

Cancels & replaces the same document of 19 September 2019

**Policy Approaches to Integration of Newly Arrived Immigrant Children in Schools:
The Case of the Netherlands**

OECD Education Working Paper No. 206

By Özge Bilgili (Thomas J. Alexander Fellow at the OECD Directorate for Education and Skills and Assistant Professor at Utrecht University)

This working paper has been authorised by Andreas Schleicher, Director of the Directorate for Education and Skills, OECD.

Michael Ward, michael.ward@oecd.org

JT03453375

OECD EDUCATION WORKING PAPERS SERIES

OECD Working Papers should not be reported as representing the official views of the OECD or of its member countries. The opinions expressed and arguments employed herein are those of the author(s).

Working Papers describe preliminary results or research in progress by the author(s) and are published to stimulate discussion on a broad range of issues on which the OECD works. Comments on Working Papers are welcome, and may be sent to the Directorate for Education and Skills, OECD, 2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 Paris Cedex 16, France.

This document, as well as any data and map included herein, are without prejudice to the status of or sovereignty over any territory, to the delimitation of international frontiers and boundaries and to the name of any territory, city or area.

You can copy, download or print OECD content for your own use, and you can include excerpts from OECD publications, databases and multimedia products in your own documents, presentations, blogs, websites and teaching materials, provided that suitable acknowledgement of OECD as source and copyright owner is given. All requests for public or commercial use and translation rights should be submitted to rights@oecd.org.

Comment on the series is welcome, and should be sent to edu.contact@oecd.org.

This working paper has been authorised by Andreas Schleicher, Director of the Directorate for Education and Skills, OECD.

www.oecd.org/edu/workingpapers

© OECD 2019

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank Andreas Schleicher, Yuri Belfali, Francesca Borgonovi, Lucie Cerna and Jan Maarse (Sardes) for valuable feedback on earlier drafts of this paper. The author would like to extend her gratitude to Wendy Flikweert and Weske Bodewes from Utrecht University for supporting the research, facilitating the interviews and helping with the analysis of policy documents and literature available in Dutch language. The author would also like to acknowledge the valuable input and contribution of the interviewees and thank them for their active, open and positive engagement.

This paper was prepared by Özge Bilgili, Thomas J. Alexander fellow at the OECD Directorate for Education and Skills and assistant professor at Utrecht University, with the support of the Thomas J. Alexander Fellowship and input from the Strength through Diversity Project. Editorial and administrative support was provided by Matthew Gill.

Abstract

This research paper has the objective of providing a comprehensive overview of Dutch education policy approaches to the integration of children with a migration background, with a particular focus on those who have recently arrived in the country. After mapping the current population characteristics of children with a migration background and their educational performance and socio-emotional well-being, the research paper summarises the Dutch education system and the opportunities it provides for newcomer children. The remainder of the paper focuses on three key policy issues that are crucial for promoting the academic and social resilience of children with a migration background: promoting social cohesion and multiculturalism in schools, capacity building in the education system and language acquisition for newcomers. The paper concludes with pointers for the short and long-term policy debates to enhance the successful integration of students with a migration background in the education system as well as the wider society.

Résumé

Ce document de recherche a pour objectif de fournir une vue d'ensemble complète des approches des politiques éducatives néerlandaises en matière d'intégration des enfants issus de l'immigration, avec un accent particulier sur ceux qui sont récemment arrivés dans le pays. Après avoir dressé la carte des caractéristiques démographiques actuelles des enfants issus de l'immigration, de leurs résultats scolaires et de leur bien-être socio-affectif, le document de recherche résume le système éducatif néerlandais et les possibilités qu'il offre aux enfants nouveaux arrivants.

Le reste du document se concentre sur trois questions politiques essentielles pour promouvoir la résilience scolaire et sociale des enfants issus de l'immigration : la promotion de la cohésion sociale et du multiculturalisme à l'école, le renforcement des capacités dans le système éducatif et l'acquisition de la langue pour les nouveaux venus. Le document se termine par des indications sur les débats politiques à court et à long terme visant à améliorer l'intégration réussie des élèves issus de l'immigration dans le système éducatif ainsi que dans la société au sens large.

Table of contents

Acknowledgments.....	3
Abstract.....	4
Résumé	4
List of abbreviations.....	7
1. Introduction	8
2. Newcomers and children with a migration background in the Netherlands	9
3. Academic and socio-emotional resilience of students with a migration background.....	14
4. The Dutch education system and its four main features.....	17
5. Education system for Non-Dutch speaking newcomers.....	20
6. Role of different actors in supporting the school integration of newcomers.....	23
6.1. Actors and institutions at the national level	24
6.2. Actors and institutions at the regional and municipal levels.....	26
7. Social integration and multiculturalism in schools	27
7.1. Promotion of active citizenship and social integration	27
7.2. Arrangement of various cultural and religious traditions' celebration	29
7.3. Mentoring projects for migrant students.....	29
7.4. Outreach to parents	30
8. Capacity building: competences of school staff and teachers.....	31
8.1. Teacher preparation and training	31
8.2. Teacher training on diversity	31
8.3. Teacher training on mental health and students' challenges and needs.....	31
8.4. Teachers with a migrant background.....	32
9. Capacity building through funding	34
9.1. Programmes for disadvantaged pupils supported by national funding	34
9.2. Funding opportunities for schools with newcomers	35
10. Language as a driver of integration.....	37
11. Pointers for the future in light of current Dutch policy approaches	40
11.1. Adapting to changing situations and the development of a long-term vision.....	40
11.2. A long-term vision for fluctuating and yet continuous immigration flows	41
11.3. Revisiting autonomy: a regional focus within a national framework	42
11.4. Revising teacher training in light of a diversity policy.....	42
11.5. Non-colour blind policies and a renewed education system.....	43
References	45

Tables

Table 1. Top 5 largest country of origin groups for children with a migrant background between 0-20 years old in 2017	12
Table 2. Different school types for non-Dutch speaking newcomers in the Netherlands	21
Table 3. Overview of funding sources for schools with newcomers.....	36
Table 4. Dutch language proficiency targets for each exit profile	38

Figures

Figure 1. Immigration of people aged 0-20 years old	10
Figure 2. Migration motives for immigrants aged between 0-20	11
Figure 3. First asylum applications 2013-2017	12
Figure 4. Unaccompanied minors arriving in the Netherlands between 2008 and 2016.....	13
Figure 5. The overlap of immigrant students' resilience. Percentage of students who are academically, socially and/or emotionally resilient	14
Figure 6. The Dutch Education System.....	18
Figure 7. Exit profiles for newcomer students after attending transition classes	22
Figure 8. Multi-level representation of actors in newcomers' school integration.....	23

List of abbreviations

AZC	Asielzoekerscentrum	Asylum Seekers Centre
CBS	Centraal Bureau Statistiek	Statistics Netherlands
COA	Centraal Orgaan Opvang Asielzoekers	Central Organ for Reception Of Asylum Seekers
CPB	Centraal Planbureau	Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis
DUO	Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs	Education Executive Agency
ECHO	Expertise Centrum Diversiteitsbeleid	Expertise Center for Diversity Policy
GLO	Gezinslocatie	Family Location
HAVO	Hoger Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs	General Secondary Education
HBO	Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs	Higher Professional Education
ISK	Internationale Schakelklassen	International Transmission Classes
ITTA	Instituut Voor Taalonderwijs En Taalonderzoek Anderstaligen	Institute for Language Research and Teaching
LOWAN	Ondersteuning Onderwijs Nieuwkomers	Support for Newcomer Education
MBO	Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs	Vocational Education
NOAT	Nederlands Onderwijs aan Anderstaligen	Dutch Education for Non-native Speakers
NT2	Nederlands Als Tweede Taal	Dutch as a second language
OAB	Onderwijsachterstandenbeleid	Educational Disadvantages Policy
OCW	Ministerie Van Onderwijs, Cultuur En Wetenschap	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science
PABO	Lerarenopleiding Basisonderwijs	Primary Education Teacher Training
POL	Proces Opvang Locatie	Process Reception Location
PO-raad	Sectororganisatie Voor Het Primair Onderwijs	Primary Education Council
PRO	Praktijk Onderwijs	Practical Training
SBO	Sectorbestuur Onderwijsarbeidsmarkt	Sector Management Employment in Education
SLO	Stichting Leerplanontwikkeling	National Institute for Curriculum Development
SO	Speciaal Onderwijs	Special Education
SPO	Stichting Primair Openbaar Onderwijs	Public Primary Education Foundation
VMBO	Vorbereidend Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs	Pre-vocational Secondary Education
VO-raad	Sectororganisatie Voor Het Secundair Onderwijs	Secondary Education Council
VVE	Voor- en Vroegschoolse Educatie	Early Childhood Education
VWO	Vorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs	Pre-university Education
WO	Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs	University Education

1. Introduction

National policies across OECD countries show great variance with regards to the integration of children with a migration background in schools (Bilgili, Volante & Klinger, 2018). The education system, history of migration, and policy traditions play a crucial role in shaping the ways in which national governments approach the question of how the academic and social resilience of immigrant and refugee children can be enhanced. This research paper focuses on the specific case of the Netherlands, a country with a long history of immigration, increasingly new and more diverse immigrant populations and a considerable share of minors. The years of experience with immigration and integration issues make the Dutch case an interesting one to study in-depth. Furthermore, the Netherlands stands out as a country known to have some of the ‘happiest children in the world’ (Sachs, Layard, & Helliwell, 2018), and are among the top six countries considering student performance average in Science, Maths and Reading according to Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2015 results (OECD, 2016a).

Considering these positive outcomes that give a snapshot of the situation of children in the Netherlands, it is interesting to uncover the specific situation of immigrant and refugee children. What strategies does the Netherlands implement when it comes to the integration of immigrant and refugee children into the education systems? How does the country’s education system, shaped by decentralisation, autonomy and highly hierarchical educational routes, tackle the issue of integrating immigrant and refugee children? This research paper has the objective of answering these questions with a particular focus on the integration of newly arrived immigrants, including recent asylum seekers and refugees.

Europe has witnessed a large inflow of refugees in the past couple of years due to the Syrian war and political unrest in various parts of the world. Since the peak of inflows in 2015, many countries are preoccupied with the question of integrating these new populations into the wider society. Among the newly arrived immigrants, children occupy a particularly important position. They are a great source of economic potential, while also contributing to a rich cultural mosaic. The future success of countries and their ability to become inclusive and reflective societies is ultimately determined by their youth. Therefore, their integration into the education systems, responding to their social and emotional needs and providing safe and decent living environments are crucial steps in enhancing their well-being today as well as in preparing them for a better future in their new homes.

This research paper is based on desk based research and the analysis of policy documents. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted in April and May 2018 with key stakeholders, including the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) officials, researchers, social service providers, school boards, teachers, and school principals in the Netherlands. The paper begins with an overview of the current population characteristics of children with a migration background in the Netherlands and the educational performance of immigrant and refugee children and their socio-emotional well-being. The paper then provides a summary of the education system in the Netherlands, with a particular interest in the opportunities for newcomer children. The remainder of the paper focuses on three key issues that are crucial for promoting the academic and social resilience of children with a migration background: promoting social cohesion and multiculturalism in schools, capacity building in the education system, and language acquisition for newcomers.

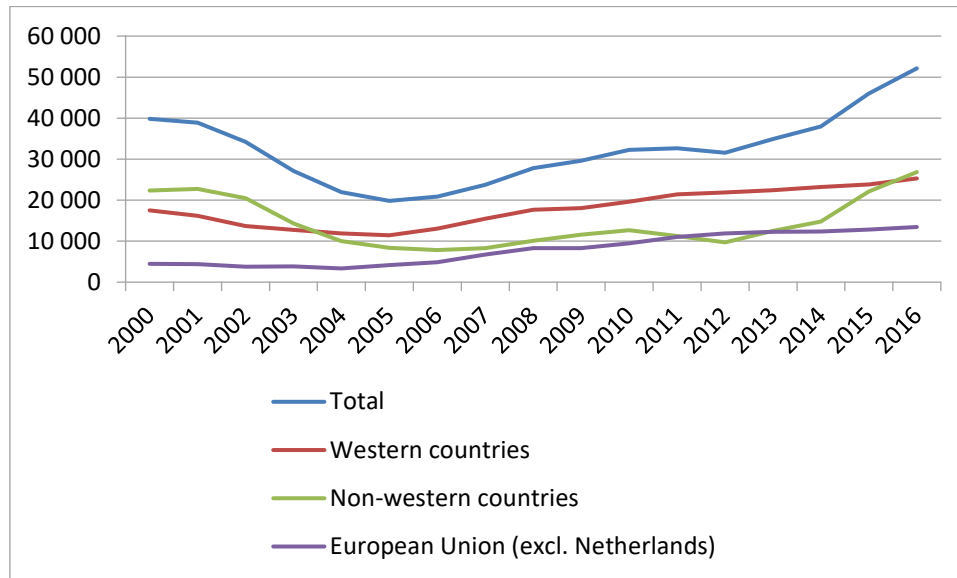
2. Newcomers and children with a migration background in the Netherlands

The Netherlands has a long history of immigration and has continuously witnessed inflows of international immigrants to its territory. These migration flows, induced by a variety of factors, have shaped the socio-cultural landscape of the country. The educational integration of immigrant students became an increasingly important issue when family reunification (practiced by mainly Turkish and Moroccan labour immigrants) took place in the 1980s. In the 1990s, children of asylum seekers, the majority migrating from the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia, occupied a significant share of immigrant children who entered the Dutch education system. In this regard, the integration of immigrant children with diverse socio-economic and cultural background and linguistic heritage in the Dutch education system is not a new question for the country.

Focusing on approximately the last two decades, one can first observe a temporary decline in migration flows of minors between 2000 and 2005. Since 2005, the Netherlands has witnessed a steady increase in the immigration of 20 year olds and younger (see Figure 1). Especially in 2011, this increase has become more pronounced, highlighting the marked increase in immigration flows, even surpassing the numbers of the early 2000s. Within this age category (20 years old and younger), the share of immigrants from non-western countries has increased rapidly since 2014, slightly exceeding the number of immigrants from western countries¹ in 2016. More precisely, in 2016, 52 139 people aged 20 years old and younger immigrated to the Netherlands. Of this, about half were from non-western countries (26 845) and the other half were from western countries (25 294). Focusing on the western countries, about half were from within the European Union (13 451).

