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## Developing the education strand in MIPEX

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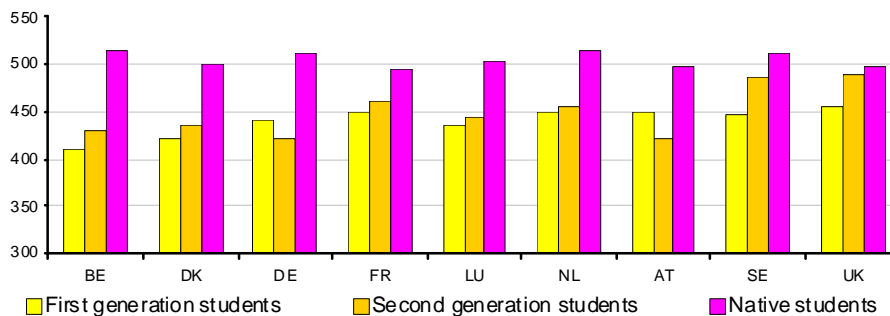
*'If ... a man possessing absolute power may misuse that power by wronging his adversaries, why should not a majority be liable to the same reproach? Men do not change their characters by uniting with one another; nor does their patience in the presence of obstacles increase with their strength.'* de Tocqueville, Chapter 15, Book 1, *Democracy in America*.

de Tocqueville suggests majorities can tyrannise minorities. While democracy necessarily involves majority rule, it must also guarantee the majority does not abuse its power, act unfairly and violate the rights of minorities. Citizenship education should be clearly involved in how educational provision is made fairly, for and about migrants in our societies, a particularly vulnerable minority.

As an example of unfairness in education, Figure 1 shows the reading scores of the non-migrant, native, populations of a number of European countries, and here are the scores of the first and second generation migrants in each country. I want to focus not on the comparison of overall scores between countries, but on the ratios between the different groups in each country.

**Figure 1 - Differences in student performance in reading, by immigrant status and country 2005**

(Performance on reading scale, mean score; omitting countries where migrant details unavailable)



Data source: OECD PISA 2006 (Adapted from European Commission, 2008, Figure 3, p 6)

Unsurprisingly, first generation migrants perform less well than the native-born population. This is explicable in terms of the recent movement, the difficulties inevitable in adjusting to a new language, and so on. What is interesting is how well second generation migrants perform. In most countries they do rather better than their parents' generation. Given that they were born in the new country, and educated in the system of their new country from the start, one would hope so. One might hope that they would perform substantially better than their parents. But in most countries, the

increase in score is relatively small. In two countries, the actually do worse than their parents. In only two countries is the second generation score approaching anywhere near the 'native population' score.

This is looking at the outcomes of educational policy and practice, in just one exemplar area. This identifies inequalities, but does not tell us how or why these inequalities arose. To do so in detail, we would need to examine educational practices - but this is a near impossible task, on a national scale - it would be futile to use questionnaires and interviews, and enormously time-consuming to engage in large-scale observation and analysis. So we have to examine policies - what educational authorities say should happen, what they resource to support, and what (one hopes) they monitor and evaluate. It's not perfect, because policies are not necessarily implemented - certainly not uniformly - and may not be enforced. This paper sets out the process by which the indicators used for analysing educational policies about migrants were devised.

The policy indicators MIPEx uses are all derived from internationally constructed policy statements - from the United Nations, OECD, International Labour Office, the European Union or the Council of Europe, for example. These policy statements may not yet all be fully implemented, but they constitute internationally agreed expressions of good policy practice. In the education strand, we trawled through over a hundred such agreements, charters and directives, looking for statements related to the educational rights of migrants. These were then sorted into four broad policy areas.

The first of these is *access to educational provision*, which may be constrained by criteria and thresholds. However, equality of access alone does not necessarily lead to equality of outcome. Many reports (such as the graph shown earlier) identify systematic educational underperformance by migrants. This suggests that there may be forms of institutionalised prejudice that lead to inequalities of outcomes for migrants. 'Institutional racism' is the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people. (UK: Home Office, 1999 para 6.34)

It is the *outcome* of policies that are significant, not just the policy intentions, however high they seek to aim. In this instance, the fact that migrants do not achieve similar educational outcomes suggests that simply accessing educational provision is insufficient, and that many educational institutions in Europe are institutionally discriminating against migrants. The second policy focus area is therefore *policies that target the specific needs of migrants to promote educational equality of outcome*: specific and additional policies designed to ensure migrants achieve and gain equal qualifications and opportunities for employment.

Education is more than just utilitarian access to qualifications and employment: it is also concerned with developing and sustaining social values and human rights. The third and fourth policy foci are policies that support intercultural understanding and values that sustain a harmonious and diverse society, some of which may include maintaining migrants' cultural identities.

The third policy focus is therefore about *education policies that specifically provide for new opportunities in supporting migrants in the broader community*, both helping integration and supporting cultural identity. These will take place in a broader range of institutions than formal educational settings, and includes community-based activities and those directed at adults.

These first three foci have all concerned policies that are directed at the migrant population. The fourth area we suggested was a group of *educational policies that are directed at, or affect, the population as a whole, to promote the valuing of diversity in society*. Educational policy and provision should reflect the populations it serves, and the addition of migrants changes the population mix, and therefore changes (or should change) educational provision. To what extent is intercultural education, or citizenship education that addresses population diversity, provided? What curricular changes have been made to ensure the whole population has an appreciation of diversity and difference?

