guide, developed by the UK Communities and Local Government, that identifies 'what works' in neighbourhood renewal. Documents on the site include 'how-to' guides, case studies, project summaries. Wherever possible, the documents are based on evaluated evidence.

Right to Education (RTE) <http://www.right-to-education.org/home/index.html>

RTE is a public access human rights resource. RTE defends the right to education and human rights in education, and promotes enhancement of all human rights through education. As a specialised applied research project, it carries out assessments of the global realisation of the right to education, provides input for education strategies, and facilitates exposing and opposing human rights violations.

The Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (Sietar Europa)

<http://www.sietar-europa.org/>

An interdisciplinary network with over 3000 professional members, the Society's purpose is to encourage the development and application of knowledge, values and skills which enable effective intercultural and interethnic relations at individual, group, organisation and community levels.

Statistics Netherlands (CBS) <http://www.cbs.nl/en-GB/default.htm>

CBS is responsible for collecting, processing and publishing statistics to be used in practice, by policymakers and for scientific research. In addition to its responsibility for (official) national statistics, CBS also has the task of producing European (community) statistics.

Statistical Office of the European Communities (EUROSTAT)

<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/>

School Without Racism <http://schoolwithoutracism-europe.org>

School Without Racism is a European movement against racism. It has member organisations in several countries throughout Europe. By Educating a generation of youngsters who are willing to resist racism, it hopes to build a new society without racism and discrimination.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)

http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=48712&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO is the United Nations' specialised agency for education. Since its creation in 1945, the Organisation has worked to improve education worldwide. Its close links with education ministries and other partners in 193 countries put it in a key position to press for action. The mission of the UNESCO Education Sector is to: Provide international leadership for creating learning societies with educational opportunities for all populations; Provide expertise and foster partnerships to strengthen national educational leadership and the capacity of countries to offer quality education for all. It facilitates the development of partnerships and monitors progress, in particular by publishing an annual Global Monitoring Report that tracks the achievements of countries and the international community towards the six 'Education for All' goals. While research has been undertaken on the education of migrant and minority children under the auspices of UNESCO, the large majority of this has focussed on developing countries.