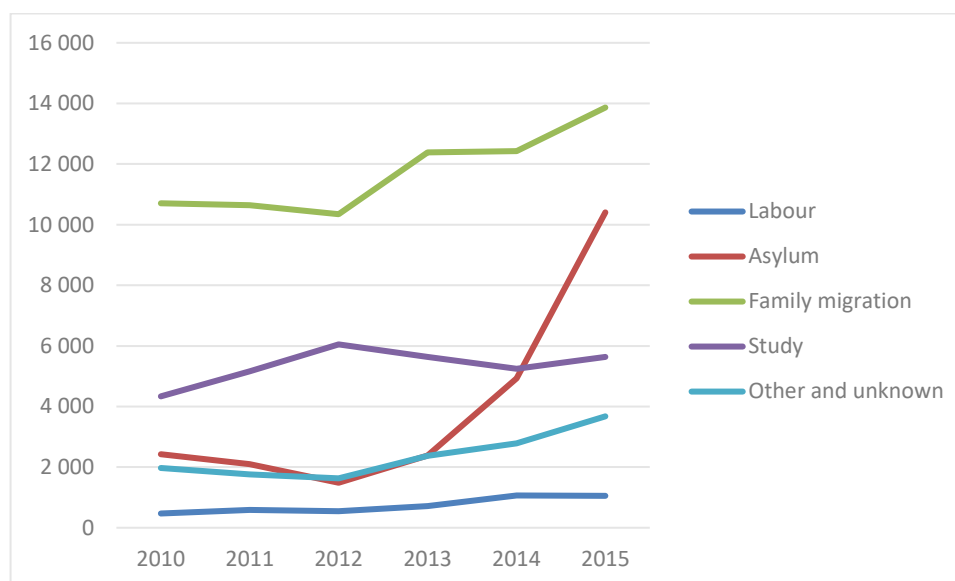
¹ According to the [Central Bureau of Statistics Netherlands](#), western immigrants are defined as a person originating from a country in Europe (excluding Turkey), North America or Oceania, Indonesia or Japan. Due to their socio-economic and cultural position, people from Indonesia and Japan residing in the Netherlands are considered as having a western migration background. They are mainly people born in the former Dutch East Indies and expatriates employed by Japanese companies with their families.

Figure 1. Immigration of people aged 0-20 years old



Source: Centraal Bureau Statistiek (Statistics Netherlands - CBS), 2018
<https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/03742/table> (accessed 10/01/19)

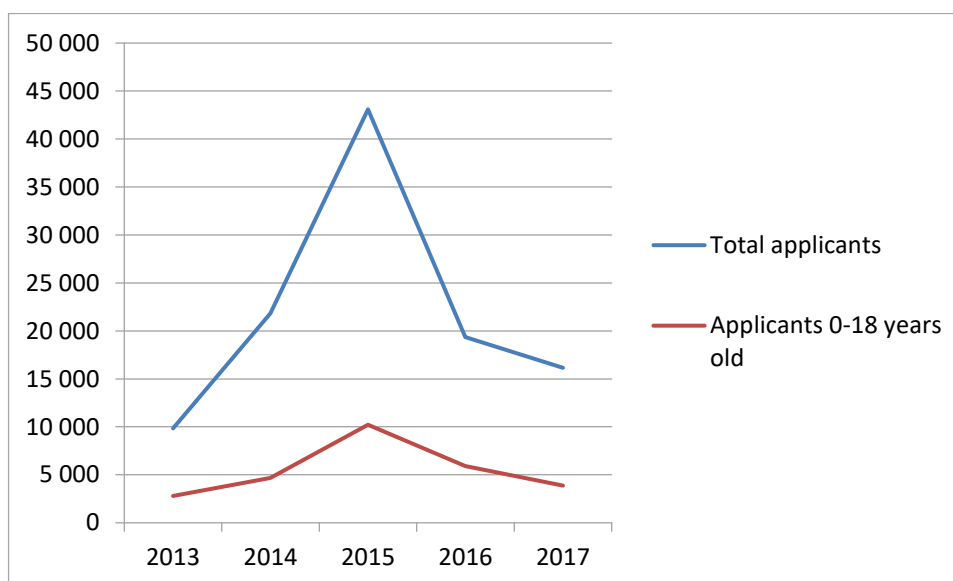
When we look at the most recent trends with regards to the migration motivations of immigrants aged 20 years old and younger, we observe that family migration is the most common reason (besides those who arrive with an existing Dutch nationality). Immigrant children tend to migrate with their parents as dependents or they may join a family member who has migrated prior to them. However, strikingly, Figure 2 also clearly shows the swift increase in the number of immigrant children arriving in the country to seek asylum. In 2015, 43 095 people applied for asylum (see Figure 3). Almost half of these immigrants had a Syrian background (18 675), with the remaining half primarily coming from Eritrea (7 360). After 2015, there was a sharp decline in asylum applications. Over the years, between 20-30% of asylum seekers were 20 years old or younger, indicating their considerable share among the newcomers.

Figure 2. Migration motives for immigrants aged between 0-20

Source: CBS, 2018

<https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/84140NED/table>

There have nevertheless been fluctuations with regards to the number of minors seeking humanitarian migrant status. In 2015, a total of 43 095 people applied for asylum. With around 10 200 applicants, 23.7% of the total asylum seekers were aged between 0 and 18 years old (CBS, 2018). Among those, the majority came from Syria (4 025), followed by Eritrea (1 720), Afghanistan (1 105), Iraq (690) and a large number were stateless (630). In 2016, the total number of asylum seekers who were minors almost halved compared to 2015, but their share among all asylum seekers was larger. Namely, in 2016 about 1 in every 3 asylum seeker was a minor, referring to 5 900 applicants between the ages of 0-18 years from the total 19 370 asylum seekers. In 2017, the share of asylum seekers who were minors declined: from 16 145 of total asylum applications, 23.9% (3 865) were between the ages of 0-18 years old. The main sending countries however have not changed compared to 2015. Despite the decrease in current numbers of new arrivals, the question of how to promote their integration in the education system remains a central question.

Figure 3. First asylum applications 2013-2017

Source: Centraal Bureau Statistiek (Statistics Netherlands - CBS), 2018
<https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/83102NED/table> (accessed 10/01/19)

Looking at the most recent numbers, we observe that in 2017, first-generation immigrants and native-born children of one or both foreign-born parents aged between 0 and 20 years comprised of respectively 170 201 and 796 246 people (CBS, 2018). First generation minor immigrants come mainly from Syria, Poland, Germany, Belgium and Somalia (see Table 1). Foreign-born parents of native-born children came mainly from Morocco, followed by Turkey, Suriname, Dutch Antilles and Germany, reflecting the largest migration flows induced by post-colonial links and labour migration in the post Second World War era. The first-generation immigrants' origin countries however reflect new migration flows that are linked to asylum migration and labour migration from other EU countries. This growing diversity among children with a migration background undeniably raises new questions that need to be addressed by the Dutch education system.

Table 1. Top 5 largest country of origin groups for children with a migrant background between 0-20 years old in 2017

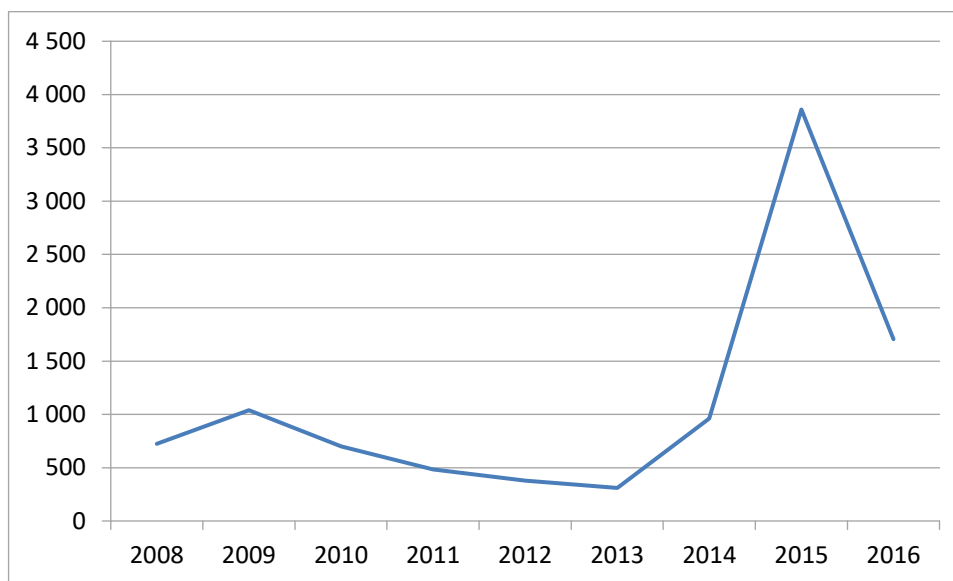
First-generation immigrants		Children with at least one foreign-born parent	
Country of origin	Total population	Country of origin of parent(s)	Total population
Syria	24 223	Morocco	138 487
Poland	13 650	Turkey	108 324
Germany	7 781	Suriname	72 655
Belgium	7 428	Dutch Antilles	38 200
Somalia	6 785	Germany	36 177

Source: CBS, 2018
<https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/37325/table>

Finally, it is important to note the official figures on asylum seekers who arrive in the Netherlands as unaccompanied minors (See Figure 4). According to CBS (2018), an unaccompanied minor is a minor applying for asylum who is not accompanied by parents and/or adult relatives. From 2013, there has been an increase of unaccompanied minor

applicants arriving in the Netherlands, with a peak in 2015, when 3 860 unaccompanied minors applied for asylum in the Netherlands. Since 2015, there has been a sharp decline. Figure 4 shows that in 2016, more than half of the unaccompanied minors were from Eritrea, followed by 13% from Afghanistan and 12% from Syria. Applicants from these countries have high chances of getting asylum. This is because the Dutch government classifies these countries as unsafe countries of origin, meaning they are considered as one of the most vulnerable groups among the minor immigrant population.

Figure 4. Unaccompanied minors arriving in the Netherlands between 2008 and 2016



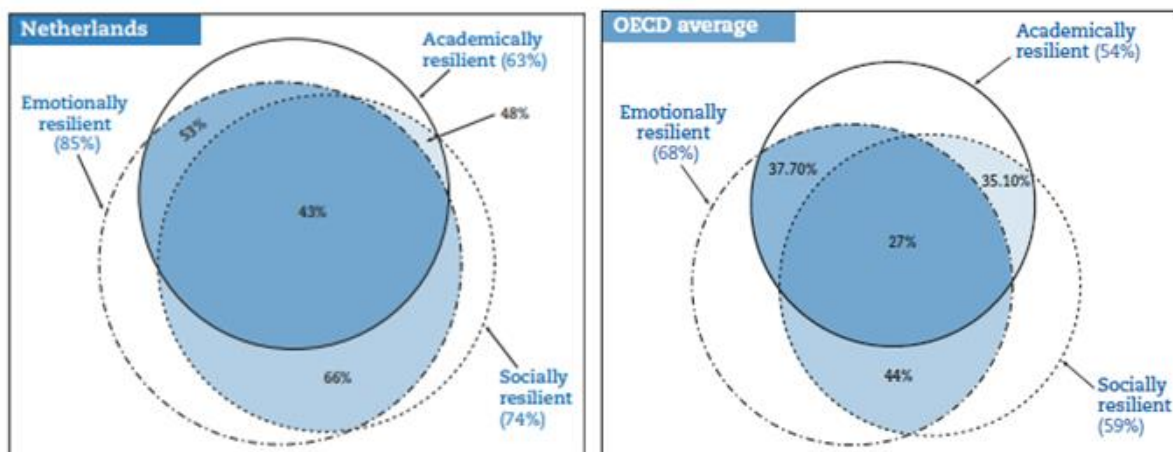
Source: CBS, 2018

<https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/82045NED/table>

3. Academic and socio-emotional resilience of students with a migration background

There are multiple ways in which the academic and socio-emotional resilience of students with a migration background can be assessed. We can first look into the most recent analyses based on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2015 data that investigates students' performance through a resilience lens. The 2018 OECD report indicates that in the Netherlands, 63% of immigrant students are academically resilient, 85% of them are emotionally resilient and 74% are socially resilient (see Figure 5) (OECD, 2018). These levels are particularly higher when compared to OECD averages, where only about 50% of the immigrant students are academically resilient, 68% are emotionally resilient and 59% of them are socially resilient. It is worthwhile noting however that native-born children with at least one foreign parent born abroad (61%) are significantly more likely to be academically resilient than their first-generation immigrant peers (49%) (OECD, 2018: see Table 3.6). Such generational difference does not exist with regards to sense of belonging (OECD, 2018: see data Figure 3.11). Moreover, in the Netherlands, for 43% of immigrant students, resilience in one life dimension goes hand-in-hand with resilience in other dimensions of life. This is a significantly higher share compared to the OECD share where only 27% of immigrant students are academically, socially and emotionally resilient. These students are considered as being resilient if they have reported baseline academic proficiency, a sense of belonging at school and being satisfied with life.

Figure 5. The overlap of immigrant students' resilience. Percentage of students who are academically, socially and/or emotionally resilient



Source: OECD, The Resilience of Students with An Immigrant Background: Factors That Shape Well-Being, 2018, Figure 1.3

<https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264292093-en>

Besides this overview, immigrant students in the Netherlands have expressed more motivation to achieve than native students. First-generation immigrants (70%) are more likely to have a high achievement motivation compared to native Dutch students (34%). Moreover, immigrant students with a baseline academic proficiency report higher life satisfaction and a stronger sense of belonging. This is also represented in the findings in

Figure 5. Finally, while the share of native students achieving baseline levels of academic resilience has decreased in the past years, this has not been the case for students with a migration background.

While these results indicate that children with a migration background perform relatively well in school, research also points to some problematic outcomes. First, generally, native Dutch students are more likely to be resilient than immigrant students. In the Netherlands, the difference between immigrants' and natives' resilience is larger than 20 percentage points. In addition, native Dutch students are less likely to report low levels of schoolwork anxiety compared to first-generation immigrants. The difference between the two groups is larger than 10 percentage points. Moreover, fifteen-year-old students with a migration background score 57 points less on average than their native peers (OECD, 2013). Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and national test results (CITO6 test) all show that these gaps are visible from the earliest years. TIMSS, for example, shows that at the age of 10, immigrant students are already behind their Dutch peers by 22 points in reading and 34 points in Mathematics. After controlling for socio-economic differences, students with a migration background still score far behind non-immigrant students, with 41 and 31 point differences respectively (Meelissen et al., 2012). Hence, the overall performance of immigrant students remains an important challenge.