***Policies giving migrants and their families equality of access to education***

There are many conventions and charters that require states to make educational provision available to all as a universal right. Some of these specify that these rights also include migrants and their children. However, some states attempt to exclude children for whom they feel less responsible, such as those of migrants. Access may be limited for particular categories. The same is true of non-statutory education, either pre-school or further and higher education, where particular residency qualifications may prevent equality of access. Where higher and further education is not free, migrants may be discriminated against in the level of fees charged, or the residency status giving eligibility for the same fee rates as indigenes/nationals. Migrants may also be discriminated against in their access to vocational training, which is particularly important to economic migrants who need to maintain their vocational skills levels. They will need access to vocational training that is at least as good as the general workforce, as well as to general learning opportunities. The recognition of qualifications and education and training prior to migration is also of critical importance to migrant's ability to be economically successful and to integrate.

***But access alone is not enough: we also need policies to support equality of attainment in education***

This covers all those educational policies and provisions that are intended to ensure that migrants succeed in their education. Within the provision of mainstream educational services there may be cultural and linguistic barriers that inhibit migrant's ability to use these provisions, and additional supports and adjustments may be necessary. Many countries have educational systems that divide pupils into (for example) academic and vocational streams at a relatively early age, often before migrant children may have had the opportunity to acquire the linguistic and other skills to fully demonstrate their potential. What opportunities are there to transfer between streams, that could allow

migrants equal access to different pathways? An essential prerequisite to ensuring equality of outcomes between different groups (migrant/non-migrant) is the collection and analysis of reliable statistics about the performance and progress of learners through the system. Migrancy is a status, not an identity. This enables policy makers to determine if inequalities exist and their extent, at what point, and for what reason; and allows the targeted provision of resources to ameliorate and remedy the inequality.

***Education policies to specifically provide for and support migrants in the broader community – integration and cultural maintenance***

These include both support measures to assist newcomer students to integrate into the school system, and introductory programmes for adults that promote the active participation of newcomer adults in society, including the labour market. There is very widespread agreement that the most important of these programmes are those that ensure that migrants and their families have access to learning the language of the host country: this is widely seen as the necessary condition for successful integration. But this in itself may not be a sufficient condition, and a range of other educational policies may also be necessary. These would include, for example, education about the culture of host country, and active steps to ensure that there was as little educational segregation of migrants into particular educational institutions, for residential and other reasons. Another broad area of policy provision that may be necessary will be support for migrants to maintain their own identity, through their language and culture, if this is what they wish. Successful integration does not require cultural homogeneity, and migrants may wish to develop institutions such as supplementary schools, where their children are supported in maintaining the culture of their heritage.

***Policies that provide and support inter-cultural education for all***

There is widespread agreement and support for general intercultural education, and for educational policies that support tolerance, the recognition and valuing of diversity, and measures to counter racism and xenophobia. There is also support, though less widespread, to ensure that school/educational institution practices are adapted to accommodate diverse cultural patterns, or for the necessary changes in the curriculum to reflect changes in the social composition of the population. Finally, we also suggest that there should be a policy to recruit teachers and other educational professionals from the migrant communities themselves, because the presence of such teachers sends strong markers about inter-culturality and equality to the population as a whole.

**The process**

The four strands were each made up of a number of statements, and for each a range of policy possibilities were set out, ranging from best to worst practice. There were 24 statements in all, which were sent to independent education policy analysts in each of 31 countries, two analysis working independently in each country. When their scores differed, they were reconciled through discussion, and the results summated. Several of

the policy analysts were CiCe members, several of whom have contributed to this symposium.

### **The results**

Education emerges as a major area of weakness in the integration policies of most countries. Few school systems professionally assess what newcomers learned abroad. While most children have an implicit right to attend kindergarten and compulsory education, and access general measures to help disadvantaged students, they only benefit as much or as little as other students with the same social background. But migrant pupils may also be struggling in school for different reasons than their peers. Here, schools retain wide discretion on whether or not to address the specific needs of migrant pupils, or to monitor the results. Unless there are clear requirements and entitlements, pupils will not get the support they need, especially in communities with many immigrants or with few resources. Migrants should be entitled to support to learn the language, but frequently this is not provided to the same standard as the rest of the curriculum. Hardly any countries have systems to diversify schools or the teaching staff; most schools are therefore missing out on new opportunities brought by a diverse student body. Few education systems in Europe are adapting to the realities of immigration.

The most engaged are in North America, the Nordics and the Benelux. The UK leads Europe's major countries of immigration; PT is best among the new countries of immigration; CZ in Central Europe; and EE in the Baltics. The rest fall below the 50% mark, some even critically below (FR, IE, LV, LT, BG, HU).

#### *Best Case*

Any child living in the country can go from kindergarten to university and achieve the best she can. If she has different needs because of her or her families' immigration experience, she gets additional support. Her teachers are trained to recognise those needs and set equally high expectations for her. She is entitled to extra courses and teaching to catch up and master the language. Her parents play an active role in her education because the school specifically involves them at every step. She and her parents bring new opportunities to her school. All students can enrol in classes about her families' language and culture. Her school uses an intercultural approach in its curriculum, textbooks, schedule, and hiring practices. She, along with all students and staff, learn how to live and learn in a diverse society.

#### *Worst Case*

The school does not function as a motor for the integration of immigrant pupils. Many children living in the country do not even have the right to a full education: only a few schools or ad hoc projects deal with integration. Teachers may see migrants as a problem, and have no way to reach out to parents with different languages and backgrounds. He never properly learns the languages of his family or the host society,

because language support is poor or absent. He ends up with other immigrant students in under-performing schools. Teachers and staff members are not diverse themselves and cannot handle diversity in their school. All students do not learn to respect and work together with people of diverse backgrounds.

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