Moreover, looking at enrolment rates in different educational tracks, we observe that students with a migration background are less likely to be enrolled in higher tracks compared to native students. They are over represented in the lower tracks of secondary education. For example, in 2010/11, only 30% of non-Western ethnic-minority students were enrolled in HAVO² or VWO³ representing the higher tracks of secondary education, compared to almost 50% of the native Dutch population (OCW, 2012; OECD, 2016b). Although there has been a slight improvement overtime (see Inspectorate of Education, 2018b), the share of students, especially Turkish and Moroccan descent, in academic tracks of secondary education remains significantly lower than the share of native Dutch students (Scheerens and van der Werf, 2018). It is also important to note that while 90% of Dutch students graduate from HAVO/VWO tracks, the share drops to 75% for non-Western immigrant students. The difference in graduation rate, remaining at 20%, is smaller when it comes to basic and advanced junior vocational education. Nevertheless, these rates illustrate a long-term challenge for overall attainment in secondary and senior vocational education.

Finally, drop-out and grade repetition pose considerable challenges. Grade repetition in the first two years of primary education includes a large share of economically disadvantaged students among whom there are many students with a migration background (Akgunduz and Heijnen, 2016). Most early school leaving happens in senior vocational education, which students have access to after graduating from junior general or vocational education. Within the four levels of this education, students need to graduate with Level 2 in order to be considered ready for the labour market. Students who leave education without this qualification are considered early school leavers. According to CBS (2016), the share of early school leavers with a non-western origin has substantially decreased between 2005 and 2015. For example, in 2005, 18.6% of students with a Turkish background were

² HAVO, for students normally aged 12 to 17, prepares students for professional higher education (*hoger beroepsopleiding*, HBO)

³ Pre-university education

considered to be early school leavers, while in 2015, this share dropped by more than half, reaching 8.4%. However, the gap between students with a migration background and their native Dutch peers remain significantly high, as only 4.3% of native Dutch students were early leavers from senior vocational education in 2015.

Overall, different indicators of educational outcomes and social and emotional well-being show a mixed picture about the situation of students with a migration background in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, in comparison to other OECD countries, children with a migration background are doing relatively well. As indicated by resilience measurements in academic, social and emotional dimensions of life, their experiences in the Netherlands cannot be considered severely problematic. However, the increasing share of children arriving in the Netherlands to seek asylum and their correspondingly difficult migration journeys and schooling experiences present a new challenge. This paper therefore particularly focuses on the case of newly arrived immigrants in the Netherlands to have a better understanding of the support provided by the country at both the national and local levels.

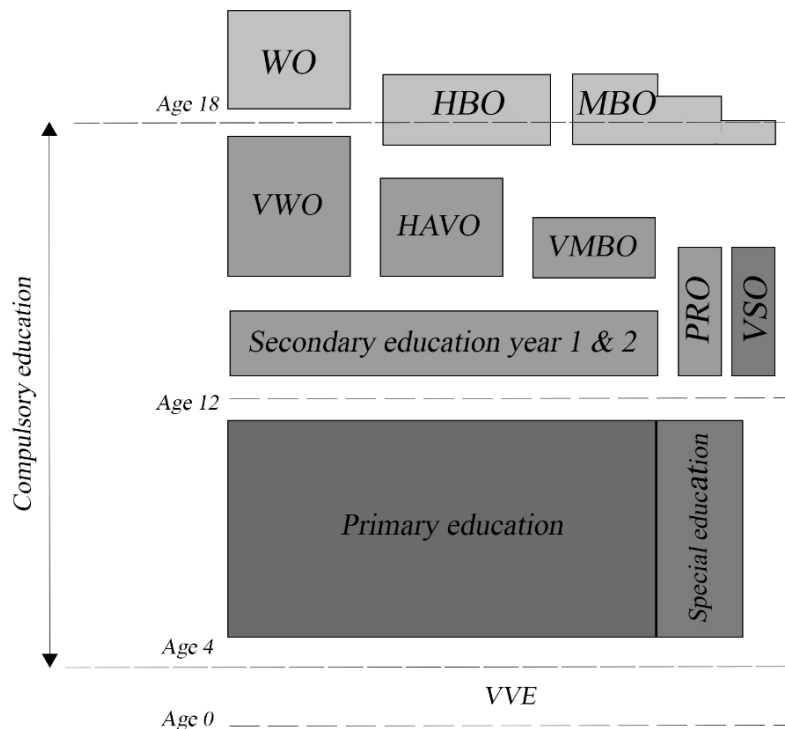
4. The Dutch education system and its four main features

The Dutch education system promotes high level of decentralisation, autonomous schools with a strong set of accountability measures, highly differentiated school systems and freedom of school choice. These features are considered to be essential for equity in education and achievement of strong cognitive skills. The high average performance and the small share of low performance in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC) are indications of the success of these features of the Dutch education system. However, as explained earlier, inequality along socio-economic and ethnic lines is also a part of the picture and can be considered as an unintended consequence of the education system as discussed below.

It is often argued that decentralisation facilitates, and gives space for, incorporating innovative practices in education that leads to a steady and high performance (OECD, 2016b). Moreover, it allows for schools to respond to immediate needs and adapt to new situations on the basis of local knowledge. In other words, this approach supports evidence-based policy-making and implementation at the local level and allows for flexibility when dealing with unique differences across regions of the country.

The Netherlands has a highly differentiated school system that has multiple tracks to which students are selected at an early age (see Figure 6). The early tracking system has faced some critique over the years concerning its increasing rigidity in terms of track placement. Particularly, in the case of immigrant and refugee children, it is argued that the early tracking system does not adequately take into account the potential of the students, as well as the additional challenges they face concerning language proficiency and other cultural barriers. Immigrant and refugee children lag behind compared to their native peers, especially in the early years of education. This lag is affected by immigrant and refugee children's unfamiliarity with the education system, as well as their need for time to acquire a higher level of language proficiency.

Figure 6. The Dutch Education System



Note. Hoger Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs (General secondary education - HAVO), Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs (Higher professional education – HBO), Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs (Vocational education – MBO), Praktijk Onderwijs (Practical training – PRO), Specialisten Opleiding (Special education – SO), Voorbereidend Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs (Pre-vocational secondary education – VMBO), Voor- en vroegschoolse educatie (Early childhood education – VVE), Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (Pre-university education – VWO), Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (University education – WO). VVE Early childhood education comprises of “pre-school” education (2–4) and the initial 2 years of mainstream primary education, formerly nursery school, and now sometimes indicated as Vroeg school (early school). VVE is intended for toddlers and pre-schoolers with a (language) disadvantage.

Note. Figure adapted to English from Scheerens and van der Werf (2018)

Source. Scheerens, J. and G. van der Werf (2018), “Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy in the Netherlands”, *Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy*, Springer, Cham, pp. 103-118.

When immigrant and refugee students are placed in a track, their potential can be underestimated. This is also reflected in the overrepresentation of students with a migration background in the lower tracks of secondary education. It is, however, important to note that the risks associated with early tracking are tackled to a certain extent with some compensating regulations (Bussemaker and Dekker, 2016b). Namely, there is the possibility that selection of students with mixed grades for secondary education is postponed. Moreover, students have the opportunity to ‘climb up’, in the sense that they can achieve higher educational levels during their educational trajectory. Yet, it remains an empirical question to assess whether these possibilities can wholly compensate for the additional disadvantages students with a migrant background face.

Finally, in the Netherlands, the principle of freedom of “school choice” refers to the idea that families can apply for the schools which they want their children to attend (Wetten Overheid, 2017)⁴. The country’s strong historical commitment to parental choice of schools gives it a distinct character. The general system of “pillarisation”, that distinguishes between public, Catholic and Protestant schools, is at the origin of this principle as it gives families the opportunity to choose the school they prefer (Dronkers, 1995). Since the 1990s, Islamic schools have also been organising education for a sizeable Muslim population. As the reflection of Dutch tolerance, pillarisation hence allows for religious groups to coexist in the public sphere and interact on governmental levels. The segregation at the school level in the Netherlands therefore is observed along religious lines, rather than socio-economic ranks. The secularisation of the Dutch society and the influx of immigrant families with lower educational background and cultural heritage, however, led to the development of school segregation defined by socio-economic status (Denessen, Driessena, and Slegers, 2005; Ladd, Fiske, and Ruijs, 2009). Besides religion, socio-economic status and ethnic background also became determining factors for choosing a school. Researchers have argued that families began to use their freedom of school choice to avoid outgroups and increase contact with “in-group”, while prioritising school quality. More economically advantaged families tend to prefer schools with more resources and opportunities, and over time this motivation leads to the development of school segregation along ethnic lines (Bifulco, Ladd, and Ross, 2009).

In line with this, one could argue that the increased influx of minors with ever more diverse backgrounds intensifies school segregation in the Netherlands, through the “flight” of native families to schools with fewer minorities. There are a couple of reasons as to why this does not necessarily need to be the case. Firstly, as discussed in the capacity building section, the Netherlands has been trying to cope with this issue by providing extra resources based on the number of new arrivals and disadvantaged students in a school. Secondly, although it remains a marginal effort, some municipalities have introduced post-code area policies and “central application” for registering students to a certain school on the basis of school needs and characteristics rather than giving full school choice to families (OCW, 2008). Finally, in the past couple of years, many newcomers have been temporarily in transmission classes, meaning that their interaction with the native population has been rather limited. With the increase of newcomer students transiting to regular classrooms and schools, it may be important to monitor the reactions of local families and assess the potential changes in school segregation in the Netherlands.

In the remainder of this research, we look further into education system characteristics for non-Dutch speaking newcomers, discussing both the strengths and the potential weaknesses of the policy approaches and implementation strategies for educational integration.

⁴ A school can refuse to accept a child under certain conditions (Ouders and Onderwijs, 2018). Some of these conditions for both primary and secondary schools include limited capacity of the school, post-code area policies (or “central application” for secondary schools), need of the child for extra special support and target group of the school (e.g. Religion based school). For newcomers, the third condition is the most relevant. Primary and secondary schools have the ‘duty of care’. This means that for new students who need special support, schools have 6-10 weeks to arrange the right conditions by making arrangements within the school. When this is not possible, schools can advise families to place their child to another school with relevant facilities (e.g. school with existing newcomer classrooms) (Rijksoverheid, 2018b). One particularity for secondary schools is that families are obliged to take into account the track level advice given by the primary school. If parents choose to still apply for a higher level for their children, it is very likely that they will be rejected (Rijksoverheid, 2018a).

5. Education system for Non-Dutch speaking newcomers

There is a relatively different definition of ‘newcomers’ in primary and secondary education in the Netherlands. For primary education, the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) defines newcomers as students without the Dutch nationality who have arrived in the Netherlands less than a year ago. According to the most recent numbers, there were 3 020 newcomers in primary education on 1 May, 2017⁵. Additionally, on the same date, there were 5 236 newcomers from asylum centres. These figures are based on information from schools who applied for special funding for every newcomer student they had in their schools. For secondary education, newcomers are defined as students without a Dutch nationality and who have been in the country less than 2 years. The ministry reports that there were 13 340 newcomers on 1 July, 2017⁶. Depending on age category, there are different types of schools for newcomers (OCW, 2016). Pre-primary education for newcomers is optional and the number of schools that have newcomers is not known. For primary school children, between 4 to 12 years of age, there are six types of schools (Maarse, Van Wander and Schilder, 2017). As can be seen in Table 2, the most common type of schools include those that have only one or two classes for newcomers, followed by schools only providing education to newcomers and primary schools with three or more classes for newcomers. Newcomer students who arrive in the Netherlands at the age of secondary school do not generally directly enrol in ‘normal’ schools as they lack language proficiency in Dutch. Therefore, they first have to attend International Transmission Classes (ISCs) for two years - after which they can enrol in the regular secondary education. It is important to note that the number of schools connected to asylum seeker centres and bigger independent newcomer schools is slowly decreasing. The reason for this, as suggested by the Inspectorate of Education (2018), is that children are coming more often through family reunification and hence, attend regular schools rather than those linked to asylum centres.

According to the most recent evaluations of the Inspectorate of Education, the quality of newcomer schools is in general good, meaning that there is a positive school climate and teachers are successful in creating a welcoming environment, as well as using relevant course material, didactic strategies and assessment of students’ performance (Inspectorate of Education, 2018a). The inspectorate however additionally states that while there is much focus on the first year of arrival, more attention is needed on the long-term career of newcomers and tackling their educational learning disadvantages in the medium- to long-term (Inspectorate of Education, 2018a). In their report, the inspectorate concludes that the school careers of newcomers are far from perfect. This is reflected in the increase in the number of students who repeat a class, receive lower scores on the central test and are advised for “praktijk onderwijs” - referring to the lowest level of education in secondary schools.

⁵ These most up-to-date numbers were provided during in-depth interviews conducted at OCW on May 2, 2018.

⁶ These most up-to-date numbers were provided during in-depth interviews conducted at OCW on May 2, 2018.

In line with these critiques, the secondary school division of Support for Newcomer Education (LOWAN-VO) and the Amsterdam Institute for Language Research and Teaching⁷ (ITTA) have developed an intake method for newcomers in secondary education (Bussemaker and Dekker, 2017a). During this intake, teachers try to assess prior knowledge and learning abilities of the newcomers. In line with this assessment, teachers develop a more personalised educational path for students to follow and transit to mainstream education, which prepares them for the labour market (see Figure 7). In other words, the objective is that young adults over 16 years of age enrol in senior secondary vocational educational programmes that prepare them for a profession (Tudjman and Van den Heerik, 2016).

Table 2. Different school types for non-Dutch speaking newcomers in the Netherlands

Age	Education	Number of schools	Total
2.5-4 years-old	Pre- and early-education (optional)	Unknown	
	<i>Type 1 schools</i> Schools connected to asylum seeker centres	50	
4-12 years-old	<i>Type 2 schools</i> Schools only providing education to newcomers <i>and</i> primary schools with three or more classes for newcomers	54	
	<i>Type 3 schools</i> Schools with 1 or 2 classes for newcomers	171	
	<i>Type 4 schools</i> Schools where newcomers are integrated in regular classes (objectively no newcomers' education)	33	
	<i>POL schools</i> Procedure Reception Location schools	17	
	<i>GLO schools</i> Family Location Reception schools	22	
	Total Primary Education		347
	<i>International Transmission Classes (ISKs)</i> Separate schools or departments housed at school communities		
12-18 years-old	<i>ISK < 50 pupils</i>	39	
	<i>ISK 50-100 pupils</i>	37	
	<i>ISK > 100 pupils</i>	43	
	Total Secondary Education		119
	Total education types for non-Dutch speaking newcomers in the Netherlands		466

Note. Table adapted to English from Maarse, Van Wander and Schilder, 2017

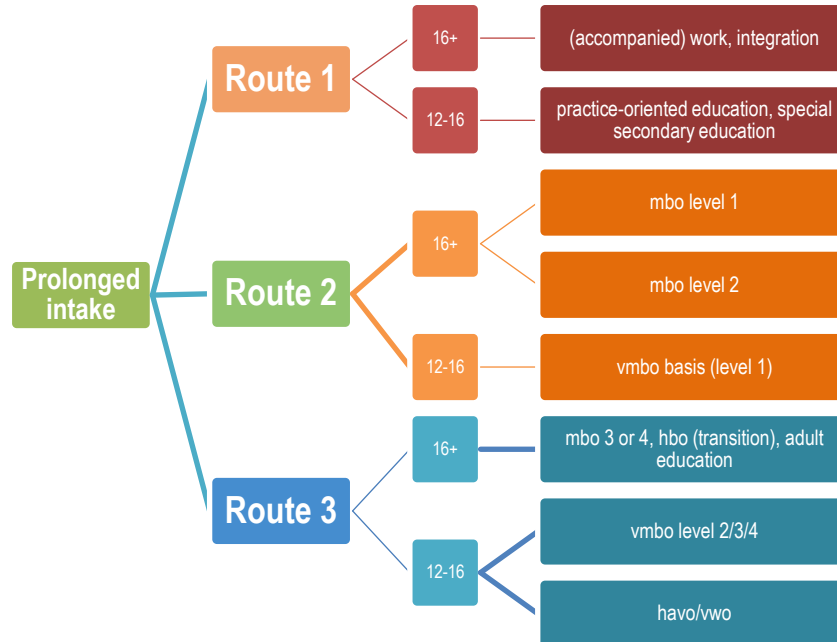
Source. Maarse, J., van E. Wander and J. Schilder (2017), *Organiseren van nieuwkomersonderwijs. Anticiperen op aanbod* [Organizing newcomers education. Anticipate supply], Sardes, Utrecht.

The inspectorate also emphasises the importance of providing more specific guidance and prolonged time so that students can make a successful and smooth transition to regular secondary schools (Inspectorate of Education, 2018a). The prolonged intake takes 4-8 weeks, with the goal of determining the student's capabilities and aspirations. In this period, teachers estimate educational achievement expectations of the student, what type of education they can pursue and in which route they can accomplish this level. As also explained by a school director during the interview, students' progress is checked biannually by the teacher mentor who has completed the initial intake. The transition to mainstream education then is not determined by one final exam, but through a continuous

⁷ The Institute, linked to University of Amsterdam, was originally called Instituut voor Taalonderzoek en Taalonderwijs Amsterdam.

assessment of whether the educational goals are met. This assessment entails both tests and portfolio-based conversations with the student.

Figure 7. Exit profiles for newcomer students after attending transition classes



Note. Figure adapted to English from LOWAN and ITTA (2016)

Source. LOWAN and ITTA (2016), *Project LOWAN-ITTA leerlijnen: Eerste Opvangonderwijs Nieuwkomers VO* [Project LOWAN-ITTA learning lines: First Daycare Newcomers VO], www.lowan.nl/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/folder-lowan-ittta.pdf (accessed 10 March 2018).

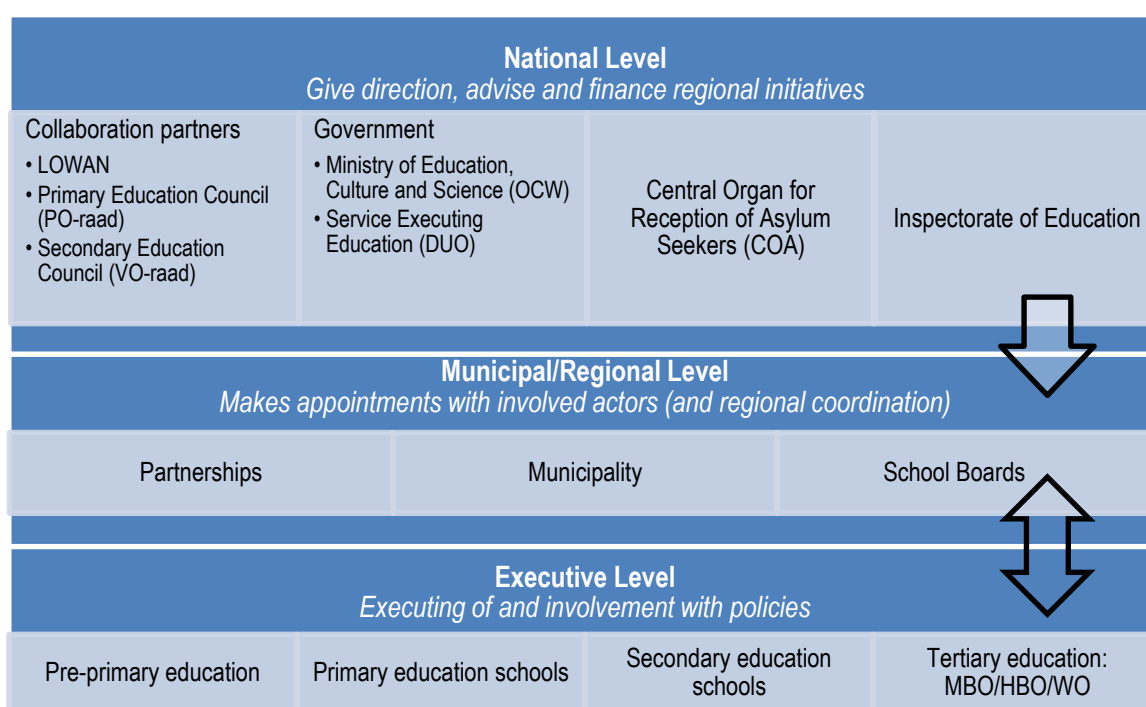
In the Netherlands, in order to receive admission to vocational education, a pre-vocational secondary educational degree is necessary (Tudjman and Van den Heerik, 2016). For those immigrant students who have acquired some level of pre-vocational secondary education abroad, it is crucial that their qualifications are recognised before being admitted to vocational education. The *Co-operation Organisation for Vocational Education, Training and the Labour Market* (SBB) is responsible of evaluating foreign degrees in comparison to Dutch certification. SBB determines the value of a refugee's foreign certificate at no cost. However, some vocational schools are hesitant to accept newcomer students if they have not completed the initial primary reception education, as many of the programmes do not have the capacity to provide language support. Moreover, because the first track of the vocational education does not have admission requirements, there is a risk that many newcomer students apply to level-one programmes even though they may be qualified to pursue higher-level programmes. In a time when the number of young refugees has significantly increased, these issues have posed challenges for managers of education in terms of integrating older students⁸ to the education system.

⁸ Because it is obligatory for refugees 18 years of age and older to obtain an integration course certificate, there are vocational education schools that provide them language support and civic integration courses.

6. Role of different actors in supporting the school integration of newcomers

The different actors supporting the academic and social integration of newcomers can be summarised in a multi-level manner. At the national level, there is the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW), Central Organ for Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA), Dutch Inspectorate of Education and collaborative partners that include Support for Newcomer Education (LOWAN), Primary Education Council and Secondary Education Council (see Figure 8). At the national level, these institutions primarily have the role of giving direction, advice and financial support to regional initiatives.

Figure 8. Multi-level representation of actors in newcomers' school integration



Note. Figure adapted to English from Maarse, Van Wander and Schilder, 2017

Source. Maarse, J., van E. Wander and J. Schilder (2017), *Organiseren van nieuwkomersonderwijs. Anticiperen op aanbod* [Organizing newcomers education. Anticipate supply], Sardes, Utrecht.

The Dutch government has allocated the responsibility of organising education for newcomers to the municipal level, as they are also responsible for the enforcement of compulsory education for native students (OCW, 2016). As discussed earlier, the Netherlands is characterised by different educational formats for newcomers. School boards assure the implementation of newcomers' education and often work with municipalities and other relevant actors. Execution therefore takes place at the school level, including early school child care, primary education, secondary education and tertiary education. Schools play the most important role in executing newcomers' education. They are responsible for hiring teachers and creating a pedagogically stimulating environment, in which newcomer children can develop their Dutch language and education skills. Considering the high level of decentralisation of the Dutch education system, great

variations are observed across regions and schools in terms of their strategies to integrate newcomers in the school system (Maarse, Van Wander and Schilder, 2017). In the remainder of this section, we focus on the different roles of actors and institutions at the national and regional/municipal levels.

6.1. Actors and institutions at the national level

6.1.1. Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) and Service Executing Education (DUO)

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) has the political responsibility of the Dutch education system and has to obey the national law on Higher education and Research Act and the Law study financing (Nuffic, 2014). OCW is mainly responsible for the funding of the education and for determining educational policies, enrolment requirements, and the educational structure and goals. Additionally, the Ministry of Public Health, Well-being and Sport (VWS) and the Ministry of Economic Affairs (EZ) are involved in the content of higher education. In all education levels (primary, secondary and higher education), the general trend is to have less regulations with the aim of giving institutions the responsibility to implement government policies (Maarse, Van Wander and Schilder, 2017). Since OCW does not recognise newcomer schools as a separate school type, the execution of newcomer education is even more flexible.

OCW plays a role in financing newcomers' education and answering questions related to policy implementation. The ministry provides the budget through Education Executive Agency (Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs [DUO]) and provides additional budgetary allocations based on existing regulations. DUO, the institution responsible for allocating funds, executes the education legislation and regulations determined. In other words, DUO finances education institutions, provides student loans, collects college fees and debts, recognises diplomas, and is also responsible for organising integration exams.

6.1.2. LOWAN, Primary Education Council (PO-raad), Secondary Education Council (VO-raad)

Support for Newcomer Education (LOWAN) is an organisation that supports education for children with a migration background (Lowan, 2018a). They focus both on primary and secondary schools, and provide information to relevant stakeholders about subsidies, laws and guidelines concerning education for migrant children. They also list the schools where migrant children can enrol in classes and provide an exhaustive database with course materials for educators to use in multicultural classrooms. On the national level LOWAN contributes to policy decisions, while on the regional level they facilitate knowledge exchange and network development among different stakeholders. Namely, LOWAN organises study days, meetings and supports schools to set up newcomers' education. Moreover, LOWAN's website is an online platform where diverse experiences and up-to-date information are shared.

Primary Education Council (PO-raad) and Secondary Education Council (VO-raad) are sector organisations. They represent school governing boards and schools in primary and secondary education. They aim for quality improvement, development and innovation in primary and secondary education. They also conduct consultations with trade unions concerning the labour agreements of staff members across the country. In short, the education councils provide a network within the sector, between the schools and society, to support the necessary conditions for effective education and making education results visible.

Regarding newcomers' education, they have multiple roles. First, the education councils advise and support schools on the basis of the key points from the policy agenda and sector agenda agreed on by the members. Second, within the confines of financial regulations, they aim to sustain the improvement of quality in newcomers' education. They decide on how budgets can be used for newcomer focused educational practices. Third, they broach themes relating to newcomers on the agenda of the central government.

6.1.3. Central Organ for Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA)

The tasks of COA are described by the Law Central Organ reception Asylum Seekers. COA is responsible for providing accommodation for asylum seekers (OCW, 2016). COA has close contact with municipalities about accommodating asylum seekers and providing education. They also execute the OHBA regulation. This regulation concerns education budgets with regards to primary education for asylum seeking children. The fund includes a contribution for investing in rental costs, costs for first establishment (e.g. course material, furniture), materials for sports classes, real estate tax and insurance of buildings (OCW, 2016). Only municipalities can appeal for this regulation. COA receives asylum seekers in reception centres and offers basic services including education.

6.1.4. Dutch Inspectorate of Education

The law on Education Inspection (WOT) sets out how the Netherlands controls the quality of education (Wetten Overheid, 2018). The evaluation is conducted by the Dutch Inspectorate of Education (Inspectie van het Onderwijs) and the analysis is a risk-based inspection (Inspectorate of Education, 2017). This means that the level of inspection the school receives is based on the risks of a school. The risk analysis encompasses test scores, exam results, enrolment rates, drop-out rates, annual reports, signals (e.g. complaints) and follow-up aspects. On the basis of a risk assessment, the inspection determines the level and intensity of the inspection a school needs to go through.

The inspection has been also involved in the provision and assessment of education for newcomers (Maarse, Van Wander and Schilder, 2017). The supervision of the inspection depends on the specific school type (see Table 2) (OCW, 2017c). Type 1 and Type 2 schools are visited every two years and are evaluated by a unique set of standards. The schools receive a supervision arrangement and the evaluation of the school is published publicly. Moreover, the inspectorate can make an exploratory visit to new schools (Type 1 or Type 2) in the second year of their establishment. These visits can be organised on the request of school boards, the schools themselves or the inspectorate itself. The objective of these visits is to provide feedback on the content and design of education and to discuss how the supervision standards for the subsequent assessments can be developed.

In the evaluation of Type 3 schools, the inspection includes a separate section for the quality of newcomers' classes but without a separate supervisory arrangement. Type 4 schools are assessed during the regular visits to schools. In addition, the inspectorate discusses the management of newcomers' integration to schools with school boards. The inspectorate aims to maintain an approach similar to that of primary schools during their supervision. However, rather than focusing on learning outcomes, the inspection focuses more on the assessment of the goals and the plans of schools, and their reflection in curriculum development. In addition, attention is paid to how language instruction is assessed when considering the needs of the newcomers.

Finally, ISK assessment is integrated within the inspection of secondary education. There is no separate assessment tool and quality norm to which ISKs have to adhere.

Nevertheless, for all school types it can be concluded that overall the reports published by the inspectorate are decisive for identifying the successes and challenges of schools when providing education to newcomers.

6.2. Actors and institutions at the regional and municipal levels

6.2.1. Municipalities

Municipalities are accountable for enforcing compulsory education for all children and are therefore also responsible for organising newcomers' education. While in most cases the set-up of education for newcomers is in practice planned by school boards, municipalities still contribute to this set-up in multiple critical ways. They can take a pivotal role by creating a central vision and facilitating constructive meetings between different actors (e.g. LOWAN, PO-raad, VO-raad and school boards). Moreover, municipalities are in charge of organising school housing and arranging transport for pupils to and from school. Finally, municipalities are obliged to provide pre-primary education for toddlers (between 2.5 and 4 years old). All in all, the level and type of involvement of municipalities differ significantly across regions in the Netherlands.

6.2.2. Partnerships

All schools for regular and special education are part of partnerships (*samenwerkingsverbanden* in Dutch) organised within municipalities or with different adjacent municipalities. The Netherlands has 152 partnerships: 77 in primary education and 75 in secondary education (Maarse, Van Wander and Schilder, 2017). Partnerships receive a budget to provide different types of educational support. All partnerships are legally obliged to develop a plan on how to allocate this budget for extra support. In this plan, schools that form part of the same partnership formulate how they will realise suitable education in their region over the next four years. Partnerships determine also whether pupils are eligible for special primary or secondary education.

The involvement of partnerships in the organisation of newcomer education differs by region. Where partnerships are active, they play an important role in developing a network and sustaining continuous relationships between schools and relevant actors in both primary and secondary education. These partnerships also have a lot of policy and educational expertise that can be used when the numbers of students fluctuate. The inspectorate assesses the quality of partnerships and visit each partnership at least once every four years. In the case of high risks, which are discussed by the board of the partnership, the inspectorate may conduct an investigation and monitor the partnership.

6.2.3. School boards

In addition to implementing education, schools and school boards play a strategic role in facilitating and organising the transition of newcomers to mainstream education. School boards have up-to-date and detailed information at the school level on how education is provided. They can assess and identify the needs and challenges of each school. Their positioning with regards to these issues may significantly influence the way newcomers' education is set up and implemented within a municipality or a larger region. In this regard, their participation and collaboration with education councils, municipalities and other relevant actors are essential to shape the short- to medium-term goals regarding newcomers' education.

7. Social integration and multiculturalism in schools

7.1. Promotion of active citizenship and social integration

Social integration is defined as the participation of citizens (regardless of ethnic or cultural background) in society and its institutions, as well as one's familiarity and involvement with the Dutch culture (Inspectorate of Education, 2006). Since 2006, a law has been enforced which obliges primary and secondary schools and expertise centres to contribute to the integration of their students (OCW, 2006). The law article 'active citizenship and social integration' specifies that educational decisions should take into account the following:

- a) pupils and students grow up in a pluralistic society;
- b) active citizenship and social integration are promoted;
- c) pupils and students have knowledge of and make acquaintance with different backgrounds and cultures of their peers.

Thus, schools are required to focus on active citizenship and social integration. They also have to come to an agreement with municipalities regarding strategies to improve integration and prevent segregation. Despite these overarching objectives, there are no clear guidelines or strict rules in terms of how schools can address issues related to active citizenship and social integration. This also means that there are no particular ways in which these issues are advised to be tackled for new students. Nevertheless, the promotion of active citizenship and social integration in schools takes place in multiple ways. The respondents interviewed for this research regularly stated that social integration is considered as a cross-cutting theme that educators try to incorporate in all courses. In addition, they specified that in some schools there are dedicated courses to active citizenship. Besides, there are *ad hoc* school-based activities as well as participation in diverse projects that are supported by OCW. With the aim of promoting social interactions, schools organise events that bring together locals and newcomers in transition classrooms. For example, the celebration of *Sinterklaas* (a legendary figure based on Saint Nicholas) is seen as an opportunity to bring together all students, as suggested by a school director respondent. In this regard, the promotion of active citizenship and social integration takes place in different ways. Moreover, OCW has supported several projects over the years as listed below:

- National Institute for Curriculum Development (Stichting Leerplanontwikkeling [SLO]) has developed guidelines and sub-goals for the theme 'citizenship' in primary and the first half of secondary education.
- Eduniek Utrecht, Utrecht University and Public Primary Education Foundation (*Stichting Primair Openbaar Onderwijs*) has developed a research project called "Citizenship Formation in Primary Education". The goal was to develop guidelines for democratic citizenship in primary schools.
- The Catholic Pedagogic Centre (KPC-group) has begun to collect good examples on behalf of OCW with regards to how schools stimulate and teach discussions around citizenship. They map different methods for citizenship education and

develop an instrument showing the ways in which (active) citizenship competences are defined.

- The ministry has also subsidised a website called *Kennisnet*, where schools can find up-to-date information, good practices and class material.

7.1.1. Recognition of diverse cultural backgrounds in curricula and textbooks

Beyond active citizenship and social integration, OCW has been continuously promoting the importance of internationalisation in primary and secondary education and in the teacher education (OCW, 2017a). On the basis of the idea that people with international experience are better at creative thinking and problem-solving, the former minister Jet Bussemaker has stated that Dutch education should educate its students so that they finish their education with international competencies, including international orientation and knowledge, and the ability to communicate, reflect and cooperate internationally (Bussemaker, 2014; Onderwijsraad, 2016). In relation to this, the Education Council has stated that everyone working with refugees should be internationally competent (Onderwijsraad, 2017). In this regard, in the education sector, teachers and school staff are expected to show interest in other cultures and to be able to communicate in multicultural classes. The ways in which teachers are prepared and trained for these objectives is discussed in more detail in *Capacity building: competences of school staff and teachers*.

Currently, almost the entire curriculum and textbooks are in Dutch - both in primary and secondary education. As discussed in the section dedicated to Language as a driver of integration, teaching the Dutch language (as fast as possible) is considered to be the most important priority for newcomers. It is believed that integration can be promoted through a high proficiency in Dutch. In line with this emphasis, in 2004, the first chamber decided to stop financing education in *allochthonous*⁹ (immigrant) languages, such as Turkish and Arabic (Senate of the Netherlands, 2004). If a school strives for providing education in *allochthonous* languages, then they are expected to make the necessary financial investment themselves. Consequently, not much emphasis is given to the potential benefits of integrating mother tongue in the classroom. Despite this situation, LOWAN advises teachers to use methods that stimulate the use of mother tongue in class. For example, if necessary, students should be allowed to use their mother tongue when they are preparing for a presentation. However, the use of multiple languages in class would require specialised teaching skills and there is no course material developed by LOWAN written in multiple languages (LOWAN, 2018b). In this regard, the idea of incorporating mother tongue in the classroom remains very limited. There appears to be only one exception to this principle whereby LOWAN promotes free download of a calculus book available in multiple languages.

The book iMAT (instrument Mathematics in other languages) has been developed to help children who do not speak Dutch at home as an instrument in the calculus course and as a tool to involve parents in education. The iMAT includes calculus vocabulary in various and targets teachers, supervisors, volunteers, parents and the students themselves. The project “On iMAT you can count” is a collection of visually appealing tools built around five themes: mathematical terms, numbers, fractions, percentages and measurements. iMATs

⁹ *Allochthonous* is a commonly used term in the Netherlands to make a reference to immigrants and their descendants. In this regard, *allochthonous* languages refer to languages primarily used by individuals with a migrant background in the country.

are available in PDFs in Albanian, Arabic, Bulgarian, English, Farsi, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, Swedish and Turkish.

While the idea of recognition of diverse cultural backgrounds is not reflected in the incorporation of *allochthonous* languages in education, there are multiple course materials on cultural diversity that are promoted by LOWAN (LOWAN, 2018b; LOWAN 2018c). One example is the course material ‘World Travellers’ which is used in primary schools. World Travellers is about the ‘new children’ in class, mainly focusing on refugees and immigrants from Middle- and Eastern-Europe. This book, published by Pharos, include topics such as where immigrant children come from, what their culture entails, and how to become friends with them. There are also various other books that allow students to think about social identities and about how diversity can be enriching and beneficial on a societal level. Most of these courses target primary school classes. These books, promoted on LOWAN’s website, cost between EUR 5 and EUR 15 (EUR 2 and EUR 7 for the workbook version), and include exercises for students. There is no systematic analysis of the usage and effectiveness of these course materials.

7.2. Arrangement of various cultural and religious traditions’ celebration

Recognising different cultures’ holidays is one of the many ways in which schools can demonstrate their awareness of and respect for multicultural values and diverse traditions. In this regard, schools can acknowledge religious holidays besides the generally acknowledged national holidays (OCW, 2018a). In such a case, all children attending a given school, not just those who celebrate the religious day, are afforded a day off. Schools publish these holidays in their school guide so that parents can plan for the school year in advance. Despite this allowance, schools are still obliged to meet the legal norm for teaching time. In cases where a school does not acknowledge a religious holiday, it might still be possible for a pupil to get a free day when they have “duties relating to religion or beliefs”. In short, the ways in which schools deal with issues such as celebration of various cultural and religious traditions differ significantly and there is not a single approach. There is also a lack of monitoring and evaluation of how these practices take place in daily school life. However, within the larger debate on diversity policy, there is a continuous call for a more coherent and well-defined perspective on managing diversity (Thijs, Langberg and Berlet, 2009; Inspectorate of Education, 2016).

7.3. Mentoring projects for migrant students

It is essential for the youth to have good role models (Bussemaker and Dekker, 2016b). Pupils in secondary education or vocational training (MBO) who do not have many other individuals with higher education in their social environment are supported by mentoring projects (Bussemaker and Dekker, 2016b). While these programmes are not only targeted towards migrant students, they do benefit from these initiatives. In 2006, different mentors and coaches were recruited by schools to guide children with a migration background. These mentors were either native Dutch or other migrants who have settled in the Netherlands, often coming from other organisations with which the schools would have been cooperating on a voluntary basis (OCW, 2006). OCW has invested EUR 1 million a year from 2017 to support societal initiatives that link HBO- and WO-students to a pupil in secondary school or MBO in their own city or region. The main goal of these mentoring projects is to provide access to more information on education possibilities, enhance self-confidence and encourage students to pursue higher education. The role of these mentors and coaches is also to act as a link between the school and the children.

7.4. Outreach to parents

Pupils perform better at school if their parents are involved (Bussemaker and Dekker, 2016b). According to OCW, parents have a vital role in the upbringing and educational attainment of their children. Parents with a migration background who are not proficient in Dutch language may struggle to support their children's education. For this reason, in 2017 and 2018 "Tel mee met Taal" (Count Along with Language) action programme invested EUR 2 million per year to support children and parents with low language proficiency in Dutch. Through this programme, which is a collaboration between OCW and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment and the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport, around 10 000 parents with low literacy have been engaged in language trainings and support in providing educative homes, in order to communicate more effectively with the school. Trained volunteers guide the participating parents to a parent's evening or support parents in communicating with the municipality about (youth) care and financial support for participation in extracurricular activities. The ministry argues that the combined approach of promoting parental involvement and combatting language deficiencies has proven to be effective. Additionally, EUR5 million was spent to support low-income parents with children studying at MBO and to help them with paying the education fees. In 2017, this amount was raised to EUR 10 million.

8. Capacity building: competences of school staff and teachers

8.1. Teacher preparation and training

A primary education teacher training degree (PABO) is required to become a primary school teacher in the Netherlands. This degree is also needed to teach in dedicated classes for newcomers in primary education. Recently, OCW has decided that teachers with their PABO degree are allowed to teach at ISK's when they receive a NT2 certificate (Teaching Dutch as a Second Language) or when they have two years working experience with NT2 (Bussemaker and Dekker, 2016a). These teachers are considered to be capable and have the necessary pedagogical and didactical skills that match the needs of newcomers (OCW, 2016).

Currently, many teachers who are working at first reception classes have obtained a NT2 certificate (Onderwijsraad, 2017). However, not all teachers working with newcomers have obtained this additional education. Especially in schools where the number of newcomers is low, expertise on NT2 is limited. Recently, the government has increased the capacity of NT2-courses (Bussemaker and Dekker, 2017). The government has guaranteed to provide part of the teacher scholarship for NT2 obtainment. At present, 500 NT2 teachers are annually educated, in order to meet the increased demand. Responding to this demand in terms of the number of certified teachers is not currently sufficient. The development of a coherent, comprehensive and consistent education across the country remains a crucial challenge. There is a great variation in NT2-training, ranging from a short training to a complete post-HBO NT2 training.

8.2. Teacher training on diversity

LOWAN offers course material for trainings on diversity management (LOWAN, 2018b). Examples are 'A newcomer in your group', 'First aid by foreign-language newcomers', 'New children, new knowledge' and 'Newcomers in school'. These courses aim to give advice on how to deal with language and cultural barriers in the classroom. These courses target both teachers and school directors. Besides the courses provided by LOWAN, the project 'transformative schools', from sociologist Ilias El Hadioui, is used by some schools (especially in Rotterdam) (Bussemaker and Dekker, 2017b). This project trains teachers in guiding students in switching between the culture they have at home, the culture they experience in the public sphere and the culture in the classroom. The idea behind this project is that students do not have to abandon their culture, but rather hold the ability to switch between cultures. Finally, the project 'Full Colour' focuses on the intercultural competences of teachers (Full Colour, 2017). It is a programme for teachers and tutors to change their attitude about diversity in the classroom and giving tips for how to guide students with a migrant background. This project was developed by the governmental organisation Sectorbestuur Onderwijsarbeidsmarkt (Sector Management Employment in Education - SBO).

8.3. Teacher training on mental health and students' challenges and needs

LOWAN provides a wide range of course materials regarding mental health and students' challenges and needs (LOWAN, 2018b). There is, for example, a guidebook for teachers, mentors, and social workers that focuses on the question of how to handle students who

have experienced trauma (LOWAN, 2018f). The handbook provides practical knowledge and skills to cope with the often difficult to understand behaviour of traumatised pupils. Offering trauma-sensitive education to children in need aims to create a safer climate, which in return is expected to promote effective and better learning outcomes of all children.

LOWAN has also developed books about education for migrant children in collaboration with PO-raad and VO-raad (LOWAN, 2018g). For example, the book entitled “Newcomers in Schools” (published in 2016) has the objective of answering the following questions: how do we provide good education to these children and how can we guide them in their integration in the Netherlands and all that comes with it? How do you organise good education and how do you provide good education to newcomers? It concerns both organisational issues (such as finance, building, materials and staff) and educational matters. Namely, it refers to questions of what good education is; what the characteristics of NT2 would be; how to teach traumatised children; and how to deal with (semi-) illiteracy and with parents of newcomers. This book targets teachers, internal supervisors, care coordinators, behaviour specialists, managements and administrations.

In addition, for teachers to become acquainted with the experiences of asylum seeker children, there is a book published by independent publishers which includes stories about the lives of children living in reception centres (LOWAN, 2018i). In fact, the original of this book was published in 1997 and has been released once again in 2016.

A private organisation, Augeo Academy also provides free online training programmes on how to deal with the special needs and challenges of immigrant students. There is one training for primary school teachers and one for secondary school teachers.

8.4. Teachers with a migrant background

In 2011, according to the Diversity Monitor published by Education Sector Employment, the share of students with a migrant background in initial teacher education programs was 6.1% in primary level and 12.7% at Bachelor’s level. In 2011, and at Master’s level, it was 5.5% (Grootscholte and Jettinghof, 2010). These results indicate that students with a migrant background are not severely under-represented in initial teacher education in the Netherlands, especially in the post-secondary level (Bachelors and Masters). However, it is important to note that the drop-out rates of students with a migrant background in initial teacher education is higher than the overall drop-out rate. Namely, according to earlier cohorts in the 2000s, 45.4% of students with a migrant background at primary level have dropped out in comparison to 35.2% of total students; and 46.3% at the secondary level in comparison to total of 41% (van den Berg, Van Dijk and Grootscholte, 2011).

Due to this considerable overall drop-out rate, including the more severe drop-out rates of students with a migrant background, the Sector Management Employment in Education (SBO) has funded a project, called ‘Intercultural professionalising of future teaching staff’ (OCW, 2006). The aim of this project was to recruit more students with a ‘double cultural background’ for educational studies to minimise the drop-out rates. One study has shown that the uncertain career progression and the low prestige and salaries within the teaching profession may have reduced the motivations of students with a migrant background to pursue initial teacher education (Severiens et al., 2008). The same study also suggested that the predominant mono-cultural approach to initial teacher education (ITE) can act as a barrier by potentially isolating those ITE students who do not fit readily into this model.

In another study, Grootsholte and Jettinghof (2010) have also argued that the high competition in hiring teachers may have also contributed to the lack of interest among people with a migrant background to pursue a career in teaching. Their study has shown that schools have the tendency to avoid perceived risks and select candidates with a native background, rather than giving a chance to candidate teachers with similar skills and qualifications but with a migrant background. A survey conducted among education professionals has shown that they recognise the importance of hiring teachers with a migration background; and yet only a small proportion of schools actively seek to higher them. In fact, according to another study, only 8% of primary level schools have a systematic diversity policy and less than a quarter of secondary schools make an effort to hire teachers with a migrant background (van den Berg, Van Dijk and Grootsholte, 2011). This situation highlights the mismatch between intentions and the lack of active effort and establishment of institutional arrangements to hire teachers with a migration background.

When it comes to remaining in the educational sector, teachers with a migrant background in the Netherlands have indicated that they perceive a lack of career progression. They are less satisfied with their work and they indicate that they have to prove themselves more than their native peers (van den Berg, Van Dijk and Grootsholte, 2011). Considering these issues, future research may look into the experiences of teachers in schools. For example, other studies in Europe have shown that teachers with a migrant background in countries with high numbers of children with a migrant background tend to teach in schools with high poverty, high ethnic-minority and urban schools where the working conditions are worse off compared to other schools (Villegas et al., 2012).

National experts have indicated that teacher diversity in the Netherlands could be addressed more systematically if better data were to be collected (Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016). Finally, the effectiveness of the *Taskforce for Diversity on School Boards* can be explored further. The taskforce is known to encourage candidates to act as members of school boards to raise awareness to diversity and recruitment of teachers with a migrant background. Yet, their effectiveness in terms of tackling the issue of teacher disparity is not known.

9. Capacity building through funding

9.1. Programmes for disadvantaged pupils supported by national funding

Since the 1970s, the Netherlands has implemented a policy titled *Onderwijsachterstandenbeleid* (Educational Disadvantages Policy - OAB) to support the development of children with unfavourable backgrounds, such as low-educated parents (Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis, 2017). Schools with educationally disadvantaged children receive financial support. In this way, every child is afforded the opportunity to develop themselves to their full potential, regardless of their background. Until 2006, the ethnic background of pupils was also a dominant factor for receiving financial support (Berlet et al., 2008). However, currently country of origin is no longer a criterion and the focus has shifted to all children, regardless of ethnic background, to bring back the emphasis on disadvantages based on socio-economic background rather than ethnic and cultural background. Nevertheless these programmes at the national level still indirectly address the needs of children with a migration background considering this population's overrepresentation in the target group.

According to the *Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis* (Centraal Planbureau, 2017), 40% of primary schools and 20% of secondary schools receive educational disadvantage funds. There are two regulations for primary schools. First, the weight regulation (EUR 200 million per year) uses parents' education level as a starting point. It is assumed that parents with a low to very low education level are less well equipped to support the education of their children. Children of these parents are weighted extra in school funding. The policy recognises two types of 'weighted pupils':

- A pupil is weighted 0.30 when both parents have completed at least pre-vocational secondary education VMBO.
- A pupil is weighted 1.20 when one of the parents has completed only primary education, and the other has not completed at least VMBO.

All other pupils are not weighted. In 2013-2014, approximately 6% of primary school pupils were weighted 0.30 and 5% of the primary school pupils were weighed 1.20. The total school weight is based on the sum of weighted pupils. Per unit of school weight, the school gets a fixed amount of EUR 3 000 per year.

Second, an allowance (EUR 150 million per year) is given as an additive regulation in primary education (Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis, 2017). Per weighted pupil, extra resources are provided to the school. This regulation has been put in place since 2009/2010 school year. It takes into account the share of low-income households in neighbourhoods on the basis of the Regional Income Survey 2005. Postal code areas with a relatively large number of households with a low income or social welfare are calculated for this allowance.

In secondary education, an 'education plus' arrangement (EUR 50 million per year) exists for addressing educational disadvantages (Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis, 2017). In this case too, neighbourhoods with low-income households are taken into account for the allocation of funds. These areas are characterised by high proportions of households with low-incomes, social welfare and non-western backgrounds.

Recently, for 2019-2020, a revision has been put in order with the assessment of Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics to identify the schools with the most pressing problems

regarding educational disadvantages (OCW, 2018b). The current assessment aims to have a more targeted approach to enhance educational opportunities by focusing on the 15% with the highest risk of educational disadvantage. Consequently, the government also wants to avoid having a too fragmented budget, which risks having a too narrow target. Eventually, municipalities and schools themselves are expected to determine the deployment of the resources allocated to them on the basis of their own observations and the actual support needs of the children. Different thresholds apply for the budgets that municipalities and schools receive. While the budget for municipalities is 5%, it is 12% for schools. While municipalities with higher risks receive a larger budget, the government aims to ensure that areas with some risk also receive funding.

9.2. Funding opportunities for schools with newcomers

Primary schools with immigrant children can receive funds from different parties and via different regulations (OCW, 2016) (see Table 3 for an overview). For the academic year 2018/2019, if a school was accepting newcomers for the first time, they could ask for an initial funding of EUR 11 148 from OCW to make the necessary investments in the school to accommodate newcomer students (LOWAN, 2018d). Besides this one-off fund, the OCW funds schools per migrant child per quarter of the year. To qualify for this funding, schools should have at least four migrant children who have been in the Netherlands less than one year, or at least one migrant child who has been in the Netherlands between one to two years (LOWAN, 2018e).

There is an important distinction between asylum seekers/status holders and other immigrants in terms of funding. For asylum seekers and status holders, who are in the Netherlands for less than one year, the funding is EUR 9 304.30 per year, for asylum seekers and status holders who are in the Netherlands between 1 and 2 years, the funding is EUR 3 102 per year (LOWAN, 2018e).

For all other children with a migrant background and who are in the Netherlands shorter than one year, the funding is EUR 2 481.00 per students per year (LOWAN, 2018g). The funding is paid quarterly.

Next to this general funding, there is also the Nederlands Onderwijs aan Anderstaligen (Dutch Education for Non-native Speakers – NOAT) funding and Procesopvanglocatie (Process Reception Location – POL) and Gezinlocatie (Family Location – GLO) funding (LOWAN, 2018d). The NOAT funding can be received by schools with students who meet the requirements for the CUMI (children from cultural minorities) agreement. Students meet the requirements when:

- they belong to the Moluccan population
- one of the parents or guardians is born in Cabo Verde, Greece, Italy, Morocco, Portugal, Republic of North Macedonia, Spain, Tunisia or Turkey
- one of the parents or guardians is born in a different non-English speaking country outside of Europe (except Indonesia)
- at least one of the parents resides as a foreign national in the Netherlands on the basis of a residence permit (as referred to in Article 8, under c or d of the Aliens Act 2000).

The POL/GLO funding is meant for migrant children who reside at an asylum centre during the first phase of their asylum procedure or of those who reside in a family location as their

asylum application is rejected. Next to the normal funding, the school can get an additional fund of EUR 847 per migrant child.

For secondary schools, the OCW/DUO has a similar funding system (Lowan, 2018e). The first time migrant children are registered to a school, the school receives EUR 16 000 to prepare the school for integrating migrant children (LOWAN, 2018e). As there is no maximum age for receiving this fund, the government is supporting schools in enrolling immigrants older than 18 years in their classes. In addition, the OCW makes a distinction between migrant children who have been in the Netherlands less than 1 year, and those who have been there 1-2 years. For the first category, the school receives EUR 2 791.36 per student per quarter of the year. For the latter group, the school receives EUR 1 025 per student per quarter of the year – this is in addition to the yearly regular fund for students (EUR 6 900). The schools can get this fund when a:

- student is registered as going to school
- student is officially considered as a migrant, according to the migrant law 2000 (Article 1)
- student is not following international orientated secondary education or European secondary education.

Table 3. Overview of funding sources for schools with newcomers

Funding source	Funding objective	Conditions
Educational disadvantages		
	Educational disadvantages – Primary education	Parental education
	Educational disadvantages additive - Primary education	Share of low-income households and households receiving social welfare benefits
	Education plus arrangement - Secondary education	Share of low-income households and households receiving social welfare benefits
Schools with newcomers		
	Initial funding – Primary and secondary education	Schools receiving newcomers for the first time
	Per child / per quarter funding – Primary and secondary education	Schools with at least four migrant children who are in the Netherlands less than one year or between one to two years
	NOAT (Dutch education for non-native speakers funding)	
	POL / GLO Funding	Schools with asylum seeker, refugee or other types of migrant children
	Start funding	Schools with students from cultural minorities

Migrants can also partly follow both secondary education and vocational education (LOWAN, 2018e). When this happens, secondary schools have to make an agreement with the vocational school (MBO) about the funding of this student. In the Netherlands, the students do not have to pay a tutorial fee for secondary school. However, for vocational education they have to pay this fee. The OCW can grant a loan for asylum seekers and other migrant students with very low income and very limited access to the labour market.

Finally, education is obligatory for all children under the age of 16, so irregular (undocumented) immigrants are entitled to school enrolment. Therefore, all the funding projects for primary and secondary school also account for irregular immigrants under the age of 16.

10. Language as a driver of integration

According to OCW, the most important measure to promote integration of newcomers into the Dutch education system is to facilitate the acquisition of Dutch language (interview OCW). In line with this emphasis on Dutch language, the only language of instruction for newcomer students is Dutch; children are not taught in their mother tongue or any other language. As discussed earlier (see Figure 6), depending on their age, newcomers are placed in the relevant tier pre-primary education (2.5-4 years), primary education (4-12 years), secondary education (12-16/18 years) and tertiary education (16/18 years and older).

Toddlers between 2.5 and 4 years of age with a Dutch language deficiency can receive early pre-schooling or early childhood education and care (ECEC) (OCW, 2017b). These ECECs focus particularly on underachievers (instead of low achievers) – those who are limited in reaching their full potential due to their surroundings. These children deemed to be at risk are allowed to go to a pre-primary school for 10 hours a week¹⁰ (interview OCW). They are mostly children with a disadvantaged background, which is defined by their parents' education level. Most recently, to estimate the disadvantage of children, new criteria has been added to the assessment. These include the number of years a child's parents have been in the Netherlands, their migratory background, their country of origin and whether they are in debt. There is no nationally developed programme for ECECs, so schools are free to constitute their own programme.

When non-Dutch speaking newcomer children at the age of primary education arrive in the Netherlands, the main focus of their first years of education is on acquiring the Dutch language (interview school) (OCW, 2017b). As discussed earlier, there are different types of first reception classes in primary education due to the autonomous education system in the Netherlands. Schools are free to choose how they accommodate newcomer children, including how to implement education for newcomers. This means that they can decide on course material and the method of instruction. The first reception classes are focused primarily on learning to speak Dutch (interview with LOWAN). Additionally, children learn technical reading, grammar and spelling. Some schools also implement a “language-free” arithmetic method. After one to two years, newcomer children make a transition to mainstream education. After this transition, it is up to schools to decide whether children will still be supported with extra language education. Depending on funding and the availability of specialised teachers, schools can also choose to adjust the course materials for children with a migration background (e.g. extra focus on vocabulary).

When newcomer children arrive in the Netherlands between 12 and 18 years of age, they attend international transition classes (ISKs). Most pupils attend ISKs for two years (interview with LOWAN). In the first phase, the main focus is on acquiring the Dutch language. Students who are illiterate or not literate in the Latin script follow a different trajectory. They first focus on learning the Latin script and then transition to one of the routes. In the second phase, there is still a strong focus on Dutch language acquisition, but there is also emphasis on preparing the pupil for the transition to mainstream education. As proposed by the inspectorate to be applied by schools, possible transition routes exist for newcomers in ISKs. For each of these transition routes, there are different targets for level

¹⁰ This will be extended to 16 hours in 2020.

of Dutch (see Table 3). Given the three possible routes for migrant children (see Figure 7), for general secondary education (HAVO), pre-university education (VWO), higher professional education (HBO), and higher levels of vocational education (MBO) and pre-vocational secondary education (VMBO), B1 level is targeted which refers to intermediate level of Dutch, while for the other levels, A2 level referring to elementary level is considered satisfactory.

Table 4. Dutch language proficiency targets for each exit profile

Targets for Dutch proficiency	Listening	Reading	Conversations	Speaking	Writing
16+ (accompanied) work, integration	A2	On the way to A2	A2	A2	On the way to A2
12-16 practice oriented education, special secondary education	A2	On the way to A2	A2	A2	On the way to A2
16+ mbo Level 1	A2	A2	A2	A2	On the way to A2
16+ mbo Level 2	On the way to B1	On the way to B1	On the way to B1	On the way to B1	On the way to B1
12-16 vmbo basis	A2	A2	A2	A2	A2
16+ mbo 3 or 4, hbo (transition), adult education	B1	B1	B1	B1	B1
12-16 vmbo Level 2/3/4	On the way to B1	On the way to B1	On the way to B1	On the way to B1	On the way to B1
12-16 havo/vwo	B1 (upper secondary education: on the way to B2)	B1 (upper secondary education: on the way to B2)	B1 (upper secondary education: on the way to B2)	B1 (upper secondary education: on the way to B2)	B1 (upper secondary education: on the way to B2)

Note: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment is used to identify the language proficiency levels.

The levels of Dutch proficiency have been determined considering a realistic language level which can be acquired within a short period. It is acknowledged that the Dutch language proficiency of newcomers cannot be compared to their native classmates, but it is assumed that language acquisition continues in mainstream education and that schools will further stimulate this. However, in reality, support for language education often stops once newcomers transit to mainstream education (Onderwijsraad, 2017). The most recent report of the Inspectorate of Education (2018) states that the transition from ISKs to regular schools is at times problematic because there is not always a good contact between the ISKs and the regular schools. Due to this lack of communication about the needs of students, there is also less support for students once they are in regular classrooms. In this regard, there is a lack of mid-term planning for NT2 language education. Another issue regarding language education concerns the course material available. Much of the NT2 course material is considered outdated (Onderwijsraad, 2017). Most material was developed in the 1980s and 1990s, when a budget was allocated to develop teaching material for children with Dutch as a second language. This was necessary because at the time many children with a Moroccan or Turkish background had entered the Dutch education system. The past twenty years, there has not been any new investment to develop education guidelines, methods and test materials. Still the number of newcomers per age category is often deemed too small for commercial developers to develop new methods. Therefore, many schools in the Netherlands continue to work with outdated NT2-material.

Finally, given the context of language instruction and distribution of newcomers across the country, one of the main discussions is concerning the centralisation of language education. Many argue that centralised language instruction achieves better results than decentralised

language education, primarily because it is easier for specialised centres to work with experts of teaching Dutch as a second language (OCW, 2016). Bigger institutions can adjust better to fluctuating numbers of newcomers and they can also form student groups with similar levels. The inspectorate also argues that centralisation makes it possible to utilise the skills of expert teachers optimally. Accordingly, in the past couple of years, there has been a move towards a regional approach that helps to bundle knowledge in the region, and yet there is still not a blueprint for the best means of co-operation (Bussemaker and Dekker, 2016a).

11. Pointers for the future in light of current Dutch policy approaches

Integration of newcomer children into schools requires a fast and well-organised intervention with a long-term vision that prepares children for a life in their new country of settlement. Integrating children with a migrant background into their education systems still poses a challenge for countries, even those with decades of experience. This research paper mapped how the Dutch education system manages the entrance of newly arrived immigrant children in schools. After having discussed the key features of the Dutch education system and how they translate into various policy approaches and practices for the integration of non-Dutch speaking newcomer students, we focused on three topics: social integration and multiculturalism in schools, capacity building and language as a driver of integration.

As a result of the evaluation of the Dutch education system, policies and measures taken on the ground, several discussion points emerge for the integration of newly arrived immigrant children in the Netherlands. Reinforced by the decentralised character of the education system, we illustrated the involvement of a great variety of national and local actors in the integration of students with a migration background. Notably, we showed that the integration of newcomer students with diverse backgrounds is a balancing act of short- and long-term goals for local authorities, especially schools. Moreover, we highlighted how the autonomy of institutions combined with fluctuating migration flows and dynamic contextual factors leads to huge differences across regions in terms of managing and supporting the integration of newcomer children. Building upon these observations related to the Dutch case, in the following section we introduce pointers for the future, which can be useful for all countries engaged with similar questions.

11.1. Adapting to changing situations and the development of a long-term vision

The first point refers to the idea that the Dutch education system should adapt to the changing situations with regards to immigrant student population. In the past couple of years, the increasing number of asylum seekers and refugee children in the Netherlands led to a vision of ‘crisis management’ as argued by the Secondary Education Council (VO-raad). This phase of intense inflows is considered to have currently ended. Many students are not living in reception centres anymore, but rather living in municipalities, as they tend to arrive to the Netherlands through family reunification (Bussemaker and Dekker, 2016a). In this regard, it is important to move from a ‘crisis management’ perspective to a period of stability and long-term vision.

When doing so the diverse backgrounds of students should be taken into account. The level and depth of adversity related to migration differs for children depending on the characteristics of their migration trajectory and experiences. These characteristics that define the severity of adversity include (cultural) distance, time and immigrant-generation, migration motivation and intensity of the migration journey (e.g. level of preparedness) (Bilgili, 2017). The Dutch statistics in this regard should go beyond looking at ethnic minorities in general (OECD, 2008), and consider a multi-layered categorisation that reflects the level of adversity that (newly arrived) immigrant children face and their potential corresponding needs.

Moreover, to sustain a stable situation, respondents from Secondary Education Council have also argued that evaluations and knowledge exchange are needed. Namely, schools

should learn from each other, share their experiences from the past years and work towards a more medium- to long-term vision for this new group of students who are expected to integrate in the mainstream education system. This long-term vision should address questions beyond access to education, and elucidate a broader vision on how education can support social, cultural, economic and political aspects of integration and help the unique needs of newly arrived immigrant children.

11.2. A long-term vision for fluctuating and yet continuous immigration flows

As indicated above, on the one hand it is necessary to move away from a ‘crisis management’ vision to a long-term vision considering the transition of many newcomers to the mainstream education. On the other hand, if we look back into the history of immigration in the Netherlands, it is not difficult to see that there is a continuous inflow of immigrants. This means that the integration of newcomer children in the education system is not a temporary question. While the intensity and size of the inflows may be changing over time, it remains as an issue that requires attention. In this regard, education for newcomer children should be organised in such way that the system is resistant to changes in number and background characteristics of newcomer students. This is why a long-term vision is needed whereby the Dutch education system is able to address the needs of students with well-trained teachers, appropriate curriculum and sustainable funding.

In relation to this challenge, various respondents have drawn attention to the organisation of schools. Considering the local variation due to the autonomy and size of schools, their previous experience with students with a migrant background and specialisation in Dutch language formation, newcomer students may have very diverse experiences. For instance, a respondent from *Sardes*, a research institute and policy advice bureau, indicated that if a school is very small, the chances that high achieving and low achieving students are in the same classroom is high. This does not allow low achieving students to study at their own pace. In this respect, the strengths and weaknesses of school types for newcomers should be evaluated. Such evaluations can then inform how to improve the organisation of newcomer education in the long-term.

Respondents found the role of ISKs especially important as they are able to provide education to newly arrived immigrant children in a centralised manner. ISKs consist of children with many diverse backgrounds, ranging from refugee children to children of labour migrants. These students may have unique social, emotional and academic needs given their migration histories. An expert respondent from the *Knowledge Centre Mixed Schools* therefore suggested an assessment of ISKs and their ability to serve the needs of the students. Building upon this idea, another respondent from the research institute *Pharos* proposed a focus on academic and emotional outcomes. They claimed that robust evaluations are needed to assess the cognitive development and social well-being of immigrant children who have arrived in the Netherlands in the past few years. In addition, a respondent from *Marnix Academy* (who provide a study of one-year post-HBO programme on NT2 teaching), argued that it is not clear if the duration of education in ISKs is sufficient for students before they make a transition to mainstream education.

As implied by the consistent call for evaluations, currently, it is not clear if the Dutch education system is handling the fluctuating and yet continuous numbers of new arrivals and their diverse backgrounds in the most optimal way. For the development of a long-term sustainable approach to this challenge, assessments on policies, their implementation and outcomes are heavily needed.

11.3. Revisiting autonomy: a regional focus within a national framework

As discussed earlier, the Dutch education system is decentralised and schools have high levels of autonomy when it comes to addressing educational strategic objectives (OCW, 2015). Considering that migration is not a phenomenon that affects all regions of the country equally, school autonomy and flexibility are seen as advantages in terms of introducing measures that are in line with the student population needs. However, there are some risks associated with school autonomy.

According to expert views, not all schools or school boards have made use of autonomy in the most optimal manner. A respondent from the research institute Expertise Centrum Diversiteitsbeleid (Expertise Center for Diversity Policy - *ECHO*) therefore called for a new balance between autonomy and government coordination. For autonomy to reach its effect on the ground there still needs to be a national vision about 'good education', which promotes corporation between different actors and knowledge exchange. In this regard, a regional focus within a national framework that guides the schools towards what works the best under what conditions is necessary. The respondent from a primary school board suggested that such an approach is necessary not only for the better educational achievement of children, but also for the workload and collaboration of teachers and educators.

Another risk associated with increased autonomy is the ambiguity regarding the distribution of responsibilities across actors and whether enough attention is paid to the integration of newcomer children's integration to schools. Namely, there are local educative agendas that provide a list of different focus points for schools and municipalities. Primary and secondary school boards discuss these points in collaboration with the municipalities to decide which of the points require attention for their region. For example, if the transition of immigrant students to mainstream education does not receive attention in these meetings, it is likely that schools will not be paying enough attention to this issue. As mentioned by the responded from *ECHO*, many of these decisions are influenced by the political landscape - both on the national and municipal scale - and depend on the council members or civil servants responsible for education in a given region. When there is such increased autonomy and lack of monitoring on a national level, local authorities risk missing out on investing on the education of newcomers. For this reason, some sort of guidance by the central government is needed to prevent discretionary measures, and to ensure that the needs of newly arrived migrant students are targeted in a systematic and structural manner.

11.4. Revising teacher training in light of a diversity policy

One of the most crucial needs of schools and educators is the availability of guidelines, trainings and course materials for teachers who work with children with a migration background and in multicultural diverse classrooms. According to an expert from the research institute *ECHO*, diversity policy and inclusion are still seen as 'an additional issue' rather than a central component of the education system. It remains a critical weakness that the official HBO studies (PABO) required to become a primary school teacher, for example, do not include the issue of diversity in (multicultural) classes. Only in some PABO's in the bigger cities is diversity addressed as part of curriculum. The expert suggested that currently the system functions in a way that focuses on the question of how to 'change the student', as most interventions target them only. Instead, what is needed is a multi-level intervention including the students, as well as the professionals, the

organisation and management, and the curriculum. Considering that many newcomer students are expected to make a transition to regular classrooms in the near future, schools need to prepare more systematically for this change in light of a strong diversity policy.

Teachers need to be trained so that they understand what it means for immigrant children to adapt to a new education system and to study in a language other than their mother tongue. Teachers also necessitate strategies on how to deal with diversity in the classroom, how to create an accommodating environment for socialisation in a multicultural setting and how to address the needs of each individual child for their personal development. In relation to this, a systematic revision is needed regarding NT2 training for teachers. As discussed earlier, there is great variation in how NT2 trainings are organised. NT2 trainings focus primarily on language training. While this is a necessary qualification, it is not satisfactory. The current training for teachers needs to encompass not only didactics but also more pedagogical concepts as mentioned above. A respondent from *Pharos* encouraged this idea and highlighted the provision of trainings on social emotional development of children in schools. Currently, the availability of such courses depends on each institution. For example, one of the PABO schools we interviewed emphasised that in their one year post-HBO programme they do not only focus on NT2 teaching, but also other issues such as how to handle special behaviour and diversity, loss and trauma of children and socio-emotional well-being of migrant children. The respondent claimed that such changes are slowly taking place in other PABO schools, but they remain limited, with government interest on this issue slow and delayed.

In conclusion, with the peak of new arrivals in 2015, teacher training received some national level attention. However, there is still not a clear framework on which skills and attitudes teachers should attain when they need to teach children with a migration background. Moreover, also in absolute terms, there is still a deficiency of teachers with a NT2 degree. A primary school director, for example, mentioned that at times they are obliged to hire teachers without a NT2 degree, but support the teachers to follow NT2 trainings once they start working. Considering that NT2 trainings do not necessarily prepare teachers to address both the pedagogical and didactical skills of newcomer students, a systemic revision in terms of availability of coherent and improved trainings is needed.

11.5. Non-colour blind policies and a renewed education system

A common issue mentioned by a number of respondents related to the idea that the Dutch education system has not evolved in alignment with the new characteristics of Dutch society. The current system is not found to be flexible enough to fit to the needs of children with a migrant background. The respondent from *VO-raad*, a secondary school board, highlighted the importance of flexibility concerning the difficulty level of courses and their examination procedure. They furthermore argued that the rules regarding grade repetition might have to be adapted considering the specific challenges of immigrant students who may be struggling for a long time with adapting to a new school system.

Moreover, the respondent from *ECHO* mentioned that the values of the Dutch society need to be reassessed in a way to make sure that everyone feels represented and respected - “we choose to be colour blind, instead of seeing colours”. The respondent mentioned that both socio-economic and ethnic differences in the Netherlands need to be acknowledged, and there needs to be more room for differences in perspectives and representation of diversity in classrooms. In addition, with respect to acknowledgement of ‘colours’, the respondent from *Marnix Academy* criticised the fact that the idea of bilingualism is almost completely

ignored. The whole system is focused on the importance of teaching Dutch; ignoring the idea that training in mother language and culture could also be beneficial for students - especially with regards to their feelings of belonging and the construction of their self-identity. While status languages such as English are promoted and embraced, minority languages (such as the mother language of immigrant children) do not receive a similar attention.

In summary, in this paper we discussed the Dutch education system, current policies and the views of experts working with and for newcomer students with regards to the integration of newcomer students into schools. As a result of the analysis, we conclude that while the Dutch education policies have numerous strengths that support the integration of newcomer children in schools, however improvements could be made in various ways, ranging from concrete short term actions to reflections on long-term approaches to the integration of students with a migration background. Supporting newcomer students' integration with a long-term vision and accommodating to their needs will not only benefit the students themselves only but also pave the way for the Netherlands to become a truly multicultural and inclusive society.

References

- Akgunduz, E. and S. Heijnen (2016), “Impact of funding targeted pre-school interventions on school readiness: Evidence from the Netherlands”, *CPB Discussion Paper 328*, CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis.
- Berlet, I., F. Bulthuis, H. Jacobs, M. Langberg, P. Wanner and A. Thijs (2008), *Omgaan met culturele diversiteit in het onderwijs. Een verkennende literatuurstudie* [Dealing with cultural diversity in education. An exploratory literature study], www.slo.nl/downloads/2008/Omgaan_20met_20culturele_20diversiteit_webversie.pdf (accessed 14 March 2018).
- Bifulco, R., H. Ladd and S. Ross (2009), “Public School Choice and Integration: Evidence from Durham, North Carolina”, *Social Science Research: A Quarterly Journal of Social Science Methodology and Quantitative Research*, Vol. 38/1.
- Bilgili, Ö. (2017), *The “CHARM” Policy Analysis Framework: Evaluation of Policies to Promote Immigrant Students’ Resilience*. OECD Education Working Papers, No. 158, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- Bilgili, O., Volante, L., & Klinger, D. (2018), Immigrant Student Achievement and the Performance Disadvantage. In *Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy* (pp. 3-15). Springer, Press.
- Bussemaker, J. (2014), “*Kamerbrief over internationale dimensie van hoger onderwijs en middelbaar beroepsonderwijs*” [Letter to Parliament on the international dimension of higher education and secondary vocational education], House of representatives publications.
- Bussemaker, J. and S. Dekker (2017a), “*Kamerbrief met voortgangsrapportage onderwijs aan asielzoekers*” [Letter to Parliament with progress report on education for asylum seekers], House of representatives publications.
- Bussemaker, J. and S. Dekker (2017b), “*Vershil moet er niet zijn, dat moet je maken*” [There must not be any difference, you must make that], Gelijke Kansen Alliantie, www.rijksoverheid.nl/binaries/rijksoverheid/documenten/rapporten/2017/07/25/verschil-moet-er-niet-zijn-dat-moet-je-maken/verschil-moet-er-niet-zijn-dat-moet-je-maken.pdf (accessed 20 March 2018).
- Bussemaker, J. and S. Dekker (2016a), “*Kamerbrief met voortgangsrapportage onderwijs aan asielzoekers*” [Letter to Parliament with progress report on education for asylum seekers], House of representatives publications.
- Bussemaker, J. and S. Dekker (2016b), “*Kamerbrief over gelijke kansen in het onderwijs*” [Letter to Parliament about equal opportunities in education], House of representatives publications.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2016), *Jaarrapport Integratie 2016*. Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
- Centraal Planbureau (2017), *Een empirische evaluatie van het onderwijsachterstandenbeleid in het primair en voortgezet onderwijs* [An empirical evaluation of the educational disadvantage policy in primary and secondary education], www.cpb.nl/sites/default/files/omnidownload/CPB-Notitie-21apr2017-Empirische-evaluatie-onderwijsachterstandenbeleid.pdf. (accessed 20 February 2018).

- Denessen, E., G. Driessena and P. Slegers (2005), “Segregation by choice? A study of group-specific reasons for school choice.” *Journal of education policy*, Vol. 20/3, pp. 347-368.
- Donlevy, V., A. Meierkord and A. Rajania (2016), “Study on the diversity within the teaching profession with particular focus on migrant and/or minority background”, *Education and Training. ECORYS*.
- Dronkers, J. (1995), “The existence of parental choice in the Netherlands”, *Educational Policy*, Vol. 9/3, pp. 227-243.
- Full Color (2017), *Verwerven van interculturele competentie voor lerarenopleiding* [Acquire intercultural competence for teacher training], www.autarconsultancy.nl/downloads/Verwerven%20van%20interculturele%20competenties.pdf (accessed 20 February 2018).
- Grootscholte M., Jettinghoff K (2010)., *Diversiteitsmonitor. Cijfers en feiten over diversiteit in het po, vo, mbo en op lerarenopleidingen. Een stand van zaken*. The Hague: SBO.
- Inspectie van het Onderwijs (2006), “*Toezicht op Burgerschap en Integratie*” [Supervision of Citizenship and Integration], Inspectie van Onderwijs publications.
- Inspectie van het Onderwijs (2016), *Onderwijsverslag De Staat van het Onderwijs 2015 – 2016* [Education Report The State of Education 2015 - 2016], www.onderwijsinspectie.nl/binaries/onderwijsinspectie/documenten/rapporten/2017/04/12/staat-van-het-onderwijs-2015-2016/Staat+van+het+Onderwijs+geheel.pdf (accessed 12 May 2018).
- Inspectie van het Onderwijs (2018a), *Onderwijsverslag De Staat van het Onderwijs 2016/2017* [Education Report The State of Education 2016/2017], www.onderwijsinspectie.nl/documenten/rapporten/2018/04/11/rapport-de-staat-van-het-onderwijs.
- Inspectie van het Onderwijs (2018b), *Ontwikkelingen onderwijskansen* [Developing educational opportunities], www.onderwijsinspectie.nl/onderwerpen/staat-van-het-onderwijs/trends-in-het-stelsel/onderwijskansen-en-segregatie/ontwikkeling-onderwijskansen.
- Inspectie van het Onderwijs (2017a), “*Onderzoekskader 2017 voor het toezicht op voorschoolse educatie en het primair onderwijs*” [2017 research framework for the supervision of preschool education and primary education], Inspectie van Onderwijs publications.
- Inspectie van het Onderwijs (2017b), *Het vierjaarlijks onderzoek bestuur en scholen* [The four-yearly research board and schools], www.onderwijsinspectie.nl/onderwerpen/vernieuwd-toezicht (accessed 10 March 2018).
- Ladd, H.F., E.B. Fiske and N. Ruijs (2009, October), “Parental choice in the Netherlands: growing concerns about segregation”, *National Conference on School Choice*, Vanderbilt University.
- LOWAN and ITTA (2016), *Project LOWAN-ITTA leerlijnen: Eerste Opvangonderwijs Nieuwkomers VO* [Project LOWAN-ITTA learning lines: First Daycare Newcomers VO], www.lowan.nl/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/folder-lowan-ITTA.pdf (accessed 10 March 2018).
- LOWAN (2018a), *Over LOWAN*, <https://www.lowan.nl/lowan/> (accessed 14 February 2018).
- LOWAN (2018b), *Databank lesmaterialen* [Teaching materials database], www.lowan.nl/primair-onderwijs/lesmateriaal/ (accessed 10 March 2018).
- LOWAN (2018c), *Databank lesmaterialen* [Teaching materials database], www.lowan.nl/voortgezet-onderwijs/lesmateriaal/ (accessed 10 March 2018).
- LOWAN (2018d), *Financiering* [Financing], www.lowan.nl/primair-onderwijs/financiering/ (accessed 10 March 2018).

- LOWAN (2018e), *Financiering* [Financing], www.lowan.nl/voortgezet-onderwijs/financiering/ (accessed 10 March 2018).
- LOWAN (2018f), *Lesgeven aan getraumatiseerde kinderen* [Teaching traumatised children], www.lowan.nl/lesmateriaal/lesgeven-aan-getraumatiseerde-kinderen/ (accessed 10 March 2018).
- LOWAN (2018g), *Nieuwkomers op school* [Newcomers at school], www.lowan.nl/lesmateriaal/nieuwkomers-op-school/ (accessed 10 March 2018).
- Maarse, J., van E. Wander and J. Schilder (2017), *Organiseren van nieuwkomersonderwijs. Anticiperen op aanbod* [Organizing newcomers education. Anticipate supply], Sardes, Utrecht.
- Meelissen, M.R.M., A. Netten, M. Drent, R.A. Punter, M. Droop and L. Verhoeven (2012), *PIRLS- en TIMSS-2011: Trends in leerprestaties in Lezen, Rekenen en Natuuronderwijs*. Nijmegen/Enschede: Radboud Universiteit / Universiteit Twente [PIRLS and TIMSS 2011: Trends in learning performance in Reading, Arithmetic and Natural Education. Nijmegen / Enschede: Radboud University / University of Twente], <http://dx.doi.org/10.3990/1.9789036534758>.
- Nuffic (2014), *Het onderwijssysteem van Nederland beschreven* [The education system of the Netherlands described], www.nuffic.nl/publicaties/vind-een-publicatie/onderwijssysteem-nederland.pdf (accessed 14 March 2018).
- OCW (2006), “*Onderwijs, Wetenschap en Integratie*” [Education, Science and Integration], Ministry of Education Culture, and Science publications.
- OCW (2008), “*Tegengaan van Segregatie in het Basisonderwijs*” [Preventing Segregation in Primary Education], www.forum.nl/paoo/artikelen/BriefDijksma-segregatie13mei2008.pdf (accessed 13 May 2018).
- OCW (2018a), *Op welke feestdagen is mijn kind vrij van school?* [On which public holidays is my child free from school?], www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/schoolvakanties/vraag-en-antwoord/op-welke-feestdagen-is-mijn-kind-vrij-van-school (accessed 15 March 2018).
- OCW (2018b), *Kamerbrief nieuwe verdeling middelen onderwijskansenbeleid scholen en gemeenten* [Letter to Parliament on the new distribution of resources for educational opportunities in schools and municipalities], www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2018/04/26/kamerbrief-nieuwe-verdeling-middelen-onderwijskansenbeleid-scholen-en-gemeenten (accessed 15 March 2018).
- OCW (2017a), “*Internationale programma's en onderwijsnetwerken*” [International programs and educational networks], Ministry of Education Culture, and Science publications.
- OCW (2017b), “*Taalachterstand basisschoolleerlingen*” [Language deficiency of primary school students], Ministry of Education Culture, and Science publications.
- OCW (2017c), “*Informatiedocument onderwijs aan asielzoekerskinderen*” [Education document for asylum seeker children], Ministry of Education Culture, and Science publications.
- OCW (2016), “*Informatiedocument onderwijs aan asielzoekerskinderen*” [Education document for asylum seeker children], Ministry of Education Culture, and Science publications.
- OCW (2015), “*Autonomie van scholen (lager secundair onderwijs)*” [Autonomy of schools (lower secondary education)], Ministry of Education Culture, and Science publications.
- OCW (2012), “*Key Figures 2007-2011*”, Ministry of Education Culture, and Science publications.
- OECD (2018), *The Resilience of Students with an Immigrant Background: Factors that Shape Well-being*, OECD Reviews of Migrant Education, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264292093-en>.

- OECD. (2016a), *PISA 2015 results: Excellence and equity in education* (Vol. 1). Paris, France.
- OECD (2016b), *Netherlands 2016: Foundations for the Future*, Reviews of National Policies for Education, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264257658-en>.
- OECD (2013), *PISA 2012 Results: Excellence through Equity (Volume II): Giving Every Student the Chance to Succeed*, PISA, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264201132-en>.
- OECD (2008), *Jobs for Immigrants. Volume 2: Labour Market Integration in Belgium, France, the Netherlands and Portugal*. OECD, Paris, France.
- Onderwijsraad (2017), “*Vluchtelingen en onderwijs. Naar een efficiëntere organisatie, betere toegankelijkheid en hogere kwaliteit*” [Refugees and education. Towards a more efficient organization, better accessibility and higher quality], Onderwijsraad publications.
- Onderwijsraad (2016), “*Internationaliseren met ambitie*” [Internationalise with ambition], Onderwijsraad publications.
- Ouders & Onderwijs. (2018), *Aanmelden middelbare school*. Retrieved from: <https://www.oudersonderwijs.nl/op-school/een-school-kiezen/naar-de-middelbare-school/aanmelden-middelbare-school/>
- Rijksoverheid. (2018a), *Mag een school voor voortgezet onderwijs mijn kind weigeren?*. Retrieved from: <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/voortgezet-onderwijs/vraag-en-antwoord/mag-een-school-voor-voortgezet-onderwijs-mijn-kind-weigeren>
- Rijksoverheid. (2018b), *Doelen passend onderwijs*. Retrieved from: <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/passend-onderwijs/doelen-passend-onderwijs>
- Sachs, J. D., Layard, R., & Helliwell, J. F. (2018), World Happiness Report 2018 (No. id: 12761).
- Scheerens, J. and G. van der Werf (2018), “Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy in the Netherlands”, *Immigrant Student Achievement and Education Policy*, Springer, Cham, pp. 103-118.
- Senate of the Netherlands (2004), *Afschaffing OALT gaat door* [Abolition OALT continues], www.eerstekamer.nl/nieuws/20040519/afschaffing_oalt_gaat_door (accessed on 14 March 2018).
- Severiens, S., R. Wolff, M. Meeuwisse, S. Rezaei and W. de Vos (2008), “Waarom stoppen zoveel allochtone studenten met de Pabo” [Why do so many immigrant students quit the Pabo?], *Samenvatting van vijf studies*, SBO: Den Haag.
- Stichting leerplanontwikkeling (2009), “*Leren omgaan met culturele diversiteit*” [Learning to deal with cultural diversity], <http://downloads.slo.nl/Repository/leren-omgaan-met-culturele-diversiteit-aandachtspunten.pdf> (accessed on 10 April 2018).
- Thijs, A., M. Langberg, and I. Berlet (2009), “Leren omgaan met culturele diversiteit: aandachtspunten voor een kansrijke aanpak.” *Enschede: SLO*.
- Tudjman, T. and A. van den Heerik (2016), *Multi-country Partnership to Enhance the Education of Refugee and Asylum-seeking Youth in Europe. Refugee Education in the Netherlands*, www.lowan.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/EN_Refugee-Education_Netherlands.pdf (accessed on 14 March 2018).
- UAF (2017), *Organisatie*, <https://www.uaf.nl/organisatie> (accessed 20 February 2018).
- van den Berg, D., M. van Dijk and M. Grootsholte (2011), “Cijfers en feiten over diversiteit in het po, vo, mbo en op lerarenopleidingen” [Figures and facts about diversity in primary, secondary and vocational education and in teacher training courses], Sectorbestuur Onderwijsarbeidsmarkt [Educational Labor Market Sector Board], The Hague.

Villegas, A.M., K. Strom and T. Lucas (2012), “Closing the racial/ethnic gap between students of color and their teachers: An elusive goal”, *Equity and Excellence in education*, Vol. 25/2, pp. 283-301.

Wetten Overheid (2018), *Wet op het onderwijstoezicht* [Education Supervision Act], <http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0013800/2018-06-01> (accessed 15 June 2018).

Wetten Overheid (2017), *Wet op het primair onderwijs* [Primary Education Act], <http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0003420/2017-08-01> (accessed 15 June 2018).